memo from

BARRY'S, INC.
101 E. MAIN ST., ROCK HILL, S. C.

Mar 5,1954

Dear Dr. Mitchell;

See enclosed story on meeting on "Police Human Relations" Greatly enjoyed meeting you again. I suppose Father Maurice in keeping you informed on progress of group we discussed.

Hof.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely yours,

A.R.Suritz

RECEIVED
MAR 8 1954
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED 11/4/54
Southern Regional Council

November 2, 1954

Mr. Robert C. Sweet
3425 Love Circle
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sweet,

I am sorry that I am unable to suggest any openings at this time. I hope you locate the kind of position you are looking for.

Sincerely yours,

Frank S. Loescher

FSL:tk

P.S. George, I don't know this guy from Adam. He's been with the Race Relations Department at Fisk and says his job has been abolished.

June 23, 1954

Mr. Robert C. Sweet
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sweet:

Biography and picture herewith!

Title of evening speech: "The Best Education For All." I have not yet written out the speech and don't know whether I will, but I hope to. I will talk about the demands of our industrial economy in the South for the best possible education for all people in the region. Then, something on the opportunity which the Supreme Court has offered the South to adjust its schools programs to the new requirement of genuinely equal and, therefore, unsegregated education. More after that on the efforts at present underway within the South to prepare public school officials and local public opinion for the changes which the Supreme Court Decision fore-shadows.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

ROBERT C. SWEET
EDUCATION AND PROMOTION

June 15, 1954

RECEIVED
JUN 16 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N-E
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sure there has been conveyed Dr. Charles Johnson's deep satisfaction that your services are to be rendered in behalf of the forthcoming Institute of Race Relations. With the hope that the Institute may continue to receive good news coverage from both local and national press services, our department, under whose auspices the Institute is conducted, wishes to do whatever possible to facilitate such reporting.

Toward assuring the speed and accuracy of the Institute news releases, we are requesting that lecturers and consultants submit to this office the following data at their early convenience:

1. Brief biographical sketch
2. Picture
3. Abstract or copy of presentation

It would be appreciated if a full copy of your presentation might be obtained, that it may be used in compiling a summary report which will appear following the Institute.

We are again anticipating a fine Institute, and the contributions which you will have to offer.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Sweet

Robert C. Sweet
Education and Promotion

RCS:rtf

November 19, 1954

Mr. Robert C. Sweet
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sweet:

Thank you for your attention to Dr. Mitchell's letter of October 26th to Herman Long. You forgot to enclose the lists of Institute members. We will be looking forward to receiving them as soon as it is convenient.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf

See Letter to Herman Long.

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

ROBERT C. SWEET
EDUCATION AND PROMOTION

November 17, 1954

RECEIVED
11/19/54
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Herman Long asked me to give attention to your letter of October 26th, by locating and sending such mimeographed Institute membership lists as are to be found. Enclosed, therefore, please find the rosters from several of the recent years.

No enclosure RHA

Additionally, we also have names of members from other years which are not on any conveniently prepared list, but which could presumably, be obtained if you had further interest in securing them.

Sincerely yours,

Robert C. Sweet

Robert C. Sweet rb
Education and Promotion

Enclosure:
RCS:rlb

PHONE 4244

BARRY'S, Inc.

ROCK HILL'S OLDEST CREDIT JEWELERS
101 EAST MAIN STREET
ROCK HILL, S. C.

DEC 1 1955

Dec.29,1955

Dear George:

See December issue of "Progressive" for article by Vic Reinemer, former editor of the Charlotte News and now administrative assistant to Senator James Murray.

I have been in contact with Vic since he left Charlotte. Perhaps his article can be of use.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A.R.Suritz

Dr. George Mitchell,
Atlanta,
Ga.

Mr. A. R. Suritz,
Barry's, Inc.,
101, East Main Street,
Rock Hill, S. C.

December 2nd., 1955.

Dear Mr. Suritz,

We did read it, and were delighted, and grateful.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

GSM:rl.

July 16, 1956

Mr. A. R. Surits
101 East Main Street
Rock Hill, S. C.

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for your recent letter and for the clippings that you have sent. They are very helpful in keeping us up to date.

I had seen the proposal by Rabbi Eisendrath, and will be most interested to see what comes of it.

I will hope to see you again soon and meanwhile will appreciate your keeping the information coming.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Rock Hill, S.C.
June 28/56

Dear Fleming:

An item in the National Jewish Post of June 22/56 advises that the current issue of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Reform) Journal contains a symposium titled "Southern Rabbis Face Desegregation". The authors are Rabbi Perry E. Nussbaum of Jackson, Miss., Rabbi Charles Mantinband of Hattiesburg, Miss., and Rabbi Jacob Rothschild of Atlanta.

The CCAR is located at 830 Fifth Ave. NYC. (not sure of address).

The issue may be of interest and perhaps Rabbi Rothschild may have a copy of the periodical or can give you the office address of the CCAR.

Also in the same issue of the NJP there appears a story regarding a proposal by the American Hebrew Congregations executive director Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath to his board to the effect that the group establish an office in the south to give leadership and encouragement and serve as liason between his group the Union of Amer. Heb. Cong. and Jewish communities in the South. The item continues "the most radiant-example of religion in action" was Dr. Martin Luther King's leadership in the Montgomery, Ala. bus boycott. He added "hardly a single white Christian clergyman or rabbi raised his voice on behalf of the sublimely courageous group."

There is a short item regarding the Norman, Okla. B'nai B'rith meeting which was made possible by the Ford Foundation grant on human relations. Winthrop College sociologist Dr. Allen Edwards attended this meeting and Allen reports that the meeting was very worth while.

Best wishes

Sincerely,

A.R. Suritz

October 12, 1956

Mr. A. R. Suritz
101 East Main Street
Rock Hill, S. C.

Dear Bob:

I too greatly enjoyed our time together in New York, most particularly the dinner at Moskowitz & Lubowitz'. You can be my guide in New York any time.

The AJC has, in the past, given us some help on a specific project or two, but they are not regular contributors; nor is Mr. Engel.

Did you go to the Klan meeting?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

~~Memo~~ From

A. R. Suritz

Oct 4/56

Dear Harold:

Enjoyed meeting you in New York. Sorry you had to miss the full visit at the Alexays.

See enclosed. Also first KKK meeting in or around Rock Hill in many years.

Irving Engel of the AJC turned me down on request for small contribution for SCCHR.

Best wishes.

Yours

Bob

PS Does Engel or Amer. Jewish Comm. ~~ex~~ donate toward SRC?

clips to file

November 6, 1956

Mr. A. R. Suritz
101 Main Street
Rock Hill, S. C.

Dear Bob:

Thanks for the several recent items. I read the Commentary article on the WCC's with pleasure.

The board has only a couple of vacancies this time and the nominating committee has already acted on them. For the time being, Father Maurice will have to hold your proxy.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCFrmbo

memo from
BARRY'S, INC.
101 E. MAIN ST., ROCK HILL, S. C.

Oct. 22/56

Dear Harold:

Charlotte News editor Cecil Prince in his usual good form in enclosed editorial. Perhaps you can use it in the New South.

I would have attended the Klan meeting in Rock Hill but the one bed sheet I own was busy. Sylvia was using it to cover the festive board. Of course the borsht is better at the Suritz manse than at Moskowitz and Lupowitz.

Should there be an opening on the SRC board for the next year, and if you think I can be of help, I will be glad to serve.

Cordially

Bob

PS Interesting article in this months "Commentary" on White Citizens Councils.

File

Jan. 24, 57

Dear Harold

The Meth. Bd. of Economic & Social Relations are sponsoring an interracial ministers conference headed by Bishops Bowen & more next mon. aft. 1:00 P.M. then the next aft. It will be held there at the Wesley Mem. Bldg. In case you haven't heard of it, you have now. Doubt if I can make it due to pressure of our approaching Annual mtg. on Feb. 9th. Guess would like to get someone into the meeting to observe.

Sincerely, Bob

Ans to
to Je - + FBI

March 12, 1957

Mr. A. R. Suritz
Barry's Inc.
101 East Main Street
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Bob:

We haven't been able to turn up anything on William Augusta Somerset. I have shared your clipping and note with Emory Via and others on the staff, and we will be on the lookout for any further information on this gentleman.

I hope all goes well with you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Memo From

A. R. Suritz

Apr 9/57

from Stockton

Dear Harold:
Enclosed clip in mail/to-day.
Don't know a soul in that far
off city and no name on
envelope.
Perhaps item of interest to
New South editors.
Best wishes.

Sincerely

Bob

RECEIVED APR 10 1957

JE

Brotherhood in Medical Profession

The passions aroused by the controversy over racial segregation have led to many sad and shocking incidents. These have been duly reported in the press, and they have made unpleasant reading indeed.

It is all the more gratifying, therefore, to be able to take note of quite a different sort of incident. This one is taking place in Muskegon, Mich. It involves acts of kindness and brotherhood that provide a welcome antidote for the poison of racial hatred and intolerance that have been so much in the news.

A Negro physician in Muskegon, Dr. Edward Williams, has been stricken with tuberculosis and will be confined to a sanatorium for a year or more. This does not mean, as it well might, that the practice he has built up during the past several years will be fragmented and lost. This will not happen because many of Dr. Williams' fellow physicians have agreed to take over his practice and keep it intact against his return to active life.

Dr. Williams' colleagues will see his patients at their homes and in hospitals, and they are working out a schedule for handling his office calls co-operatively. The fees will go to Dr. Williams. When he returns from the sanatorium he will be able to step back into professional harness almost as if he had never been stricken.

It is heartening to learn that such golden threads as this are being woven into the sombre fabric of inter-racial strife.

RECEIVED MAY 24 1957

Oklahoma
Agricultural and Mechanical College
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND RURAL LIFE
STILLWATER

May 21, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of May 15.

Please feel free to use my name in any way you deem necessary.

Sincerely yours,

Sol

Solomon Sutker
Associate Professor

SS:jwc

September 20, 1957

Mr. A. R. Suritz
Barry's Inc.
101 East Main Street
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Bob:

Cheers for the good job you got Oberdorfer to do on Somerset. I knew Don when he was in Atlanta and am glad to see him doing such good work for the Charlotte Observer.

It would be of great help to us to have the full series on Somerset, if you could get it for us without too much trouble.

This whole episode, plus your story about the Negroes attending a WCC meeting, confirms my growing belief that nobody could have invented this fantastic Southern situation. Even George Orwell would have fallen short.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 12, 1957

Mr. A. R. Suritz
Barry's Inc.
101 East Main Street
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Bob:

We haven't been able to turn up anything on William Augusta Somerset. I have shared your clipping and note with Emory Via and others on the staff, and we will be on the lookout for any further information on this gentleman.

I hope all goes well with you.

Cordially,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

RECEIVED SEP 6 1957 Sept 5/57

Dear Harold:

See enclosed editorial on Somerset. I "sicked" bright young Atlanta born Charlotte Observer newsman Don Oberdorfer on Somerset. I learned from Murray Kempton of the NYPost when he came through here last month that Somerset was working his "union" in Charlotte. Murray had three pieces in the Post on Rock Hill and it's bus boycott. I mentioned Somerset to Murray and he came up with his latest promotion.

Oberdorfer came up with three pieces on Somerset. The enclosed winds up the series. If you want the items will get and foward. What a story. A KKK'er organizing Negroes. This could happen only in America.

Amusing item in last night's Charlotte News. Four Negroes attended a "White Citizen Council" meeting in Charlotte's County Court Bldg. They were told they could stay if they didn't mind being insulted. The Negroes heckled the speaker. The meeting was held in the wake of Kasper's visit to Charlotte. At the end of the meeting the Negroes shook the hand of the speaker telling him he was a good speaker. The white speaker was reported by reporter Julian Sheer as shaking the Negroes hand and telling him "What a wonderful country this is. Everyone can say his piece."

Best wishes.

Sincerely

Bob

April 16, 1958

Mr. A. R. Suritz
Barry's Inc.
101 East Main Street
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for the copy of the fine editorial on Harry Golden. Golden is indeed a remarkable person to elicit this kind of respect and affection from such normally inhumane sources.

We have heard similar rumors about the plight of Joseph Margolis. I don't know him, and we have heard nothing from him since he gave us permission to reprint his article from the AAUP Bulletin. I have written Alice Spearman to see if she can shed any light on the matter. I will let you know, and I hope you will do likewise by me.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo From

A. R. Suritz

Apr 14/58

Dear Harold:

Here is an item for the New South.

Best wishes.

Rcd 4/15/58

Beth

PS My son Mike a student at the the Univ. of SC tells me of some disturbing news about Prof. Joseph Margolis whose item you reprinted in the New South. I understand the school is giving him a hard time. No definite information. I wrote to Margolis but received no reply from him. Do you have any info.

A Fire at Harry Golden's

Sometimes old friends are the last to know of troubles. Yesterday the February issue of the *Carolina Israelite* came in, and it wasn't until a quarter of 6 in the afternoon, when we boarded a Cary 9 bus, found a seat in the rear, and opened Harry Golden's paper, that we learned of a fire that completely destroyed his home and newspaper office in Charlotte on February 16.

Harry Golden is well known here; he's fairly well known, as a matter of fact, all over the country. He is the wonderful proprietor of a wonderful paper; he is a humorist in the warmest sense of the word, a philosopher, an essayist, a critic. He is one of only two liberals in this world we ever wholly liked.

Even at this late date, the news of Harry's fire might have escaped the casual eye. He regards all his news items as equal, so he gives them the same headlines. The account of this blaze that destroyed 20 years of books and notes carried a head no larger than the head on a piece calling attention to Carl Sandburg Day in North Carolina.

What happened was that Harry left Charlotte about February 14, made a speech here in Richmond (he dropped by THE NEWS LEADER to say hello and to spin a couple of good Jewish stories), and then headed on toward Newark for a round of speeches in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. That was the week end of the calamitous snow; his plane was late; it wasn't until he telephoned his host in Passaic that he learned the Charlotte police were trying to reach him. A call back home brought news of the fire.

Now, Harry Golden is an integrationist, and our first reaction was to wonder, in a flush of bitterness and anger, if some cotton-pickin', red-necked, wool-hat segregationist had put a torch to Harry's home. If so, we thought, by heaven we would launch campaigns, send replacement books, go to Charlotte with hammer and nails and help him rebuild. Thankfully, the apprehension was ill-founded. It wasn't arson, it was a defective flue. Harry and the North Carolina authorities "are convinced, beyond any shadow of doubt, that the fire was an accident."

Consoling as that fact may be, it is evident that the *Carolina Israelite* has suffered a serious blow. Subscription lists were salvaged, but almost everything else went up in flames; and like a lot of other people, Harry hadn't increased his "insurinks" in 20 years.

We call attention to this melancholy tale in order to put in a plug for Harry's continued operations. Subscriptions to the *Israelite* are $3 a year; the address is P. O. Box 2505, Charlotte, N. C. His paper is personal journalism in the great tradition—the lively, thoughtful, funny, sobering, irritating, sometimes egotistic, always entertaining reflections of a liberal Jew, born on New York's lower East Side, who transplanted himself to the South and made a million friends, including several hundred thousand who disagree with him strongly. His is a brave and laughing voice. Our sympathy and good wishes go out to him.

RICHMOND NEWS-LEADER, April 4, 1958---Jack Kilpatrick, Editor.
Mr. Kilpatrick is the "inventor" of "interposition" and the patron saint of "mass resistance"" against integregation.

Return to HCF

B'NAI B'RITH 1640 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

To

From

Date: Dec 4/59

Subject: Dear Harold — There is no great hurry on the date we spoke about. Just called Allen & he said Jan — Feb will be okay. Good talking with you. Best wishes.

Cordially

Bob

ROBT. SURITZ

via air mail

January 19, 1960

Mr. Robert Suritz
B'nai B'rith
1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Bob:

We finally got some word from our Texas friends. Not very helpful. The group in question is the Houston Council of Churches. Its Executive Director writes: "We are anxious to sponsor a public meeting with (the gentleman) as guest speaker. However, we feel that we should postpone this until after our workshop on February 13. If he is available later in the spring, we should like to know the dates, and we will take advantage of this opportunity."

Let me know if and how you want me to follow up on this deferred possibility.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Church Welfare Bureau

OF THE

Council of Churches of Greater Houston

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J. Donald Stillwell
The Rev. Thomas Sumners
The Rev. C. Rodney Sunday
Mrs. Kern Tips
Mrs. Walter Vater

9 CHELSEA PLACE
HOUSTON 6, TEXAS
PHONE JAckson 6-2247

January 13, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling, Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thank you very much for offering to us Senator Javits.

We discussed him at our meeting today, and we are anxious to sponsor a public meeting with him as guest speaker. However, we feel that we should postpone this until after our workshop on February 13.

If Senator Javits is available later in the spring, we should like to know the dates, and we will take advantage of this opportunity.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

James Noland

James R. Noland
Executive Secretary

JRN:msb

cc - The Rev. Fred Sutton

P.S. Our meeting with John Hope went very well. Will be getting you additional details.

A UNITED FUND AGENCY

The Welfare of the People Is a Concern of the Churches

B'NAI B'RITH
1640 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

To

From

Date: Dec. 17/59

Subject:

Dear Harold —

Any news on the meeting?

Best wishes.

Sincerely

Bob

ROBERT SURITZ

PS I leave for home on Dec. 24th + will be at 531 Forest Lane Rock Hill SC until about Jan 2.

Note Mailed from NY 12/23/59

MEMO *from the desk of* **A. R. SURITZ**

1-20-60

Dear Harold

I have forwarded your letter of the 19th to Allen Lesser of the Senator's office. You will hear from him.

Just returned from a swing through North & South Carolina and Georgia. My people ~~are~~ in Georgia are

terribly concerned
about the threatened
School closings —
but they will do
Nothing about it.
Warmest regards
Sincerely
Bob

MEMO from the desk of

A. R. SURITZ

3/16 (1960)

Dear Harold –

The students were passing out the enclosed & picketing the Woolworth store in New Brunswick when I passed through town last Monday evening. Have a copy of the "Student Protest" which I met read to-night

Best wishes

Bob Suritz

Over

One of the picket signs read "We found a bigot in a 5 & 10 ¢ store"

We Protest!

We students of Rutgers -- the State University -- protest the policy of racial segregation at lunch counters in stores of the Woolworth chain in the South. Throughout the South students have been demonstrating to end the shameful absurdity that Negroes who are encouraged to shop freely in these stores are segregated at the lunch counters.

"... The National office in New York has not attempted to stop segregation. ...". This was the admission of the manager of the Woolworth store in Princeton as quoted in the Sunday Home News of March 13, page 3, col. 4.

Our picketing has three purposes: First, to exert economic pressure on the national management of Woolworth to take some positive action towards integrating their lunch counters in their Southern stores. Second, to show the South students that they are not alone in their protest. Third, to prove to the people of the world that the democracy we preach abroad we practice at home.

Students have demonstrated in universities across the nation as well as at Woolworth's stores in San Francisco, New York, Newark, and Princeton. We ask you to join the fight for equality by not shopping at Woolworth's today.

SPONSORED BY RUTGERS CAMPUS DIVISION

Middlesex County Chapter, Americans for Democratic Action

New Brunswick - N J.
Mon - March 14/60

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Sheraton-Seelbach Hotel
Louisville, Kentucky

3/30/60

Dear Harold

Hope you are fully recovered and it was nothing serious.

Guelaway clip. Warmest best wishes

Sincerely
Bob Schatz

The Courier-Journal

Associated Press and Wirephoto LOUISVILLE, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 30, 1960 New York Times Service, United Press

and club business.

Southerner Says Effect On Children Disregarded In Segregation Battles

White House Meeting Held

By The Associated Press

Washington, March 29.—Everyone seems to have forgotten that the Supreme Court's 1954 school-integration decision was all about the hearts and minds of children, a Southern race-relations expert said Tuesday.

Harold C. Fleming of Atlanta, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, coupled the declaration with a plea that school integration be delivered "from the exclusive control of lawyers and politicians." He said the voices of children and youth—or those who specialize in their education—should be heard.

Fleming brought the matter before a forum session of the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth.

He was ill and unable to attend. His speech was read by Whitney M. Young, Jr., dean of the School of Social Work of Atlanta University.

Desegregation was discussed by several other forum speakers at Tuesday's third session of the 50th anniversary conference, which is devoted to problems of America's youngsters.

'Battle Of Abstractions'

Kimball Wiles, professor of education at the University of Florida, said historians looking back over the 1950's "probably will place the fight for increased civil liberties of minority groups second in importance to our entering the Space Age."

Wiles questioned whether the millions of Southern children, white and Negro, growing up in the midst of this conflict can be expected to take seriously what is taught about citizenship, government, and justice, or whether they can be expected to respect law and order or put faith in elected political leaders.

Fleming said the segregation controversy has become "mainly a battle of abstractions" involving legality or illegality and such things as states' rights, injunctions, regulation of the sale of dynamite. He said:

"The hearts and minds' of children, which Chief Justice Warren cited as the crux of the matter, have rarely been referred to since."

To offset what he called unfounded assumptions and fears widely accepted as fact, Fleming called for a massive fact-finding and information effort, preferably under federal auspices. It is necessary, he said, to "dispel the fog which now shrouds this major social change."

June 1, 1960

Mr. A. R. Suritz
B'nai B'rith
1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Bob:

My apologies for this delay in answering your letter of May 17, but I have been trying without much success to think of some angles that you may have overlooked. All of the questions I can think of are obvious -- for example:

(1) Do your views on segregation differ from those of the general community? From those of the majority in the Jewish Community? How?

(2) Are others aware of this difference? If so, how do you know?

(3) Would a Jew suffer more than a non-Jew in your community by expressing liberal racial views? Have there been any instances? If not, what do you think would happen?

(4) Are there indications that Jews are expected to feel differently about segregation? By segregationist whites? By liberal whites? By Negroes? How are these expectations expressed?

(5) Do liberal statements or actions by national Jewish agencies cause you difficulties? How? How do you meet these difficulties?

(6) Do you think all Jewish people and groups should be guided by a single strategy on this question,

binding on all? Would your community generally accept and respect the fact that Jews, like non-Jews, differ individually on this subject?

(7) What happens if Jews participate proportionately with non-Jews in liberal statements or activities?

(8) Do you think of yourself as a Jewish Southerner or a Southern Jew? How do you think non-Jewish acquaintances regard you in these terms?

And so on. I'm sure if I kept this up for two pages, you would find nothing new or original. But I am delighted that you are undertaking this project, and I hope you will share the results with me, if possible, even before the book is published.

My best, as always,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LABEL A. KATZ
President

MAURICE BISGYER
Executive Vice President

B'NAI B'RITH FUND CAMPAIGN CABINET

1640 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, NW, WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • EXECUTIVE 3-5284 • CABLE ADDRESS: BNAIBRITH

HARRY A. DOBKIN
National Director

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FIELD REPRESENTATIVES
A. R. SURITZ
HARRY J. GUBERMAN

May 17,1960

Dear Harold:

I have been in contact with a publisher regarding the publication of a book titled "Jews and Segregation." The title has not as yet been decided definitely.

The book will contain interviews with about two dozen Jews and will give their thoughts, reactions and thinking on racial problems in their communities and in the region.

I have several interviews down on paper. You can be of help to me. I plan on a trip during my three week vacation this summer to cover several more cities with a tape recorder and get the men to do some talking. I also will of course try to get the good females to open up. Could you please get up a sheet of questions that you think should be put to my friends in the area?

I will be grateful for your help in this matter.

With every good wish,

Cordially,

Bill

September 8, 1960

Mr. Robert Suritz
5111 - 8th Road, South
Arlington, Virginia

make note of new address

Dear Bob:

I gladly appreciated your recent card and was interested to learn of your move to Arlington. Your new environment sounds plush indeed. I hope it won't diminish your concern for the problems of the common man.

Much less spectacular, the Southern Regional Council is moving to more comfortable quarters in a day or two, as you will see from the enclosed memorandum. We have no built-in swimming pool, but hope you will pay us a visit the next time you are down this way.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

February 19, 1961

Mr. Robert Suritz
B'nai B'rith
1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for the clippings you have sent to me, and for the kind words. Our report to the President has at least attracted some attention, both in the press and in the new Administration. We see this as only the first shot in a continuing campaign to prod and assist executive leadership in civil rights.

Incidentally, I gather that Bernhard has got the top staff spot in the Commission on Civil Rights, although the formal appointment has not been announced.

It was a great pleasure having that hour with you when you were in Atlanta, and I hope we will keep in close touch. I am making sure that you are on our mailing list.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- I agree with your view of John Morris's letter to the Post and I have told him so.

HCF

B'NAI B'RITH 1640 RHODE ISLAND AVENUE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

To Clips to Lud

From

Date: Jan 24/61

Subject:

Dear Harold:

Enjoyed meeting and talking with you while in Atlanta. See enclosed clip which I mentioned. Bernhard tells me that he was misquoted. Also see letter in Post by John Morris. I wonder if John's approach is wise.

Do make sure and call us should you get into this neck of the woods.

Warmest best wishes,

Cordially,

Sol

PS Am I on your publication mailing list?

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, BUS RULING

/Note to Editors: Within a few days a District Federal Court is expected to transmit a ruling by the U. S. Supreme Court forbidding segregation of passengers on Montgomery buses. As of this date, spokesmen for the Negro boycotters say that Negroes will resume riding the buses - on an unsegregrated basis - as soon as the Court order is effective. City Commissioners, on the other hand, insist that they will use their police powers to continue to enforce segregated seating. Unless there is a change in this situation, Montgomery will be in the headlines again as an area of interracial dispute and tension. If this should be the case the following chronological summary of events may be of assistance to you in backgrounding the story./

Regulations for city bus seating in Montgomery, Alabama, require separate reserved sections of the buses for white and Negro persons. White persons sit at the front, Negroes at the rear of the buses in designated seats. Negroes often were forced to stand on buses when seats were vacant in the white section of the bus.

On December 1, 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks, a Negro seamstress, was arrested on a Montgomery bus when she took an empty seat in the white section of the bus and later refused to relinquish it to a white passenger.

Following the initial protest, Negro leaders, through the newly organized Montgomery Improvement Association, asked the company for three concessions, at the same time emphasizing that the movement was not an attempt to break down segregation on the buses. Negroes petitioned for (1) more courteous treatment from bus operators (the group claimed that Negroes had suffered innumerable indignities from bus operators and white patrons over a period of many years), (2) seating on a "first come, first serve" basis with Negroes seating from the rear and whites seating from the front (seating now is by "reserved seat" sections), and (3) employment of Negro drivers on predominantly Negro lines as driver vacancies occur.

The bus company officials answered (1) no recent reports of discourtesies had been received, (2) failure to provide reserved sections for the races would

not fulfill legal "separate but equal" requirements of the state (Negroes claim that other Alabama cities operate the transit system on a first come, first serve basis), and (3) the company would not hire Negro drivers within the next ten years or more.

On December 17, the city commissioners appointed a committee to advise them on the bus situation. The committee was composed of eight Negroes and ten whites. Six of the Negroes were chosen by the protest group. The selection of one of the other Negroes was bitterly opposed by the bus protest group. White members of the committee included the president of the bus company and Luther Ingalls, organizer of the Montgomery White Citizens' Council. Negotiations failed when white members of the commission refused to consider abandoning the reserved seat sections and allowing service on a "first come, first serve" basis. Instead, the compromise offered the Negroes was a plan by which the first ten seats on each bus would be reserved for whites only and the ten seats nearest the rear of the buses for Negroes. If the reserved seat sections were filled, then the few remaining seats between the reserved sections could be occupied.

On January 21, when hope for a settlement appeared dim, the city commission announced that, after a conference with Negro ministers, a plan for ending the boycott had been reached. Protest leaders denied taking part in the meeting and it was revealed that only three Negro ministers had conferred with the commission Two of these ministers claimed they were asked to attend the meeting with the understanding they were to discuss the opening of an insurance company. The plan for ending the boycott was to have been the addition of all-Negro buses during the rush hour.

On January 24, Mayor W. A. Gayle issued a statement: "We have pussyfooted around on this boycott long enough and it is time to be frank and honest.... The Negro leaders have proved they are not interested in ending the boycott but rather in prolonging it so that they may stir up racial strife. The Negro leaders have proved that they will say one thing to a white man and another to a Negro about the boycott.../They/ have forced the boycott into a campaign between whether the social fabric of our community will continue to exist or will be destroyed by a group of Negro radicals who have split asunder the fine relationships which have existed between Negro and white people for generations.... The white people are firm in their convictions that they do not care whether the Negroes ever ride a city bus again if it means that the social fabric of our community is destroyed so that Negroes will start riding the bus again." He called on white citizens to refrain from carrying their domestic employees to and from work in their cars.

The same day it was announced that the mayor and a city commissioner had become members of White Citizens' Council. The other two commissioners had joined the organization previously.

On January 26, Dr. M. L. King, the boycott leader, was arrested for going thirty-five miles an hour in a twenty-five mile speed zone.

On January 27, Dr. King's home was bombed, causing minor damage.

On January 29, a dynamite cap was exploded in the front yard of Negro E. D. Nixon, a leader in the protest.

On February 1, five Montgomery Negroes filed suit in the U. S. District Court asking that state and local segregation laws pertaining to transportation be declared unconstitutional.

On February 21, more than 100 Negroes were indicted on charges of violating Alabama's boycott laws.

On March 22, Dr. King was convicted on a charge of violating the boycott law. He was fined $500 plus $500 for court costs. The conviction was appealed.

On April 23, the U. S. Supreme Court remanded a Circuit Court ruling concerning bus segregation in S. C. The Montgomery City Lines, Inc., announced it would end segregation on buses in the city, but Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers said he would order the arrest of any passenger or bus driver involved in race mixing.

On June 5, a three-judge federal court declared Alabama and Montgomery laws requiring separate seating of the races unconstitutional. The Montgomery Board of Commissioners and Alabama's attorney general appealed the decision to the U. S. Supreme Court.

On November 13, the U. S. Supreme Court unanimously ruled Alabama and Montgomery bus segregation laws unconstitutional.

* * *

December 7, 1956

Summary Notes on Meeting of Sub-Committee, Cooperating Agencies Working in the South

Members of the inter-agency sub-committee, which met in the offices of the Anti-Defamation League, Atlanta, at 2:00 P.M., June 17, 1957, included:

Mrs. Grace Hamilton, representing the YWCA

Mrs. Ruby Hurley, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Mr. Arthur Levin, Anti-Defamation League

Mr. Paul Rilling, Southern Area Student Council, YMCA

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Southern Regional Council

Also present was Dr. C. H. Parrish, Southern Regional Council.

The purpose of the meeting was to consider methods of increasing the effectiveness of the cooperating agencies in their future joint field efforts. To date, three inter-agency conferences have been held; the agencies also met in their first joint field effort in Charlottesville, Virginia, where pre-arranged procedures were followed. The Charlottesville operation was not considered a failure, nor was it a complete success; therefore, it seemed necessary to consider changes in tactics which might strengthen the tool of inter-agency action.

It was felt that preliminary spade-work within the "opportunity" community is the crux of the situation, determining what an agency can accomplish. Several were of the opinion that each participating agency should make contacts in the community prior to the time of the joint agency effort. Perhaps two weeks in advance an attempt should be made to establish rapport and get the feel of the community, and in turn to stimulate community participation. This suggestion was questioned on the grounds that it was not feasible financially, nor time-wise. Even if an agency representative could spend two weeks in the community, there is insufficient time to establish real contact with the community. There should be a continuing program which would include correspondence and visits to the community. An agency, not in the position to sustain a continuing relationship, cannot help by going cold into a community situation (one of the faults at Charlottesville). It was felt that in

the case of the Charlottesville meeting, the church groups had particular difficulty due to lack of community contacts.

The procedures followed in the Charlottesville team effort were summarized as follows:

1. Staff people met together to get briefed on the situation.
2. They went out into the community to get their own picture of the situation and to contact members of their local constituency.
3. Staff people returned for progress reports.
4. Each staff person brought in one key person from his own constituency to meet with others in a closed session to determine what more could be done, what role each local group could perform, and how they could best cooperate and coordinate their efforts.

This procedure was criticized on the basis that: (1) It is useless to ask an agency to go into a community unless it has a continuing relationship with the community. (2) Each agency is very different in its approach and its potential for accomplishment; the work of one agency should complement rather than duplicate that of another. (3) Such a procedure seems geared more toward the establishment of communication between lay people than toward joint agency effort.

Inter-agency communication should be maintained by professional staff member of the respective agencies as a part of their day-to-day operations. Each participating agency should be knowledgeable about the role and scope and methods of operation of other agencies.

It was felt that the joint-agency type of operation is worthwhile and there was general agreement on a skeleton outline of approach.

1. A period of spade work by individual staff members is necessary, through continuing relationship with local constituents, before going to selected community

2. This should be followed by a meeting, or several meetings, in the selected community, of the agency personnel involved.

3. They would then return to their local constituency to interpret their joint findings.

4. Any operation should be flexible (particularly in regard to involvement and use of lay-people).

5. It was suggested that no identification of participating groups be made in discussions with laymen, and that meetings be sponsored by no particular agency.

A suggestion that an agency operating successfully in a community might be use as a spearheading group (e.g., the Nashville Conference) was questioned on the basis that sometimes a group which has been operating in the community can reach an impasse and that the entire effort can be stalemated if joint action is led by them. However, outside groups sometimes can take the lead and overcome the impasse. Appropriate local groups should be consulted and informed of what is being done all along the way.

It was agreed that the prime consideration governing an agency's participation in a joint operation should be that the agency have a local constituency, or the ability to gather one.

The suggested criteria for selecting cities for inter-agency effort included the following points:

1. A receptive, strategic community.
2. An existing community situation which calls for such an operation.
3. An invitation from a responsible group in the community.
4. Any community which has a court order to desegregate.
5. Any community in which there are incidents of violence.

There was some discussion and disagreement in regard to point 4. It was felt that it would be a waste of time to go into a community in which there had been no court order; another opinion was expressed that an atmosphere might be created by inter-agency operations which would stimulate and encourage efforts to secure such an order. The majority feeling was that coordinated agency help (in the absence of court order) would be of little benefit unless there was a request for help from the community or from individual agencies within the community. Further it was felt that requests for help should be encouraged and stimulated by local agencies; that it

would be of value to keep in close contact with communities which seem ripe for inter-agency action.

The possibility of unsolicited agency help was not ruled out, however, since many communities will not request outside agency aid when it is obviously needed. A flat criteria covering this point was felt to be unwise; each community should be considered separately.

Once a community is determined for "cooperative agency action", procedure should be established to enable the coordinating agency to know:

1. Which of the agencies represented in the inter-agency conference are in position to participate and contribute to the effort in the designated community.

2. What resources have the agencies which are cooperating? For example, are there local constituents with a known interest? Are the local constituents served by professional staff at the community level? Are field staff of the cooperating agency in position to give the extra attention to the community which is indicated?

3. What is already known about the community by the agencies which are able to participate in the cooperative action?

It was agreed that Nashville, Tennessee, would be the place for the next joint agency operation, in late September of this year. Will Campbell, National Council of Churches, will be asked to take the responsibility of advising the proper time and keeping the various agencies informed on the current situation in Nashville.

Knoxville, Tennessee, was considered to be another locality of strategic importance; a court order is pending there at the present time. Memphis, Tennessee, should also be watched carefully.

Fred Routh,
Summarizer

December 30, 1960

Mr. Robert Swain
2462 Scottridge Drive, N. W.
Atlanta 18, Georgia

Dear Bob:

It was real pleasant seeing you Wednesday night, and it was a most profitable discussion.

I am mailing you, under separate cover, the material I promised you. Let me know what you think of it.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

September 30, 1963

Mr. Pope B. McIntire
King & Spalding
434 Trust Company of Georgia Building
Atlanta, Georgia (30303)

Dear Mr. McIntire:

I have your letter of September 24 regarding the Swarthmore Centennial Fund. I would have been glad to do whatever little I could to help except my daughter is no longer at Swarthmore. For reasons too intricate for a father's understanding, and after two very rewarding years at Swarthmore, she decided to transfer and is now enrolled at the University of Wisconsin.

I wish you, however, all success and best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

STUDENT COUNCIL
SWARTHMORE COLLEGE
SWARTHMORE, PENNSYLVANIA

RECEIVED APR 23 1956

April 19, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. W.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Dean Stott has relayed your telephone message to me. I am indeed sorry that you will be unable to participate in our conference. At the same time I would like to thank you for going to the trouble of replying to our invitation so swiftly by telephone and for suggesting a substitute for us.

I have written Mr. Marion and hope that he will be able to attend.

Once again, thank you for your kind assistance. We will plan to send you a copy of the transcript and report from the conference.

Yours sincerely,

David Hamilton

David Hamilton
Chariman
National and International
Affairs Committee

April 19, 1956

Mr. David Hamilton
Student Council
Swarthmore College
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

Your letter of April 16th came in today, and I proceeded to get into communication, by telephone, with your Associate Dean of Men Students.

To him I suggested that you would be admirably served by the man who is the Executive Director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations at 100 East Franklin Street, Richmond 19, Virginia. Telephone number is 3-8538. His name is, the Reverend John H. Marion. A matured Presbyterian parson, still young enough to work well with college people. Occasionally in mildly hot water with his congregation here or there for being on the right side of things. Trusted by his denomination (Presbyterian Church in the U. S.). Doing a good job for the Virginia Council on Human Relations, which is SRC's affiliate in that state.

Jack Marion will only cost you expenses from Richmond up and back. So you will save on the deal and get a mighty good man.

By the way, I have talked with Jack Marion and he has the day free, and shall hold it for you. So if you haven't invited him, and if you decide to invite him, I suggest you do it pronto, yesterday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

STUDENT COUNCIL
SWARTHMORE COLLEGE
SWARTHMORE, PENNSYLVANIA

April 16, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 19 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

To most of us the Supreme Court decision to end segregation and the series of events which has followed in the wake of that decision have presented a set of new and baffling problems. The decision in the Brown case was more than an ideal for democratic society; it was also an imperative for constructive action. In the more than two years since the decision we have seen action of all kinds both constructive and destructive, and we remain essentially confused as to what we as students in the North, students sincerely interested in realizing the goal of integration, can do to implement desegregation both in the North and the South.

As a means of ending this confusion by discovering the real alternatives for action, the Student Council of Swarthmore College is sponsoring the STUDENT CONFERENCE ON DESEGREGATION to be held at the College on Saturday, May 5. As a person actively engaged in the struggle for integration, we would like very much to have you address the conference. We feel that this would contribute immensely to our understanding of a very difficult problem. We have invited speakers from the NAACP and the ACLU to address the conference, and it is our hope that out of discussion among our guests will come the answers to some of our questions. So that the conference may benefit an even wider audience than that of the actual participants, the National Student Association has offered to distribute to all its member schools a transcript and report of the conference procedings.

Sam due in Charleston S.C. May 5!

We realize, of course, that it would be extremely difficult for you to come all the way from Atlanta for a one-day conference. Nevertheless we thought it so important to hear someone from an organization working for integration in the South, and it is our hope that you, or perhaps someone else from the Southern Regional Council, might be near enough to Philadelphia to make it possible for you to speak to the conference. The Student Council, operating as it does on a budget from student dues, would be able to pay expenses, but, unfortunately nothing beyond this.

Recognizing these difficulties and limitations, we still feel very strongly that this conference can make a positive and far-reaching contribution to our common objective of true democracy, and hope that you will find it possible to attend as speaker.

If it is impossible for you to accept our invitation, we would very much appreciate it if you could suggest the names of other qualified people whom we might invite to contribute their views at the conference.

We hope that you will give this invitation your kindest consideration.

Yours sincerely,

David Hamilton

David Hamilton
Chairman
National and International
Affairs Committee

[Jan. 9-17, 1971]
- probably

SYMPOSIUM ON THE CONTEMPORARY SOUTH

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
IN COOPERATION WITH
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

PARTICIPANTS IN THE SYMPOSIUM

MORRIS ABRAM, Rhodes scholar from Georgia and former president of Brandeis University, an eminent attorney who has served on the UN Human Rights Commission and the U.S. Commission for Community Relations. He is currently Field Foundation President.

REUBIN ASKEW, Governor of Florida, and a leading spokesman for what he terms the "maturing South."

JULIAN BOND, former Communications Director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, currently a member of the Georgia Legislature.

HODDING CARTER, III, Nieman fellow at Harvard and author of *The South Strikes Back*, edits the *Delta Democrat-Times* in Greenville, Mississippi.

GEORGE REESE CLEGHORN, co-author of *Climbing Jacob's Ladder* and former associate editor of the *Atlanta Journal*, now edits the editorial page of the *Charlotte Observer*.

ROBERT COLES, Harvard research psychiatrist, won the Hofheimer Prize and the Family Life Book Award. Among his many publications are: *Children of Crisis* and *Still Hungry in America*.

LEROY COLLINS, Governor of Florida, 1955-1960. The first director of the U.S. Community Relations Service, Undersecretary of Commerce, and recent author of *Forerunners Courageous*.

PATRICIA DERIAN is the National Democratic Committeewoman from Mississippi and member of the executive committee of The Southern Regional Council.

LESLIE DUNBAR, former Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and author of *A Republic of Equals*, is Executive Director of the Field Foundation.

MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN, former attorney for the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund in Mississipi, is now a partner in the Washington Research Project, a public interest law firm.

JOEL FLEISHMAN is Director of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs at Duke University.

HAROLD FLEMING, former Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council and Deputy Director of the U.S. Community Relations Service, is president of the Washington-based Potomac Institute.

JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN, immediate past president of the Southern Historical Association, fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and member of the Board of Foreign Scholarships, is former history department chairman at the University of Chicago and author of *The Militant South* and *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes*.

PAUL M. GASTON, a Fulbright fellow and Associate Professor of History at the University of Virginia, has written *The New South Creed*.

DEWEY GRANTHAM, past president of the Southern Historical Association, is Professor of History at Vanderbilt University and the author of *The Democratic South* and *Hoke Smith And the Politics Of The New South*.

JOHN LEWIS, one-time chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, presently serving as director of the Atlanta-based Voter Education Project.

CECIL MACKEY is President of the University of South Florida.

BENJAMIN MAYS, president of Morehouse College for 27 years, is chairman of the Atlanta School Board and author of *Born To Rebel* (an autobiography) and *Seeking To Be Christian in Race Relations*.

CHARLES MORGAN, who wrote *A Time To Speak*, is a Birmingham attorney currently serving as director of the southern regional office of the American Civil Liberties Union.

EUGENE PATTERSON, former editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* and a Pulitzer Prize winning editor for the *Washington Post*, is the former Vice-Chairman of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. He will soon assume the editorship of the *St. Petersburg Times*.

FRANK SMITH, former Mississippi congressman and author of *The Yazoo River* and *The Politics of Conservation*, is now a director of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

GEORGE B. TINDALL, Kenan Professor of History at the University of North Carolina, wrote the monumental *The Emergence of the New South* as well as *The Disruption of the Solid South* and *South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900*.

PAT WATTERS, author of *The South and the Nation* and co-author of *Climbing Jacob's Ladder*, is editor of *The New South*, a publication of the Southern Regional Council.

BELL I. WILEY, past president of the Southern Historical Association, is a widely published history professor from Emory University who has written *The Life of Johnny Reb* and *Southern Negroes, 1861-1865*.

WILLIAM WINTER was recently elected Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi.

C. VANN WOODWARD, Sterling Professor of History at Yale, past president of the American and Southern Historical Associations and recipient of the Bancroft History Prize and the Literature Award of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, has written *The Burden of Southern History*, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* and *Origins of the New South*.

Occasionally presiding — GEORGE H. MAYER, Professor of History, University of South Florida and author of *The Republican Party 1954-1966*.

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There will be a few reserved seats, principally for out-of-towners. If you are interested please write:

J. Silver
SOC 103
University of South Florida
Tampa, Fla. 33620

State your preference as to sessions.

All sessions except those on Tuesday will be held in the Teaching Auditorium of the Theatre (TAT) at the University of South Florida.

PROGRAM

"TWO DECADES OF HUMAN RIGHTS"

Sunday, January 9 - 8 P.M. *TAT*

Introduction — Julian Bond, Georgia House of Representatives

Address — Benjamin Mays, President Emeritus, Morehouse College

Monday, January 10 - 10 A.M. *TAT*

Presiding — Leslie Dunbar, Field Foundation

Panel —

Marian Wright Edelman, Harvard Center for Law and Education

Pat Watters, Southern Regional Council

Charles Morgan, American Civil Liberties Union

"THE NEW SOUTHERN HISTORY"

Monday, January 10 - 8 P.M. *TAT*

Introduction — Bell Wiley, Emory University

Address — John Hope Franklin, University of Chicago

Tuesday, January 11 - 10 A.M.
Hilton Ballroom, St. Petersburg

Presiding — Harold Fleming, Potomac Institute

Panel —

Dewey Grantham, Vanderbilt University

Paul Gaston, University of Virginia

George Tindall, University of North Carolina

"THE NEW SOUTHERN POLITICS"

Tuesday, January 11 - 3 P.M.
Hilton, St. Petersburg

Introduction — Patricia Derian, Democratic Committeewoman, Mississippi

Address — Eugene Patterson, Duke University

Wednesday, January 12 - 10 A.M. *TAT*

Presiding — Reese Cleghorn, *Charlotte Observer*

Panel —

Frank Smith, Tennessee Valley Authority

John Lewis, Voter Education Project

William Winter, Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi

Morris Abram, former President, Brandeis University

"THE SOUTH TOMORROW"

Wednesday, January 12 - 8 P.M. *TAT*

Introduction — Cecil Mackey, University of South Florida

Address — Reubin Askew, Governor of Florida

Thursday, January 13 - 10 A.M. *TAT*

Presiding — LeRoy Collins, Governor of Florida (1955-1960)

Panel —

Robert Coles, Harvard University

Hodding Carter, III, *Delta Democrat-Times*

Joel Fleishman, Duke University

C. Vann Woodward, Yale University

Symposium on the Contemporary South
Department of History
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

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Southern Educational Communications Association
P.O. BOX 5966 COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29205 TELEPHONE (803) 252-5635

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Lexington, Kentucky

FRED REBMAN
General Manager
WJCT-TV
Jacksonville, Florida

WILLIAM R. SMITH, JR.
Executive Director
Mississippi Authority for ETV
Jackson, Mississippi

September 23, 1971

Mr. William Shamblin
Telecommunications Coordinator
The Appalachian Regional
Commission
1666 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20235

Dear Mr. Shamblin:

SECA is privileged to respond to your invitation to discuss social, educational and health problems of the Appalachian Region which we serve, and will suggest some ways in which better communications might solve them.

Within our membership are highly qualified educators, communicators and civic leaders, highly-experienced in attacking the problems of Appalachia. While much has been accomplished in our communities and states through television, in the classroom and out, we look upon the ATS-F satellite project as an excellent opportunity for rapid, significant progress.

In this presentation, we outline what we are now doing on a regional basis. We have consulted with our members already working in Appalachia, and are convinced that the satellite project can prove beneficial to regional development, especially in isolated areas. Further, that permanent social, educational and health benefits can accrue.

Though SECA serves six other states besides the nine within Appalachia, we are more than willing to undertake this project on behalf of the entire membership. We are further quite willing to work with communications organizations and others outside of the SECA region, serving as best we can Appalachian communities in other states.

Sincerely,

Wayne Seal

Wayne Seal
President

WS:lc

S.E.C.A.

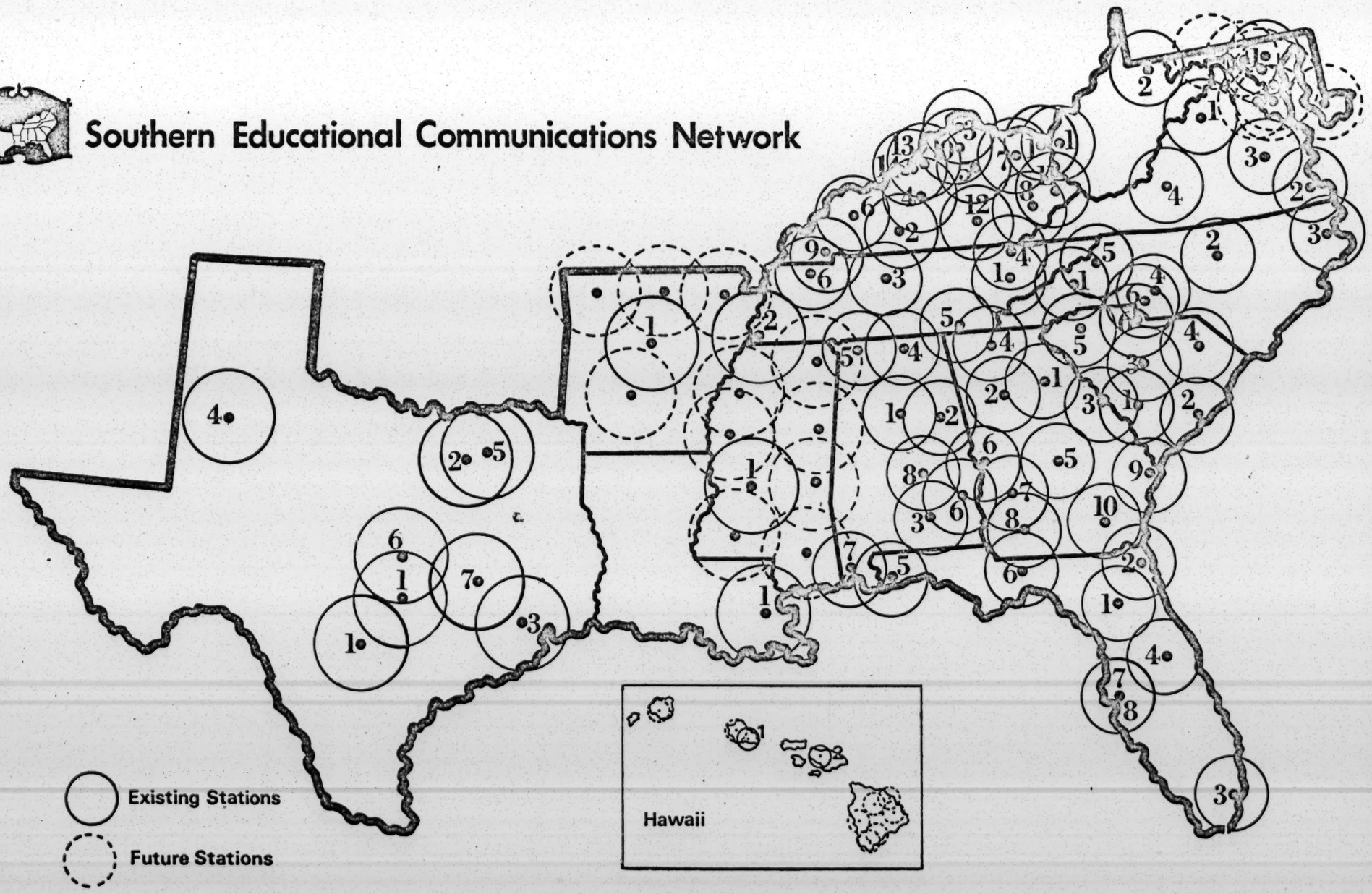
The Southern Educational Communications Association is a network of 81 educational television stations linking 14 states. SECA is non-profit and tax-exempt, and can reach an estimated 50,000,000 viewers among the region's 64,000,000 population.

State networks, independent community stations and university-operated facilities are included in the membership. Seventy-one members are interconnected, ten others are served by videotape. More than forty members operate production centers, among them a dozen or more recipients of national awards and honors.

SECA is governed by a board of directors of outstanding professionals in the field and distinguished civic leaders from the region. Headquarters are in Columbia, South Carolina, feeder point to the region for Public Broadcasting System.

Founded in 1967, SECA is supported by annual assesment of its members, by contributions and by grants to develop projects beneficial to the region and nation. In mid-1971 SECA was producing two network programs, William F. Buckley's "Firing Line" and "Southern Perspective", a weekly television newsmagazine. SECA also launched in 1971 a regional radio network and has begun production of programs.

Southern Educational Communications Network



FIRING LINE

William F. Buckley's "Firing Line" is produced by SECA for the Public Broadcasting System's 205 stations. It is PBS's top rated program.

Shown on Sunday evening throughout most of the country, "Firing Line" is repeated during the week by many stations. Some present the program as many as four times in the same week.

Funding for "Firing Line" is by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, in keeping with Congressional policy to decentralize public television and to insure that programs are responsive to local and regional interests. SECA was selected as producer by Buckley when he decided, in early 1971, to present his program on public television.

Programs originate in many SECA stations, throughout the United States and in foreign countries. SECA staff members assigned to "Firing Line" include a national media representative, public relations director and program coordinator.

SOUTHERN PERSPECTIVE

Highlighting the fall programs of SECA's weekly TV newsmagazine, "Southern Perspective" will be extensive coverage of the Southern Governor's Conference, November 7-10, in Atlanta.

Through the Georgia ETV network and with the remote color unit of the South Carolina ETV network, SECA will broadcast daily reports on the conference throughout the region, including the hour-long "Southern Perspective" of November 9.

SECA members are pooling their resources to develop the weekly program, which provides to the region news and views which otherwise would not be available. Among difficult issues faced squarely in 1970-71 were:

Drugs	Pollution
Law Enforcement	Women's Liberation
Campus Unrest	Desegregation
Prison Reform	Hunger

Communities and states are afforded an opportunity to share views, attack problems and arouse public concern.

CARE OF THE AGED

SECA has launched a project to improve long term health care of the aged through instructional television.

From curricula furnished by authorities in the long term health care field, SECA will prepare on film and videotape a series of highly-motivational courses for employees of nursing homes. The instructional series, to be made available to the nation's 20,000 nursing homes, will be accompanied by a series for families, volunteer workers and others associated with long term health care programs.

It has been estimated that 700,000 of the 800,000 employees of nursing homes have not been adequately trained. SECA's project is aimed at better training programs and thus better care for the 985,000 patients in nursing homes.

SECA will also, through "Southern Perspective", call attention of the region's leaders to this problem and show what can and must be done to improve patient care. It is anticiapted that the project will continue indefinitely.

EMERGENCY SCHOOL ASSISTANCE

SECA 's directors decided in July that the network could serve the region most effectively in the Emergency School Assistance Program.

Subsequently, SECA has developed a project in which ETV stations of the South work with school districts whose plans were affected by the busing. Each participating station probes priority problems and prepares a filmed report on how problems are being resolved.

Filmed reports are to be shown on "Southern Perspective" to school districts throughout the region. Thus, the entire region shares experience and learns by example how better to cope with difficult situations.

At the conclusion of the project SECA will have prepared a documentary filmed report for continuing use and historical record. It will be accompanied by an illustrated, published report compiled from narratives and photographs furnished by participating stations.

DEVELOPING PROGRAMS

SECA is a developing network serving the region and country. In response to local and regional needs these projects or programs are in varying states of growth:

1. "Southern Tourism," a public television series about travel and recreational opportunities in the South. Southern tour directors estimate that half of the poplation of the region has never been more than 200 miles from home.

2. "The American Indian," a public television series to inform responsible leaders about the plight of Indians in the Southern states. Within the SECA region are eleven little-known Indian reservations, neglected and forgotten by the public.

3. "Consumer Affairs," a series of programs within "Southern Perspective" to guide and assist consumers.

4. "Veterans," an analysis of the plight of armed services veterans in the region, many of whom face unemployment and a public less concerned and less sympathetic than in the past. This is also planned as a "Southern Perspective" series.

It is anticipated that these and other projects will be launched during 1971-72, as SECA strives to fulfill its regional mission.

IMPACT OF SECA

Educational television commands an ever-increasing share of the television audience. SECA stations have found that with effective promotion of an interesting program, meaningful audiences are obtained.

- South Carolina ETV's "Job Man Caravan" is viewed by more than 65 percent of the black TV audience of the state.

- "Firing Line," is one of the most popular programs in major cities of the U. S. The 205 ETV stations showing it often repeat the same program, some as many as four times.

SECA's leadership comprises a significant segment of the region's leadership. Government, education, business and industry are called upon to govern, advise and finance SECA and its members.

When SECA promotes a program among the 350,000 persons on the member's selected mailing lists for ETV guides, not only is the educated leadership watching the program, but is made aware of its impact as guardians of public television. When a problem or cause is portrayed, SECA's people are in positions to act effectively.

SECA can stir constituents to action on behalf of the cause. This is a great potential of the network.

Further, by interspersing "Southern Perspective" with heavily promoted segments, SECA can assure continuing concern and effective action. The active social forces of each of the member stations can be harnessed. The result is cost-effective action.

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Hampton Roads
ETV Association
5200 Hampton Blvd.
Norfolk, Virginia 23508

Miss Dona Lee Davenport
Station Manager
WTVI-TV
42 Coliseum Drive
Charlotte, North Carolina 28205

Dr. William H. Hale
Associate Director
WGTV
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Mr. William S. Hart
Executive Vice President
and General Manager
WYES-TV
P. O. Box 24026
New Orleans, Louisiana 70124

Mr. Robert F. Schenkkan
General Manager
and President
KLRN-TV
P. O. Box 7158
University Station
Austin, Texas 78712

Mr. O. Leonard Press
Executive Director
Kentucky Authority for ETV
600 Cooper Drive
Lexington, Kentucky 40504

Mr. William R. Smith
Executive Director
Mississippi Authority for ETV
P. O. Drawer 1101
Jackson, MIssissippi 39205

Mr. Fred Rebman
General Manager
WJCT-TV
2037 Main Street
Jacksonville, Florida 32206

PROMOTIONAL CAPACITY OF SECA

SECA's professional staff represents broad and varied experience in promotional activities, for television, radio, newspapers, and magazines, and for numerous commerical and public service enterprises.

One reason for the popularity of Buckley's "Firing Line" (number one rated public broadcasting program) is the promotional effort behind the series. A SECA staff member travels with the production team and maintains a New York office. Press conferences and press kits complement on-air promotional spots, newspaper releases and advertisements, and ETV guide features.

For such a network television program, SECA prepares two or more on-air promotional spots and sends them to the 81 members for use well in advance of the program. Feature stories and accompanying photographs are sent to the forty newsletters and magazines published by members, and the same type of material is prepared for and sent to the region's press. SECA's own newsletter also serves as a valuable information medium.

In reporting the 1971 Southern Governor's Conference in Atlanta, (November7-10), SECA is featuring a panel of distinguished political reporters in an on-air press conference.

SECA's staff is experienced in working with press and public affairs staffs of business, industry, government agencies and non-profit institutions and complements the capabilities of advertising and public relations firms.

EVALUATION

SECA provides unusual competence in evaluating programs and projects. Educational institutions and systems of which some members are part, provide expertise, and the stations are adept at measuring public opinion, program impact and audience size.

Directors require expert evaluation from the views of government, education, the private sector and other major elements of society. Directors are kept informed of SECA plans and progress, are prepared to evaluate accomplishment in many areas, and to utilize specialists when needed.

Cost effectiveness, social impact, educational improvement and economic development are continuing concerns of SECA.

ILLUSTRATED REPORT

Competence of SECA members in audio-visual communication and in promotion permits the network to prepare effective illustrated reports.

In current SECA projects, selected stations are preparing series for use on "Southern Perspective," and are providing with each film segment an illustrated narrative report. At the project's conclusion, SECA will publish a final report which not only evaluates the project, but which presents a factual, pictorial description of content.

Such reports are then utilized to enhance objectives of the project and to perpetuate accomplishment. They provide a permanent record for SECA directors and for agencies and others working toward similar objectives.

THE SECA STAFF

SECA is a rapidly growing organization. Since mid-1970, the headquarter's staff has more than doubled and the budget has increased to more than $1,000,000.

Wayne Seal was appointed chief executive in 1970. An experienced radio and television news editor, he served for the preceding six years as press secretary for the Governor of South Carolina. Staff members have come from educational television, network and local commerical television, higher education, publishing and philanthropy.

Wayne Seal
President

James McQuinn
Associate Director

Jarvis H. Latham
Producer-Director

Louis B. Ames
National Program
Director for "Firing Line"

James W. Jackson
Consultant

Peter Pantsari
Operations Director

Margaret K. Goldson
Director of Public
Relations

Sue Collie
Executive Secretary

The staff also includes:

Deenie Wunder
Secretary

Glynne Vrooman
Bookkeeper

Sherrill Miller
Firing Line Typist

Jenny Tanner
Firing Line Typist

Leslie Callander
Secretary

This is to propose that the Southern Educational Communications Association provide two 30-minute filmed news reports on the Symposium on the Contemporary South for the Southern Regional Council, for $10,000.

The enclosed budget includes showing of the reports as features of the SECA network's "Southern Perspective" and furnishing videotaped copies of both programs to the Council for its permanent use.

Wayne Seal

WAYNE SEAL,
President

December 9, 1971

ESTIMATED EXPENSES

Personnel (salary and expenses)		
Producer-Journalist ($80 day)	$ 400	
Director ($80 day)	400	
Audio specialist ($60 day)	300	
Cinematographer ($60 day)	300	
Cenematographer ($60 day)	300	
		$1700
Equipment		
Two cameras, lights, cables etc. ($200 day)		$1000
Film		
Processed color, sound film @ 30 cents foot, 5:1 ratio, shooting to completion		$3240
Transportation and Incidentals		
Five persons, round trip economy air fare, taxi, excess baggage, etc. (@ $ 124 air fare per person)		$ 900
Tape		
Two master prints @ $200 each, dubbed.		$ 400
Editing		
Five hours @ $250 per hour (two machines, operator, studio, editor)		$1250
Promotion		
Promotional spots for television, still photos, press bit for TV stations; includes tape, studio time, postage and handling		$1000
TOTAL		$9490
Margin for error, miscellaneous expenses and overhead.		$ 510
TOTAL		$10000

Southern Educational Communications Association
P. O. BOX 5966 COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29205 TELEPHONE (803) 252-5635

Executive Director:
WAYNE SEAL

Chairman:
HOWARD D. HOLST
Managing Director
WKNO-TV
Memphis, Tennessee

Vice Chairman:
HENRY J. CAUTHEN
General Manager
South Carolina ETV Network
Columbia, South Carolina

Secretary-Treasurer:
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Conway, Arkansas

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Tuscaloosa, Alabama

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Georgia Center for Continuing Education
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General Manager
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HARVEY HERBST
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Austin, Texas

O. LEONARD PRESS
Executive Director
Kentucky Authority for ETV
Lexington, Kentucky

FRED REBMAN
General Manager
WJCT-TV
Jacksonville, Florida

WILLIAM R. SMITH, JR.
Executive Director
Mississippi Authority for ETV
Jackson, Mississippi

December 10, 1971

Mr. James Wood
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlee, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wood:

Enclosed are two proposals in response to an earlier request that we consider providing extensive coverage of the Symposium on the Contemporary South, being held at the University of South Florida, January 9-13. This matter has been given careful thought and we have entered into lengthy negotiations with appropriate agencies; the following two alternate proposals represent the results of our efforts:

1. SECA will produce eight one-hour programs in color, on videotape, and will show them as a series on the Southern Educational Network in the 14 member states as a special Southern Perspective program. Cost: $18,350.

2. Or, SECA will provide two tightly-edited, fast-moving documentary reports of thirty minutes each, on film, and show as a part of the regular "Southern Perspective" series. This reporting technique would also make possible the use of the programs independent of Southern Perspective for special television or private showing. Cost: $10,000.

Both prices include delivery to the Southern Regional Council videotape copies of the programs.

These are realistic but very tight budgets. Little margin for error is included, nor is there any overhead cost to SECA, which is usually manadatory in ventures such as these. We have cut it as close as we can, pulling back in some important areas, such as promotional expenses, but this is a good estimate of cost for good programs.

For purposes of explanation and comparison, it is important to understand the great differences between videotape and film costs.

To begin with, WUSF-TV, a SECA affiliate in Tampa, has negotiated the rental of a remote, color-equipped van for five days at a price of $9,000. The price included a three-man crew. This is some $6,000 less than the price quoted us by the CBS affiliate in Tampa and some $3,000 less than the rock-bottom figure from the South Carolina ETV Network -- if it becomes possible to obtain the use of their unit.

In the case of the Tampa unit, SECA will have to furnish additional personnel needed for a two-camera operation. Two cameras are essential as are other technicians and assistants.

On the other hand, using film, we would need to send a five-man crew to Tampa from Columbia, shoot approximately five hours of color film, edit later to two half-hour programs, and spend large sums of money on processing and production. We believe the two programs would be highly viewable and extremely well received by the public.

In either case, a minimum of $1,000 is required for promotion, including art work for credits, titles, etc., on-air spots, still photos, and press kits for ETV.

We will offer both series to other regional ETV networks and individual stations across the country and believe they would likely take all or part of either series.

We shall, of course, be glad to provide additional information and look forward enthusiastically to providing this network coverage and library preservation of this important event.

Most sincerely,

Wayne Seal

WAYNE SEAL
President

lmc

Enclosures

DEC 28 1971

THE FIELD FOUNDATION
100 EAST 85TH STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10028
212/535-9915

December 23, 1971

Mr. James Wood
Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Jim:

Here is the proposal we had from Jim Silver.

I wish you would tell Jim S. of our discussion regarding the matter of honoraria. You can also tell Jim that if when the bills are in and he still needs $1,500 or less, we will make the money available through you; however, we want no part of the costs of any television or film.

Sincerely,

Leslie

Leslie Dunbar

Enc.
/la

Please tell Jim
I wrote Ford
with Vernon Eagle

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 FAIRLIE STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

January 19, 1972

Mr. Wayne Seal, President
SECA
P. O. Box 5966
Columbia, South Carolina 29205

Dear Wayne:

Enclosed is our check for $10,000 in payment to you to cover the services outlined in your proposal of December 10 to provide television coverage of the "Symposium on the Contemporary South."

I would like very much to meet with you sometime to explore the possibilities of future cooperation.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood,
Executive Assistant

JNW/gms
Encl.--Check
#1926

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
TAMPA • ST. PETERSBURG

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33620
813: 974-2807

Jan 23

JAN 25 1972

Dear Jim:

I suppose that the available documents have been sent by our sorry PR dept.

Yes, I think we had a good meeting. There were only minor goofs. As yet I haven't the faintest idea as to how we are coming out fincancially. Yes, I do think that we'll have enough money when Leslie's $1500 comes in. First, I'm trying to have drawn up an accounting of everything spent. The Hilton bill is smaller than I had expected but the individual accounts are not in. The Columbia Restaurant was the only individual disaster. Anyway, I'll let you know how it all comes out soon. Whether I can hold my temper in the presence of the budget and accounting giants I am not so sure.

Also, as I look back at it, I seem to remember having spoken to almost no one. Certainly you and I didn't get acquainted as we should have. Seems I was always on the way to the airport or from it, or falling into bed dead tired. Never did really see the Hilton in full flower.

Jay Latham has the whole thing on tape. He talked very casually with me about having it transcribed. If that is the case we ought someway to have it at least partially edited. There were some good things said and some thingsaid by people who won't be talking a great deal more.

Yours,

Jim

NPACT
NATIONAL
PUBLIC AFFAIRS
CENTER
FOR TELEVISION
1625 K STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006 · (202) 393-3150 · 393-3824

February 3, 1972

Mr. James N. Wood
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Wood:

This is much after the fact, but I did put your proposal to our people, and they turned it down. I wish we could have done something, but as you probably have seen in the papers, we have some rather considerable funding problems at the moment.

Sincerely,

Sander Vanocur

Sander Vanocur
Senior Correspondent

SV/sa

seca SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION

P. O. BOX 5966 COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA 29205 TELEPHONE (803) 252-5635

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Pritchard, Alabama

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San Antonio, Texas

February 7, 1972

Mr. James N. Wood
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
52 Fairlie Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jim:

Pardon this long delay in the formal acknowledgment of receipt of the check for $10,000 in payment for coverage of the Symposium on the Contemporary South.

The program is currently undergoing normal processing, including editing. We hope to have something for you to look at in the not-too-distant future.

Thank you for all your cooperation and assistance.

With kind regards,

Wayne

WAYNE SEAL
President

mlw

WILEY COLLEGE
MARSHALL, TEXAS 75670

THOMAS WINSTON COLE, SR., LIBRARY

March 23, 1972

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Please send us all printed data on the "Symposium on the Contemporary South" which was held at the University of South Florida, five days, which began on January 9, 1972.

We understand that this is an early request, but we are very much in need of the proceedings of the above mentioned symposium.

Thank you so very kindly for an immediate response to this request.

Sincerely yours,

Mary L Cleveland
Mary L. Cleveland
Head Librarian

MLC/gja

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33620

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

Feb 19

Dear Jim:

I think that the final reckoning on our binge will be out next week and I will send it to you. It now looks as though Les will be putting up about $700 instead of $1500. As I understand it, he will send SRC the check and you will send same amount down to USF. I'm glad it comes out this way because I was a little afraid the costs would run beyond reason. I think, but am not sure, that this reckoning includes about $~~8~~// $150 I put out in cash during January and another $200 I spent during the three months of Nov - Jan.

I am still somewhat in the dark and in the red too over the dinner at the Columbia. For reasons I must have thought OK I billed the Symposium for only $410. (From the beginning I thought that everyone, including myself, who was not a genuine participant, should pay for that meal.) The bill was $709. This included a $60 bar bill and a $25 tip. Actually we paid for about fifteen people who did not show up, but that was our (my) error, not the restaurants. I remember that at the St. Pete lunch you cancelled Raymond and Mrs. Wheeler, yourself, Bob Anderson, Mrs. Griffin, Clarence Wright, and Mr. and Mrs. Glenn. This was OK. But, as I remember it, Art Campbell and Josephine Wilins came and did not pay. And Paul Anthony and John Griffin did not cancel but did not show up. I paid the Columbia $275 and collected $180. I had intended to make this up by getting a refund, to me, of a couple of the honoraria. But I have decided against that. I suppose that what I am trying to say is that I am left holding the bag for about a hundred bucks and if any of your people are obligated I would appreciate your collecting for me. If not, don't worry about it. I'm not even exactly sure about my figures. I made one hell of an error - the Columbia deal should have been open without cost to everyone. We could have handled it but in the planning I was, of course, working entirely in the dark and fearful that I would run up a couple of thousand dollars of debt that we couldn't handle.

Now, <u>what is much more important:</u> there will soon have to be made a decision about publication of the transcript which I expect we'll receive shortly. I wrote each participant and while there was no wild enthusiasm, no one had declined to have his paper printed. The scholars do not think of their work as scholarship - no footnotes, I guess.

For awhile I was about set against publication. But there is one overwhelming argument for it. A book of this sort, in paper, might be widely used in class. It would surely pay its own way. We are obviously in a period of repression. This would be a type of propaganda that is widely needed now. It would further one big notion we had in the beginning about the Symposium: it would make more widely known the work of SRC. My guess is that a volume with the names of Woodward, Franklin, Bond, Mays, Tindall, Gaston, Askew, etc., etc on it would attract a lot of readers. We might also include something from Coles, Wright and Abram who didn't show. If all these names were on the cover, it would make a hell of an appeal. At the moment it appears to me that not to publish would be a minor crime. When we get the transcript and have read it, I think that I would like to come up there to talk with all of you, and to make some kind of definite decision about it. In the meantime you and Pat might be thinking of presses to approach. I have copies of two similar studies and they look good.

I should think that both USF and SRC could use the films that will eventuate from SECA for their own purposes. This would also help to spread the gospel.

I dint; mean to write you at this length. I'll be glad when all the finacial problems will be over, next week, I hope.

Yours,

Jim

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
In Cooperation With
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

SYMPOSIUM ON THE CONTEMPORARY SOUTH

	"TWO DECADES OF HUMAN RIGHTS"	TAT
Sun. 8 P.M. Jan. 9	Introduction--Julian Bond, Georgia House of Representatives Address--Benjamin Mays, President Emeritus, Morehouse College	
Mon. 10 A.M. Jan. 10	Presiding--Leslie W. Dunbar, Field Foundation Panel--Marian Wright Edelman, Harvard Center for Law and Education Pat Watters, Southern Regional Council Charles Morgan, American Civil Liberties Union	TAT
	"THE NEW SOUTHERN HISTORY"	
Mon. 8 P.M. Jan. 10	Introduction--Bell I. Wiley, Emory University Address--John Hope Franklin, University of Chicago	TAT
Tues. 10 A.M.	Presiding--Harold Fleming, Potomac Institute Panel--Dewey Grantham, Vanderbilt University Paul Gaston, University of Virginia George B. Tindall, University of North Carolina	Hilton Ballroom St. Petersburg
	"THE NEW SOUTHERN POLITICS"	
Tues. 3 P.M. Jan. 11	Introduction--Patricia Derian, Democratic Committeewoman, Mississippi Address--Eugene Patterson, Duke University	Hilton, St. Pete
Wed. 10 A.M. Jan. 12	Presiding--Reese Cleghorn, Charlotte Observer Panel--Frank E. Smith, Tennessee Valley Authority John Lewis, Voter Education Project William Winter, Lieutenant Governor, of Mississippi Morris Abram, former President, Brandeis University	TAT
	"THE SOUTH TOMORROW"	
Wed. 8 P. M. Jan. 12	Introduction--Cecil Mackey, University of South Florida Address--Reubin Askew. Governor of Florida	TAT
Thurs. 10 A.M. Jan. 13	Presiding--LeRoy Collins, Governor of Florida (1955-1960) Panel--Robert Coles, Harvard University Hodding Carter, III, Delta Democrat-Times Joel Fleishman, Duke University C. Vann Woodward, Yale University	TAT

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA
TAMPA • ST. PETERSBURG

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33620
813: 974-2807

Dec 9

Dear Leslie:

My message is that if you would send me or the Univ. of So. Florida a check for $1500 my life would be made easier. Or do I have to go through the usual red tape which is destroying me here?

Actually, I am spending very little and won't until the Symposium is over with. At the end, about Jan 15 I will have the whole damned thing audited and copies of everything sent to all who have contributed, including The Field Foundation.

There are 25 people in all coming. Pat Derian will introduce Gene Patterson, for what reason I just don't know. The program has gone to the printer. We are still having meetings on this campus to determine whether we have the space for the symposium. God, what a place for bureaucracy.

I don't know what will happen to the TV. Ford gave us $10,000 but SECA says it needs more. Jim Wood at SRC is going a little mad trying to get more money. I have tried some, including the Stern people, but have got no where. But I have spent most of my time raising little bits of cash here, for luncheons, etc. I am exhausted and determined to do nothing but fish after this is over.

I'll send you a batch of programs when they come out, hopefully next week. You got the notic e about the Budget Rent-A-Car people who saved our lives because Clearwater Beach is 30 miles from here.

There are millions of details /and/ some of which I get out of the way each day. Then others crop up.

I still think this will be the greatest thing since old Aunt Somebody got her tit caught in the wringer.

Yours,

Jan

VIDEOTAPING AND BROADCASTING
the
SYMPOSIUM ON THE CONTEMPORARY SOUTH

The Southern Educational Communications Association proposes to record and broadcast over its 81-station network the Symposium on the Contemporary South to be conducted January 9-13, 1972, by the University of South Florida in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council.

The Symposium program presents candidly the important issues confronting the 14-state area served by SECA;

1. Two Decades of Human Rights

2. The New Southern History

3. The New Southern Politics

4. The South Tomorrow

SECA would add the dimension of television to the Symposium, exposing the views presented and discussed in a well-promoted series on SECA's weekly TV newsmagazine "Southern Perspective."

Not only would hundreds of thousands of people be able to see and hear the symposium through the network broadcasts, but through SECA's library it would be made available permanently to schools, colleges and other institutions. The planning, organization and findings, historically important, would be preserved. The impact of the Symposium would be multiplied by hundreds of times.

SECA proposes to cooperate with its Tampa, Florida, affiliate WEDU-TV* (Florida West Coast Educational Television, Inc.) in the production, which will be color videotape of the highest quality. It will be necessary to employ a remote unit and crew for six days, and to devote a full week's time to editing. This is beyond SECA's budgetary capacity and funds totalling $21,300 are required.

SECA was founded on the assumption that its members could serve the region best through cooperative efforts. Membership contribution provide operating expenses; private and public funds are needed for special projects such as this. SECA believes no greater opportunity for service through television exists in 1971-72 than through this project.

* they do not have a color unit

Through heavy promotion a meaningful audience for the prime-time "Southern Perspective" is assured. Tapes will be circulated to SECA stations who cannot schedule the series on Tuesdays at 10:00 p.m. The series will be offered to stations all over the country through the 205-station Public Broadcasting System and through the library.

The day is approaching when videotapes will be as accessible as books, and will portray vividly for students, teachers, researchers, government officials and others historic events, important meetings and such gatherings of authorities and leaders as this Symposium represents.

SECA concludes that an investment of $21,300 will prove a cost-effective means of awakening and inspiring Southern development and of strengthening instruction and library resources in hundreds of classrooms.

The plan and budget are itemized.

Tenn

February 10, 1945

Miss Nelle Bruner
1901 Church Street
Cleveland, Tennessee

Dear Miss Bruner:

Dr. Reid and I are very sorry to hear that the Tennessee State Student Christian Conference will not be held. We are glad to know, however, that your Executive Committee plans to keep the work alive.

I hope that before another year passes at least one difficulty, namely the transportation angle, will have been cleared up. In the meantime we shall be glad to help you in any way we can.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

1901 Church Street
Cleveland, Tennessee
February 7, 1945

Dr. Ira de A. Reid
Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auborn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

It is with regret I must inform you that the Tennessee State Student Christian Conference will not hold the scheduled week-end meeting of February 16-18. After the fourth Program Chairman had resigned and the same number of Adult Advisors had faded into the past, conditions became quite complicated. A meeting of interested adults who had worked with the Conference for several years was called and upon their suggestion the Executive Committee has chalked up the rally as another "war-time casualty."

However, it is far from our intentions to let the Conference drop completely. We plan to hold an enlarged executive Committee meeting later in the month to attempt to set up the frame work for a more permanent organization, tying it in with the different denominations.

Every member of the Executive Committee has expressed his or her disappointment that we shall not have the privilege of being with you at this time as previously arranged. I hope this change will not inconvenience you too greatly.

Sincerely yours,

Nelle Bruner

Nelle Bruner
President, TSSCC

Talladega College

SAVERY LIBRARY

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

4-7-48

Mr. Fleming:

As I understand it, one of the problems of the conference has been to determine just how many will be coming. I believe accomodations are limited to 80 guests. Perhaps that many more of our own faculty and students will be in attendance.

Sincerely

Robt Burgess

Leth

Talladega College

April 5, 1948

Mr. Robert S. Burgess, Librarian
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr. Burgess:

Thank you for your letter of April 1 concerning the forthcoming student conference on civil rights. Since I may be able to attend only one day, at Dr. Beittel's suggestion I have arranged to be at Talladega on Saturday, April 10. If at all possible, I will be there for one or both of the other two days.

I will bring along such material as might prove interesting to the conference. Unfortunately, "The Condition of Our Rights" is not yet in print, but the mimeographed copies should serve well enough. I would appreciate it if you would drop me a note telling me approximately how many persons you expect at the conference.

I will look forward to discussing with you the possibility of the SRC cooperating in any continuing activities.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

SAVERY LIBRARY

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

April 1, 1948

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have been asked to write you concerning a conference on civil rights to be held on our campus April 9-11. I am putting up a display of materials from the library at one meeting of the conference. It was suggested that you might bring along some material to be displayed, distributed and sold.

I was particularly interested in "The condition of Our Rights." We have plenty of copies of the Civil Rights Report (P.M. reprint) to sell for 5¢, so you will probably not want to bring many of your S.R.C. Digest of it. Any literature about the S.R.C. will be welcome.

Personally I wish the conference had been set up under the auspices of the S.R.C.. I think such sponsorhsip would have helped in getting qualified speakers, and would have helped in getting the cooperation of officials of some white colleges. There is some talk of making the conference a continuing affair. Perhaps your coming will help to tie the conference in some way, to the S.R.C.. Personally I am not interested in seeing another organization in this field. I am sure that some of the other faculty members who are cooperating in various ways with the official faculty adviser, Mr. Donald Rasmussen, have this same feeling.

Sincerely yours,

Robert S. Burgess

Robert S. Burgess,
Librarian

RSB:js

May 21, 1948

Miss Vivian Thomas
Farmers Union Fertilizer Cooperative
Box 565
Andalusia, Alabama

Dear Miss Thomas:

I am so glad that you are going to work at Co-ops.

The man to help you is my brother, Morris Mitchell, at Macedonia Co-op Farms, Clarkesville, Habersham County, Georgia. I have sent your letter on to him, with a copy of this letter to you.

Morris is Secretary of the Southeastern Cooperative League and he is rapidly getting in touch with the various cooperatives in these Southern states.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

36 - T - Trimble

July 2, 1948

Mr. Lee S. Trimble
Warm Springs Foundation
Warm Springs, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trimble:

You probably know parts or possibly all of the interesting history of the Rosenwald school for colored children at or near Warm Springs.

I happened to hear the whole story the other day. The inwardness of it is known to few persons, I should think, besides the one who told me--old Mr. S. L. Smith of Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee.

After the Rosenwald Foundation itself ceased to provide money help for building Negro schools, an office was continued at Peabody, which cheerfully mailed to anyone concerned the Rosenwald plans. Smith had a hand in all this and still manages the mailing out of plans.

President Roosevelt early got a commitment that Rosenwald help would be had for the Negro school at Warm Springs. Later on, a good many other public and private resources were tried for getting the school built, and finally the Rosenwald Fund did re-open for that lone school its monetary help, I believe. The whole matter involved a number of very interesting interviews by Mr. Smith with the President.

Mr. Smith is now a man of many years. It occurred to me that you might wish to write him or have some acquaintance in Nashville interview him at Nashville in order that the whole story might be pieced together and tucked into your archives at Warm Springs. The day will come when it will be read with intense interest.

Sincerely,

GSM:eb

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

36-T-Misc-Tenn. State Planning Comm.

TENNESSEE STATE PLANNING COMMISSION

432 SIXTH AVENUE NORTH • NASHVILLE 3

JIM McCORD, GOVERNOR • P. D. HOUSTON, CHAIRMAN
JOHN A. CHAMBLISS, VICE CHAIRMAN • MRS. WARDLAW STEELE, SECRETARY
W. A. W. CARDEN • E. W. PALMER • GEO. M. SMITH • I. B. TIGRETT • D. C. WEBB
HAYDEN B. JOHNSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

August 6, 1948

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

EB
attend to
gum.
thence
to
files

Thank you for your letter of August 3 concerning the Tennessee Planner and for your kind offer to arrange an exchange of publications with us. We have only recently subscribed to the New South but should appreciate your extending our subscription when it expires.

noted
* JPS

We cannot supply all the back issues of the Planner but are sending those which are still available and placing your name on the regular mailing list. We shall be glad to hear from you again if we can be of further service.

Yours truly,

Malinda Jones

Malinda Jones
Research Librarian

MJ/eg

August 3, 1948

Tennessee State Planning Commission
432 Sixth Avenue North
Nashville 3, Tennessee

Dear Sirs:

This morning's mail brought a copy of the December, 1947, issue of your publication, The Tennessee Planner.

I had not seen it before. It is of great interest.

We should like to purchase a file of the publication thus far, and we should greatly appreciate a subscription in the future. In exchange for the subscription, we can offer a subscription to our little monthly magazine, New South. Will you kindly let us know if this plan is acceptable to you?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures: Oct '47 New South
May '48 " "
June-July '48 New South

GSM:eb

January 31, 1949

President H. Councill Trenholm
The State Teachers College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Trenholm:

That was kind of you to make the arrangements about Dr. Dannylou Belser.

I do hope she will join the Council.

Sincerely, and with warm regards,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

36-T-Misc - Trenholm, H.C.

The State Teachers College
At
Montgomery, Alabama

FOUNDED IN 1874

H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, PRESIDENT

January 29, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have had telephone request this morning from Dr. Dannylou Belser, of the faculty of the School of Education of the University of Alabama, for information concerning the Southern Regional Council. She has indicated that some report was to be made for which information about the Southern Regional Council was needed and that she would further propose to place in the library such pamphlet information as could be sent to her.

I am herewith requesting that you send to her the pamphlet information which would enable her to be informed with respect to the Southern Regional Council. I hope that you can include one or more issues of New South. I should think that the availability of information there at the University could have some value in pointing up a new area of interest and resource.

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:S

H. Councill Trenholm

cc: Mr. E. G. McGehee, Jr.
Dr. Dannylou Belser
Dr. A. D. Beittel
Rev. William H. Marmion

36-T. MISC. —
Thomas, Mary Stodghill

April 28, 1949

Mrs. Mary Stodghill Thomas
c/o Stodghill and Company
716 Ponce de Leon Place, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mary:

I thought you and your husband would be interested in seeing this new leaflet about the Council I work with.

Where are you and what do you do?

I am still traveling here and there and, in the course of time, I ought to hit wherever you are.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

May 19, 1949

Miss Thelma Thompson
Bessie Tift College
Forsyth, Georgia

Dear Miss Thompson:

I have written to Mr. Ralph E. Himstead, secretary of the American Association of University Professors, and urged that they go into the problem that has arisen in your case.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

36 - I. Inc
Thompson, Thelma

May 18, 1949

Mr. Ralph E. Himstead, Secretary
American Association of University Professors
1155 Sixteenth Street NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Himstead:

I should like to add my appeal that the AAUP interest itself in the case of Miss Thelma Thompson, of Bessie Tift College, Forsyth, Georgia. I understand the case is to be brought to your attention by Miss Thompson directly, or by an intermediary.

Miss Thompson is not a member of the AAUP. My own teaching career (at Columbia) is now fifteen years in the past, and I don't think I was a member of your Association. Nevertheless the case is one on which the Association could, I believe, do a lot of good.

Miss Thompson came to see me ten days ago and I talked with her at length. I have heard only her side of the case.

Bessie Tift College is a four-year standard college assisted (and I suppose owned) by the Georgia Baptist Association. It has about 240 girls. It is a white college.

Miss Thompson is completing her second year as Assistant or Associate Professor of Romance Languages. She is a South Carolina girl, daughter to a textile worker, and now the family is living near Greenwood. She went to the University of South Carolina and then on to Chapel Hill for graduate work. She had two or three teaching jobs and then went on to Bessie Tift. She is well along toward a doctor's degree from Chapel Hill.

She had infantile paralysis when she was two and only gets about with the aid of crutches. Nevertheless she does get about energetically. So far as I could learn, no charge has been made in the matter that her partial disability touched the case in any way.

Sometime this spring she wrote to Atlanta University and asked if they had a teaching position vacant for the summer. They engaged her to teach eight or nine weeks this summer for $600. Bessie Tift pays her around $1,900 for eight or nine months. According to Miss Thompson, late April is the time when Bessie Tift contracts are renewed. She was asked in to talk to the president and he told her verbally that her contract was being renewed. She spoke with gratification and stated that she had picked up a job for the summer at Atlanta University. This was received without comment. Several days later, the president approached her and inquired whether the teaching job she had was in the Negro university in Atlanta. She said that it was. That changed matters, said the president. It was indicated to her then that she did not hold a renewal contract.

The college has thus far refused to give her any clear written statement of why she is not being invited back. Since the verbal renewal, the college has brought up some matter of absences during the year, and the charge that she was opposed to college policy. As to the first, she tells me that it is true she was absent perhaps a total of ten days, never more than two days at a time, and solely on account of health, and health unconnected with her partial disability. The other charge apparently relates to a minor student controversy about cuts, she having sided in a faculty meeting with those who wanted one free cut per class per year, as against the present system of no cuts without full and satisfactory excuse.

Mine is an interracial organization with thirty years of work in the South on matters affecting race relations. I judge Miss Thompson to be someone hitherto hardly concerned at all with matters of race. Certainly she could not be described as one carrying a burden of agitation in this field. She wanted a job at Atlanta University partly because of money, and partly because it would give her an opportunity to do some graduate teaching. As to teaching Negro students, she tells me that it has long been customary for selected young ladies from Bessie Tift College to teach Sunday School in a nearby Negro Baptist Church.

There is only one point to protect. That is the right of a teacher to accept summer employment in an institution for another race and to return to her regular winter position.

I have advised Miss Thompson to refrain from any general agitation and to put all her corrective effort into the lap of the AAUP. Mere vengefulness on her part ~~would~~ be used, I assume, by the College as an excuse for turning the issue from a clear one of a teacher's freedom to the questions of personalities and motives.

It seems to me clear that a local agitation through newspapers and other channels in Georgia would not get her job at Bessie Tift College back—and more important, it would not do anything important toward establishing the right to take summer employment in a college for another race. On the other hand, it would be generally agreed, I think, by people knowledgeable about the South that a finding by an impartial body such as your own that that right had been violated would be effective in strengthening the right in Georgia and elsewhere in the South for the future. Southern colleges, and even quite small ones, are highly sensitive to the findings of responsible, impartial bodies such as the AAUP and, in another field, accrediting agencies.

I don't know your rules as to taking up a case for a non-member. If the matter of expense of a committee's inquiry weighs upon you, I would be willing to put up out of my personal funds (which are very limited indeed) up to a hundred dollars toward that expense. Possibly my Council would assume that burden.

I perfectly understand that cases of this kind always have two sides, and I have been given only Miss Thompson's side. The greater the reason, therefore, for an impartial finding.

I may say that partly on my advice, Miss Thompson has appealed in person to the Baptist minister in Georgia probably of greatest prominence and influence. (His wife is a member of the Board of Bessie Tift College, and he is himself a member of the Board of Trustees of Atlanta University.) He appears to have expressed considerable concern but, within a few hours, to have lost anything more than passing interest in the matter.

It should, of course, be borne in mind that Atlanta University has a collateral interest in the matter, and President Clement or others there should be consulted. I have myself taken occasion to inform people close to President Clement of the facts as thus far revealed to me.

I do most strongly urge that the AAUP undertake inquiry and make known its findings.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Bessie Tift College
Forsyth, Georgia
May 18, 1949

Dr. Alan Pope
Georgia Tech
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Pope:

I called you a little over a week ago to ask you whether the AAUP would be interested in the suppression of the academic freedom of a non-member. You said it might and I promised to send you an account of the matter right away. However, I had reason to believe, shortly after talking with you, that there was a possibility of obtaining justice without outside assistance and delayed the writing of this letter.

The facts in the case are as follows:

I April 18 or 19: Mr. W. Fred Gunn, President of the college, called me to his office and we spoke of my position here. He praised my teaching and relationships with the students, made some criticism of my attitude toward certain items of administrative policy, and mentioned the fact that I had been absent from class a good bit on account of illness. Ater discussing all of those matters for a few minutes, Mr. Gunn told me that he wanted me to to return to teach here next year. I agreed to do so. As I was leaving, I remarked casually that I had accepted a summer teaching position at Atlanta University. He evinced little interest.
II April 25 or 26: Mr. Gunn approached me in the hall at school visibly disturbed. He asked if I had meant the Negro university when I said Atlanta University. I said in some surprise that I had. He said he had thought I meant the Atlanta Division of the University of Georgia. Then he said that he felt that my teaching there in the summer would hurt the campaign for the endowment fund and that he thought he would have to withdraw his invitation to return. He added as a afterthought that he would discuss the matter with members of the Board and let me know for sure later.
III April 29: We had another interview in which he told me that he had discussed it with members of the Board and others and that I was not to return.

I told him I would like to have the gist of those three interviews in writing, that I wanted the issue to be perfectly clear. He said then that he certainly would not say that he was discharging me simply because I was teaching at Atlanta University this summer, that other factors entered into the matter. I quite naturally wanted to know what other factors and he said he meant my absences from class and my attitude toward certain administrative policies. I pointed out that he had mentioned those items <u>before</u>

asking me to return and had, nevertheless, asked me to return, that he had withdrawn the invitation only when He realized that I was teaching at a school for Negro students this summer. He said that he would include the matter of absences and attitude toward policy in any written statement he made of the matter and that he thought it would be best for me to accept the excellent recommendation that he would write for me with no mention of reasons why I was leaving this position. He said, however, that he would write a full statement if I insisted. After thinking it over a few days, I went to him and told him I wanted the complete statement. He made every effort to talk me out of my request speaking often of what was for my good. I insisted that I wanted the statement. He then agreed to write it within a few day when he had time. That very same evening I received a letter (copy enclosed) from him refusing to keep his word and write the statement I had asked for.

As you can see this is a case of suppression of academic freedom with racial overtones. It seems to me that my summers should be my own and no concern of the school as long as I do nothing conspicuously unconventional, disgraceful, or criminel.

Enclosed find a data sheet which I recently made up for use in applying for a new position. It will give you sufficient information about me. I will secure and send to you later a copy of the letter of recommendation that the head of the language department here sent to the Bureau of Appointments, U.N.C., Chapel Hill, N. C. for me. I am also enclosing a copy of the letter I sent ot each member of the Board of Trustees of Bessie Tift College.

I hope you can do something about this for the sake of every member of our profession. That is my only reason for pressing the matter. I have nothing to gain immediately but I feel that protest should be made in such matters.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma Thompson

Bessie Tift College
Forsyth, Georgia
May 17, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have written an account of the matter of which we were speaking some days ago to Dr. Alan Pope who assured me that he would see that it got to the national headquarters of the American Association of University Professors. I am enclosing a copy of the letter.

Your idea of writing a personal letter concerning the matter was, I think, a good one and I will appreciate it if you will do so.

Any further advice or suggestions on the matter will be much appreciated.

My regards to your family.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma Thompson

Thelma Thompson

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

May 16, 1949

Miss Thelma Thompson
Bessie Tift College
Forsyth, Georgia

Dear Miss Thompson:

Thank you for your letter of May 9. I am sorry that Mr. Newton did not pursue the matter further.

My advice would be to depend almost entirely on the AAUP. A big noise raised now through the NAACP and through the press would be treated by the College as evidence of vengefulness, and thereafter the controversy would center, not upon the right of college teachers to teach in colleges without regard to color, but upon personalities and the propriety and use of publicity. I think a finding by the AAUP that a fundamental right had been violated would do more in the long run to establish the right than a public controversy not enlightened by the findings of impartial inquiry.

If you ask the AAUP to investigate, and want me to write them also, I will be happy to do so. Let me know.

If the AAUP, for this reason or that, cannot be got active in the matter, consideration should be given as to whether the Georgia Interracial Commission or the Southern Regional Council should make an inquiry.

A finding by an outside body that your rights, and a fundamental teacher's right, had been violated would be deeply and lastingly impressive. Colleges are most sensitive to findings of this kind. My guess is that the normal constituency of your College will not be

much impressed by public charges unsupported by impartial findings.

If the thing is handled sanely but energetically, the long run gains to you and to human rights will be great. If it is handled in anger, the gains are much less probable.

Anyway, that is my advice.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

P.S. As to your own future, it will be bound up a good deal with the wisdom of your conduct in the next few months.
G.S.M.

May 11, 1949

Miss Thelma Thompson
Bessie Tift College
Forsyth, Georgia

Dear Miss Thompson:

Dr. Mitchell dictated the enclosed letter before leaving for an out-of-town trip on Monday. It may help to answer some of the questions raised in your letter of the ninth.

I know that Dr. Mitchell will be anxious to hear of further developments.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Taylor, Secretary to
George S. Mitchell

enclosure

May 11, 1949
Dict. May 9

Miss Thelma Thompson
Bessie Tift College
Forsyth, Georgia

Dear Miss Thompson:

I was sorry for the disappointing news last night when I got home.

It seems to me the next thing for you to do is to write a description of the matter to the AAUP and ask them to have it impartially inquired into.

If you want me to write them additionally and urge them to go into the case, I will be glad to do so.

Unfortunately, I am to be out of town from tonight until next Monday, but I shall be glad to be active on it then.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Bessie Tift College
Forsyth, Georgia
May 9, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sorry I could not get in touch with you again by phone Sunday evening. Dr. Newton, when I called him at 6:00 as he asked, backed right out of the matter very neatly. He had evidently talked with someone who caused him to decide that he could not stand against Mr. Gunn's decision even though he had indicated disapproval during our earlier interview. He said that if he thought of anything he could do, he would do it. I asked him if I was to understand that if I did not hear from him this week, I was to assume that he had thought of no way in which he could intervene. He replied that I could so assume.

Now what? My ideas are as follows: 1) Wait and give Dr. Newton this week to decided whether he can say anything or not. 2) Next week a) contact the AAUP. b) Consultation with or letter to NAACP officials. c) Attempt to interest various people who have access to the press.

It becomes more and more obvious to me that Mr. Gunn's support of the unreasoning and unlimited prejudice which he indicated is characteristic of the Baptists of Georgia must be brought out. It would not be fair the fair-minded, reasonable, and liberal Georgia Baptists to keep such a matter quiet. The position of southern teachers and race relations will never be any better if everyone yields to, or even encourages such things because of personal considerations. I become more and more convinced that I can only lose if I persist in my efforts--yet I must persist. I an only hope that my future won't be as bad as I'm beginning to feel it might be.

Please let me know what you think of my plans and offer any suggestions or advice you can. I am not at all accustomed to conflicts of this kind.

My regards to Mrs. Mitchell, her, aunt, and the girls.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma Thompson

Thelma Thompson

RECEIVED
MAY 11 1949
Southern Regional Council

36 I Misc
Thompson, Edgar T.

June 27, 1949

Dr. Edgar T. Thompson
138 Pinecrest Road
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Thompson:

I promised to send you a copy of this issue of New South when it came out.

I still want to see your letter to the papers on the Durham situation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosure

Tuesday

Sorry we couldn't have more time together when you were here. Plan to spend more time with us when you come next.

Edgar T. Thompson
138 Pinecrest Road
Durham, N.C.

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

36 - T Misc
Thompson, Edgar
JBP 6/1/49

June 1, 1949

Dr. Edgar T. Thompson
Department of Sociology
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Thompson:

That was mighty kind of you to take me home for food and conversation the other day. I do hope that on the next trip I can have an opportunity to talk with you longer.

Please send us a copy of your fine letter. I liked it very much indeed.

I send you separately a stack of our more recent things and a list of them all. In looking through these, I do wish you would have in mind the possibility that some of them could be used as collateral text material. We get some very substantial University orders in that way. University of Louisville buys two or three hundred dollars' worth a year; so do Emory, Agnes Scott, Berea, University of Miami and others. We love it!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

36-T. Misc
Tabor, Alva

M. D. COLLINS
STATE SUPERINTENDANT
OF SCHOOLS
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

M. D. MOBLEY
STATE DIRECTOR OF
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION SERVICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

State Department of Education

Division of Vocational Education Service

Fort Valley, Georgia
July 8, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUL 9 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I wish to acknowledge with thanks and grateful appreciation the receipt of your letter of June 29, together with a copy of leaflet dealing with mud bricks.

I have also received a copy of bulletin and other literature direct from the American Bitumuls Company which contains a suggestion that I might be able to secure Bitudobe Stabilizer in five gallon pail for some preliminary experimental work at the cost of 29¢ per gallon f.o.b. plant at Baton Rouge, La. I expect very shortly to make purchase of a small quantity for experimental work.

May I assure you that it was both a pleasure and a privilege for Mr. Williams and me to have had the opportunity of a brief association with Dr. Little and you, and it is our hope that you will find it possible to contact us at time of your next visit in this section.

Very truly yours,

Alva Tabor

Alva Tabor, Head Itinerant
Teacher Trainer, Negro Schools

ATom

June 29, 1949

Mr. Alva Tabor
Fort Val ey State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

Dear Mr. Tabor:

You and your assistant were most mightily kind to give up a Sunday afternoon to taking Mr. Little about. It was a good look for him at the changing South.

Here is a leaflet about the mud bricks.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GS:wgd

Enclosure

36-T-Inc

Inylar Eliz

Cooperative College
Stanford Hall
Loughborough, England
July 16, 1949

Dear Papa George's Chillun:

My spies tell me that Manual Effort II is under way. Is it so? I shall request prayer for you at the Mount St. Bernard Monastery near here. We visited it the other day. Rather, the men in our group visited it, while women members wandered about the garden periphery, looking at hand-hewn calvary scenes and oversized psalters and overcome with curiosity. Morris was quite taken up with their concept of pouring life-blood into the Church through meditation. They retire at 8 pm; get up at 2 and meditate until 6; then begin the daily routine of hand-hewing and working in the gardens. They raise quite a lot of food but eat practically nothing. Wesley Jackson is thinking of giving up jitterbugging and going in for a five-year trial period.

When we were at Mary Clifford's she read a letter from Alice about London, overflowing with adjectives and exclamation marks. We were all quite sophisticated about it at the time, but since I believe we have remembered the letter with some appreciation. The days have been quite full and exciting. To spare you some adjectives I'll give you a sternly cold, objective (moderate, statesmanlike) account of some of it:

LONDON: Visit to co-op department store, where we had morning tea. (I will just mention, without emotion, that we had six meals that first day in London.)
Lunch at the Castle Priory, former home of Sir William Blackstone, now a hotel owned cooperatively by six societies.
Tour of co-op jam factory. Tea.
Visit to Windsor Castle, where we happened on the guard change. One poor fellow was called down at inspection for a dusty button or something and banished to the guardhouse. Morris was charmed with Windsor Castle as an example of what the cooperative movement will eventually do away with--and really, I think he liked the view. We had high tea at Windsor. Stopped a moment at Runymede on the way back to London.

Friday we spent much of the day at headquarters of the Cooperative Wholesale Society, London Branch. Their staff scampered about the roofs getting rid of incendiaries during the war, so only one of the six buildings was seriously damaged. It has not been repaired yet, since building priorities have been given to residences. We saw two good films there which were produced by their film division. Had lunch (to our surprise) with the European Seminar people who were on the plane with us.

In the afternoon we visited the Horace Plunkett Foundation, which does research and provides educational services for agricultural co-ops. They have just finished something on mechanization, which appeared in their Yearbook of Agricultural Cooperation. The mechanization report has been printed separately, and I asked for a copy to be sent to the Council. I think it will be addressed to me, but it is for Dr. Mitchell to see.

The Dickens House was just across the street, so we took that in too.

Saturday morning we had an interesting session with Miss Polley, executive secretary of the International Cooperative Alliance.

In the afternoon we saw John Gielgud in "The Lady's Not for Burning" which I thought hilarious....Also went to the British Museum with Rosalie Oakes, so that she could see the exhibition on revision on the Prayer Book and tell Matt Warren about it. (Winona, I stood in silence before a 1553 Psalter!)

Sunday we went to meeting at Friends House on Euston Road. Quite a lot of visitors turn up there, so several of us found friends from home and other countries. I might say that it was not a very silent meeting, and that members of our group had something to do with that. That afternoon Jane McCoy and I went out to Harrow to have tea with a Chapel Hill friend. (Perhaps you know of Maureen and Bob Walker, Jane. They have been at Yale Divinity until last June. Maureen is here for the summer visiting relatives. Bob Walker is from Atlanta. Will be Y secretary at University of Oklahoma beginning in September. Would help with the Okla.-Texas-La.-Ark. SRC meeting. His name is the Reverend Robert Walker.)

Sunday night we went to Hyde Park . Morris told a policeman that he thought it was a fine thing for people to come there and blow their tops. The policeman said he had been there for three years and found it rather boring!

Monday we came by roundabout bus to Stanford Hall, stopping at Oxford and Stratford-on-Avon and Coventry. Barbara Mitchell was disappointed in Oxford; she considered it insanitary. "I don't see how George Mitchell stayed three years in this place and came back a normal person...Give me something clean, functional, and efficient!"

At Coventry we went to the Planning Office and they showed us plans for rebuilding the bombed-out areas. We talked with one member of the staff who has just been to Italy to study reconstruction there. I was interested in their survey, which is just being started this summer, under the direction of a group of sociologists. I wanted to get more details about it, but we just didn't have time.

Stanford Hall. This is the former estate of Sir Julian Khan. It is fabulously outfitted with facilities for cricket, croquet, badminton, table tennis, and tennis. There is a swimming pool, theatre, and deep in the basement, the biggest billiard table I have ever seen, with four great shaded lights. The basement floor is impressively dungeon-like and sports a laundry room next door to the chapel!...The Cooperative Movement was able to purchase the estate, with 300 acres, rather inexpensively in 1944. Biggest problem now is adapting it to classroom and dormitory use. It has fabulous bathtubs, and furiously varying styles of decoration. Not in use at present is a grandly equipped seal pool in the gardens! There are wonderful fruit and vegetable gardens here. Barbara and Morris say that the Mitchells on Luluwater Road should have a wall to train fruit trees against.

There is a winter term, when they have about 120 students, most of them people already working in the co-op movement. In the summer there are short-term institutes, like the one beginning today, for managers. In August there will be a People's Art Festival....Here we continue the austere meal plan, with coffee at 10:30 am, tea at 4:30,-and cocoa at 9 pm -- in addition to the three meals that I consider standard.

The Chief Education Officer, Mr. Marshall, went to Yale but seems to have come through unscathed....When we arrived we were given a mimeographed programme outlining our proposed activities, quarter hour by quarter hour. Two days we have had lectures here by faculty members. Two days we have made trips, to Leicester and Nottingham. In Nottingham yesterday we saw, among other things, the Cooperative Theatre, where they do Shakespeare and Shaw. Most interesting character, not at the Theatre but at the Council Building, was the Lord Mayor, who showed us around . He wore a pin-striped suit and was

disappointing (so Morris told him) in that he looked quite ordinary, except for his gold chain of office, draped engagingly about his shoulders. He quoted Tennyson and confided that he was a devotee of Jack London and Theodore Dreiser. Said that he is supposed to look wise and say nothing. And wear the chain on special occasions. We, he explained, were a special occasion. Elected by the Labour Party, he is in private life a tool-maker. (Winona, you must tell Dub about him.) Fred Brownlee said that the Lord Mayor was very like Frank Graham, and that seemed to say it!

Last night one of the faculty members played records for us. Included were some Scottish dances which (to our undoing) we tried to learn.

One day we went to the Taylor Foundry in Loughborough and found how bells are made. The man who showed us around has made 29 trips to the US to install (is that the word) carrillons. They made the one at Duke University, Oho. Morris was impressed by the fact that they have been in business since 1360 and have never had a strike. Tomorrow night we are invited to hear the bellringers in Loughborough.

We arrived toward the end of a month-long drought, had some days of sunshine, and then the rains came. I think I must give up swimming for pool.

Please, someone, send information about the Council to:

Mr. Quinton Winch
24 Poplar Avenue
Birstall, Leicester
England

gsm

He is city editor of the Leicester Evening Mail, where we crashed the front page the other day. I'll send it to you. Everywhere our Negro members (there are three) attract attention, and we all laughed over the fact that the only person identified under the picture was Mr. Cheek, a "Negro sociologist." We are accusing him of being a publicity hound.

Well, how is the Region? Are you being beseiged with requests for fifty ways to put a tractor together? Be not dismayed by the heat and raising money for Georgia schools, for I will bring back some "creative social forces". I understand that is what we are looking for, among other things. Today I have been finding the Word of Recondiliation according to T.S. Eliot:

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.

Don't anybody get caught in the coke machine.— or the mimeograph monster.

Elizabeth

Attraction of MET dancing Scotch

STICK NO BILLS

No Waiting

Teas Lunches

We must do this for SRC's 100th birthday. Forward!
MET

36-7-Dave Taylor

POST CARD

The Address to be written on this side.

THE FIRST

Toad Lane

LOUGHBOROUGH
7 SEPT
21 JUL
1949
LEICESTERSHIRE

Staff
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, NE - Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia
USA

RECEIVED
AUG 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

The Rochdale **PIONEERS'** was the first Co-operative Society established on the principles of a fixed rate of Interest on Shares, the division of the surplus on the basis of Members' Purchases, and the method of trade for **Cash only.**

Their first shop was the first "Store" Opened. Their first year's Sales were **£710,** the members numbered **74** and their Capital was **£181.** In **1946** the Sales were **£944,716** the Members **32,351** and Capital **£542,376.** From December, **1844,** to September, **1946,** the Sales had amounted to **£41,901,952,** and the surplus distributed to **£4,999,070.** Education Grant **£71,024.**

Be a Member of the **Pioneers' Society,** and so share in the surplus, and in addition, in their **Free Life Assurance Benefits.**

Sunday, July 24

Dear Youall (I have to save such colloquialisms for sympathetic ears),

Still I am not altogether used to looking out over still-light fields at 10 pm. But I like it.

Experiences since I wrote last have been varied and not all religious. I was introduced to a village pub last night: Don Rasmussen's voice cut through the layers of smoke and nut brown ale to say "Well! I'm glad the Southern Regional Council is represented in this gathering."

And you must tell Mrs. Tilly that I was saturated with Methodism Friday night. Three of us went to Leicester to hear Donald Soper, who is one of England's leading Methodist ministers. There was a great throng there, with chairs squeezed in the aisles and people standing, and some rafter-shaking hymn singing. Among whom I was which!

On Monday we went to Rochdale. There the store on Toad Lane, opened in 1844, is kept as was. We were shown around and had high tea (beautifully inevitable) at the "Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society Limited's Cafe". As the bus pulled out Morris, taking his cue from a film we saw on the Pioneers, shouted: "Men of Rochdale, is the task completed?" NO, we shouted as one, collapsing under new piles of literature. ON TO SWEDEN.

That morning we went to Manchester, general headquarters for the Cooperative Wholesale Society. CWS has 200 factories, owned by consumer co-op societies. Had lunch at their main office, located happily at 1 Balloon Street.

During the past week there has been a summer course here at the College for General and Departmental Managers of co-op societies We have taken in some of their lectures, flailing about in such deep water as "Motion Study Applied to Retail Distribution" and "Statistical Research in Relation to Management". Thursday night we had an amachoor night entitled (by them) "USA vs. the Rest of the World." As our contribution Mr. Cheek did some interpretations of Paul Lawrence Dunbar's poetry--and very well. He is called "the Professor" here and has quite a following. Then we did a playlet called "The Goolibah Tree" (theme: down with capitalism) and a hardly recognizable American square dance. Contributions of our British friends shattered any illusions we had about the well-known reserve and bordered on what I would term, in my more generous moments, burlesque. One of the managers told Rosalie Oakes before they left, "Another two weeks with us around and you would begin acting like a human being!" They were nice fellows and, I think, know their stuff when it comes to co-op management.

Friday morning we had a session, arranged for us before our arrival, on "Running the Stanford Hall Estate". I had resigned myself to boredom as "Mr. G. Sturgess, F.A.L.P.A., F.I.I.A., Estate Agent" began to speak and found to my surprise that he was giving a brief history of agriculture in Great Britain. I didn't quite expect the man who was estate agent for Sir Julian before the Cooperative Union took over to speak with concern about matters such as rural housing. He even provided a bibliography, and one of the books has good material on rural housing, he says. Perhaps GSM

would like to look into it: 36-T, Misc Taylor Elsy

Country Planning (A Study of Rural Problems). The Agricultural Economics Research Institute, Oxford. (Oxford University Press). 7/6

The date is 1944 so it may not be worth getting, but it doesn't cost very much.

How are finances? Who won the Great Lottery? That is great news about Greenville doing a survey. Jane, I hear you have been crashing the front pages. I hope the mimeograph machine hasn't had a nervous breakdown.

Winona, thanks so much for your letter. Let me know how your educational and evangelical campaigns come out. I appreciated the punch pamphlets and am using them to infiltrate the faculty of the Cooperative College....One of them had me in to tea the other day and I learned how to make the tea leaves not come out in your cup. Will whisper the details to the Director of Information when I see him; such things should not be handled through the mails.

First fold here

We leave Tuesday morning and will stop briefly in Cambridge on our way to Harwich to get a boat for Copenhagen. Morris says our days in Denmark are so planned to take twenty pounds off each of us. It won't hurt, we're thinking, after our five-meal-a-day austerity program here.

Has Dr. Mitchell left for his month's vacation yet? Somebody remind him for me. The rest of you can take turns handling the visiting diplomats. But don't overdo it.

Yrs. rspftly,

Elsie

36 - T - Misc
Thurmond, J. Strom

August 26, 1949

The Honorable J. Strom Thurmond
Governor of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Governor Thurmond:

I have the honor to send you a copy of New South containing an analysis of the outburst of mob violence last month in Lake County, Florida.

This account has in it some lessons which, I think, would be of interest to responsible officials in charge of law enforcement.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

36 - V - Misc
Thurmond, J Strom

August 9, 1949

The Honorable J. Strom Thurmond
Governor of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Governor Thurmond:

The current issue of New South reviews the structure of the South Carolina Legislature.

We were pleased in doing the article to discover the faithfulness with which South Carolina has, from time to time, reapportioned seats in the Lower House--quite a contrast to Alabama and Georgia, whose Legislatures we have also recently examined.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

36 - J - Misc
Tuck, Mumford

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA

CARTER O. LOWANCE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RICHMOND, 12

August 29, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director, Southern Regional Coucil, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This will acknowledge receipt in the absence of Governor Tuck of your communication of August 26 with which you enclosed a copy of "New South".

This will be brought to his attention immediately upon his return.

Very truly yours,

Carter O. Lowance

Carter O. Lowance

COL:b

RECEIVED
AUG 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

August 26, 1949

The Honorable William Mumford Tuck
Governor of Virginia
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Governor Tuck:

I have the honor to send you a copy of New South containing an analysis of the outburst of mob violence last month in Lake County, Florida.

This account has in it some lessons which, I think, would be of interest to responsible officials in charge of law enforcement.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

36 - 7 - Misc
Tampa Urban League

August 29, 1949

Mr. James S. Hadley, Executive Secretary
Tampa Urban League
1615 Lamar Avenue
Tampa, Florida

Dear Mr. Hadley:

It occurred to me that you might like to have some extra copies of this careful analysis of the recent outburst of mob violence in Lake County, Florida.

I send you five copies--more if you wish them.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosures

36- I Misc
Talmadge, Herman

Executive Department
Atlanta

HERMAN E. TALMADGE
GOVERNOR

BENTON ODOM
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

September 2, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 6 1949
Southern Regional Council

Honorable George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the NEW SOUTH containing an analysis of violence in Lake County, Florida.

I am taking this home in order to read it carefully.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Herman E. Talmadge

HET:kh

August 26, 1949

The Honorable Herman Talmadge
Governor of Georgia
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Talmadge:

I have the honor to send you a copy of New South containing an analysis of the outburst of mob violence last month in Lake County, Florida.

This account has in it some lessons which, I think, would be of interest to responsible officials in charge of law enforcement.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

36 - D - Misc
Tuskegee Institute

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
RECORDS AND RESEARCH

September 5, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Thank you very much for the copies of the NEW SOUTH for July and August, 1949. They will be very helpful in the preparation of the next edition of the Negro Year Book. Your thoughtfulness is appreciated.

Very truly yours,
Jessie P. Guzman
Director

RECEIVED
SEP 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

36-0-Misc
Tuskegee Institute

August 29, 1949

Mrs. Jessie Parkhurst Guzman
Historical Collection
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

I wanted to be certain that a copy f this reached your own hands as being probably useful in the preparation of the next year book.

For good measure, a copy-also of last month's story about Irwinton.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosures

36 - T Misc
Tuskegee Institute

August 22, 1949

Mr. M. D. Sprague, Librarian
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Sprague:

Recently, in clearing out some old file material of the old Commission on Interracial Cooperation, we came across a set of about twenty-five photographs of the various trade jobs at work at Tuskegee. Each is mounted on heavy pasteboard. They show students and teachers working with equipment in the home crafts, tailoring division, machine shop division, etc.

They show no date, but judging from collar styles, I would take a flyer at 1922.

The probability is that your own files are burdened with duplicates of these same photographs; but, before I let them be destroyed, I thought it a suitable precaution to inquire whether by any chance, they would complete your files there. If so, we would be happy to send them over.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

36-1-Misc-
Twiddy, C. Baxter

March 15, 1949

Mr. C. Baxter Twiddy
Box 572
Elon College, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Twiddy:

Alexander Miller very kindly showed us your letter of March 6 to him.

We have a manual, just produced, for small town and small city self-surveys. Here is a circular describing it.

I realize it doesn't fit your need for a campus attitude survey on prejudices, but on that I have no special way of helping you. Professor Gordon Lovejoy at the University of Miami, Coral Gables, knows more about such attitude surveys than anybody in the South that I am acquainted with.

If your efforts should take a turn for a survey of Gibsonville or Burlington or Graham, our manual would fit.

We would be delighted to help you in any way we can.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
MAR 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

March 14, 1949

Mr. C. Baxter Twiddy
Box 572
Elon College, N. C.

COPY

Dear Mr. Twiddy:

Under separate cover I am sending you a small package of material that we have available describing the Community Audit System which you might find to be of help to you in instituting a similar survey on your campus. I have also included some other material which are of a supplemental nature.

In addition, I have included a list of the materials we have available in this office which might be of assistance to you should you desire to attempt to counteract any group tensions you find on your campus.

I am taking the liberty of referring your letter to Mr. George Mitchell, Director of the Southern Regional Council, who I am sure can give you a number of concrete suggestions which will be helpful to you.

Cordially,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:CD

cc: Mr. George Mitchell

Dear George: I thought you might be able to assist Twiddy

Alex

March 6, 1949
Box 572
Elon College, N. C.

COPY

Dear Mr. Miller:

While at the Fisk Race Relations Institute last summer, there was one instructor who discussed the taking of surveys in local community situations. These were to lead to an understanding of prejudice in the community and would point the way to action. I am on a college campus with 800 students who represent the average in college students. Should it appear practical, I would like to undertake a survey on the campus in order to get a general understanding of their prejudices and feelings towards those of other racial and religious backgrounds. This might prove to be quite fruitful, in the respect that it could lead to more liberal ideas and thinking on the part of the students. As it is now, nothing is being done to change their present thinking on this most important matter of American democracy. Whatever you may be able to furnish in the way of suggestions and surverys, I shall be most appreciative. I realize that it will be quite different from community surveys, but I believer that some good can come out of it.

Sincerely yours,

/S/ C. Baxter Twiddy

March 6, 1949
Box 572
Elon College, N. C.

Dear Mr. Miller,

While at the Fisk Race Relations Institute last summer, there was one instructor who discussed the taking of surveys in local community situations. These were to lead to an understanding of prejudice in the community and would point the way to action. I am on a college campus with 800 students who represent the average in college students. Should it appear practical, I would like to undertake a survey on the campus in order to get an general understanding of their prejudices and feelings towards those of other racial and religious backgrounds. This might prove to be quite fruitful, in the respect that it could lead to more liberal ideas and thinking on the part of the students. As it is now, nothing is being done to change their present thinking on this most important matter of American democracy. Whatever you may be able to furnish in the way of suggestions and surveys, I shall be most appreciative. I realize that it will be quite different from community surveys, but I believe that some good can come out of it.

Sincerely yours,

C. Baxter Twiddy

C. Baxter Twiddy

36 - D, Misc
Truman, Harry S.

September 21, '49

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President,

For appointment to the vacant judgeship in the North Georgia Federal District Court I should like to urge the name of Mr. Neil Andrews.

The next few years will be critical ones in bringing the South to voluntary cooperation with the letter and spirit of the Constitution and of Federal legislation. It will be important for this Court to reflect an unclouded allegiance to the principle of full equality in the rights of all the people of the South.

Neill Andrews has over a good many years demonstrated to people concerned over the needs of Southern people a fairness which would cause his work as a Federal judge to be esteemed by those who require support from the Federal' Government's power for what is right.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

36 - I Misc
Taylor, Paul

September 26, 1949

Mr. Paul S. Taylor
1163 Euclid Avenue
Berkeley, California

Dear Paul:

Your letter of September 5 came when I was in the midst of a string of meetings.

It so happens that I was present at several small conferences of people in the government at the time when Bendetson was making the arrangements which resulted in the evacuation of the people of Japanese descent. I have searched my memory and cannot recall anything discreditable to Bendetsen given the hysteria of the time and given the fact that he was a subordinate carrying out DeWitt's orders. He was a ball of energy and he applied it on a cause which I considered then mistaken and, of course, now consider woeful.

That is all I know myself and I do not pit that recollection against the intimate knowledge of him then and later that you and others on the West Coast certainly have. Nevertheless, as my own recollection is no more in his disfavor than I say, it does not seem to me I ought to write the President.

I do think the White House would make a mistake in giving this high civilian authority to any one sympathetically identified with the Japanese evacuation.

Try me again on another one and I will hope to be of help.

I had pleasant news of Dorothea the other day from Gordon Weisenborn.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

RECEIVED
SEP 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

1163 Euclid Ave
Berkeley 5 California
September 5 - 1949

Dear George:

The White House is considering nominating Col. Karl R. Bendetsen as Asst. Sec. of the Army. He was Gen. DeWitt's right-hand man who advised on, and carried out the evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry. Evidently finding that his name might meet some opposition, or anticipating it, he requested a conference with S.F. Japanese American Citizens League. They declined, as they said, "Remembering ---".

The Col. as well as the General, are well-documented in M. Grodzins "Americans Betrayed" (Univ. Chicago Press, 1949) and Dorothy S. Thomas "The Spoilage" (Univ. Calif. Press about 1947 or 8). The Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has just come out with an important decision, relating to the work in which the Col. had so large a hand.

The appointment was that to be killed, but thoroly reliable information reveals that it is kicking up.

Doubtless the more the White House heard from organizations like NAACP throughout the country, as well as from the National HQ. the greater the effect. (Locally they see the connection & are doing what they can)

Here are confidential copies of two letters from distinguished private citizens of California. It would be effective if one came from a distinguished Southerner - someone like Mrs. Tilley of Atlanta. She won't remember me, but doubtless you know her. Possibly she might think this a matter of national importance and want to turn a hand on it, if she knew.

Best regards

Paul Taylor

CONFIDENTIAL COPY

August 30, 1949

The President, Harry S. Truman
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Press reports have indicated that Col. Karl Robin Bendetsen is being considered for the nomination of Assistant Secretary of War. As one of the organizers of the Committee on Americanism and Fair Play (which functioned on the West Coast during the war for purposes implied in its title) may I respectfully venture the hope that the newspaper reports are unfounded. The current issue of "The Saturday Review of Literature" in its evaluation of a recent publication "Americans Betrayed" by Morton Grodzins, University of Chigago Press, succinctly states the damaging case against Col. Bendetsen's eligibility for a post of responsibility. He not only yielded to the senseless hysteria against loyal American citizens of Japanese extraction when the war broke out, but quite apparently distorted the facts in a way which cannot be condoned. Thousands of patriotic Americans were cruelly deprived of status and security as a result of his activities.

His appointment would be highly unfortunate, and might easily be used as evidence to disprove our democratic guarantees of equal rights under the law for all citizens, regardless of race, creed or color.

I earnestly hope that these considerations will be carefully weighed in the event that Col. Bendetsen's nomination is urged upon you.

With the assurance of my high esteem, I am,

Faithfully yours,

Rabbi Irving F. Reichert

CONFIDENTIAL COPY

Berkeley, Calif.
August 27, 1949

President Harry S. Truman
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President:

May I respectfully present to you my objections to the appointment of Colonel Karl Robin Bendetsen as Assistant Secretary of War.

For Colonel Bendetsen's ability as a lawyer, administrator and negotiator I have high respect. But I believe it would be all the more unfortunate for him to hold a key post in the armed services, on account of the marked racial prejudice which he evidenced when he was prominently connected with the evacuation of persons of Japanese ancestry from this Coast.

That prejudice was shown in his address of May 20, 1942 before the Commonwealth Club of California when he said: "Contrary to other national and racial groups, the behavior of Japanese has been such that in no single instance has any Japanese reported disloyalty on the part of another specific individual of the same race."

Statements to the same effect were repeated by him in a radio address and in a pamphlet about the evacuation, althouth testimony had been repeatedly given by California peace officers and Intelligence officers as to "valuable information" received by them from both Japanese aliens and Japanese Americans. See "Americans Betrayed", by Grodzins, University of Chicago Press, pp. 144-46, 285-86.

With reluctance, but out of a sense of patriotic duty, I will give additional evidence of Colonel Bendetsen's unfitness for the appointment.

After the Colonel had publicly charged non-cooperation of Japanese informers, I asked a friend of mine who was then in the Naval Intelligence as to his own enperience. He replied in a handwritten letter: "I personally know at least fifteen Intelligence officers who have received continual aid from the group of loyal and patriotic Nisei attached to each." Late in 1942, I met the public relations officer of Colonel Bendetsen, and took occasion to ask him: "Why does Colonel Bendetsen keep saying that no Nisei has given aid to the Intelligence services in ferreting out disloyal persons of Japanese ancestry? Doesn't he know it is false?" He replied: "Oh, yes, we knew it was untrue, but it did good at the time."

I strongly believe that Colonel Bendetsen's appointment would hinder your policy of eliminating segregation from the armed services and of securing equal civil rights for persons of color. It would also create a bad impression among Asiatic peoples, especially the Japanese, and would give fresh ammunition to Russian propagandists against the United States.

Respectfully yours

Galen M. Fisher, formerly
Rockefeller Institute of Social &
Religious Research

36 - Louise Tabor

FILE COPY

FILE COPY

October 4, '49

Dear Mr. Tabor,

Here is a honey. I send you two copies.

You may have seen the remarkable notice it got in both Time and Newsweek, Oct. 3. It has been sent out, officially, to all the white papers in the South by the Southern Newspaper Publishers' Assn.

Now the next thing is to arrange follow-up in cities and towns across the South. If a vo. ag. teacher, or a minister, or a lodge-leader, or a business man, will get a few people to read it, and then organize a one-time (preferably bi-racial) committee to go and see the editor, little green book in hand, I guarantee you important changes will appear in the paper. It was done here in Atlanta two weeks ago, and remarkable results have appeared in both papers.

We have had many large blok orders. The N C Mutual Life Ins. Co. bought a thousand, to get out to policyholders. Bishop R. R. Wright bought 500, to send to his ministers. The Atlanta Ministers Baptist Assn. bought several hundred. The Georgia KP bought a hundred, and so on.

I don't know just what you can do, but I do ask for your friendly interest. There is hardly any other small project, wiating around to be picked up, that could pay so richly in betterment of racial attitudes.

Pamphlet costs 15 cents a copy.

To save my (personal) typing fingers, would you be kind enough to show this to Fr. Brown, and ask his interest, too?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Gearcon Union Shop
MADE IN U.S.A.

36 - D - Price
Taggart, Dr. E.W.

October 5, 1949
Dict. October 4

Dr. E. W. Taggart
Masonic Temple Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Dr. Taggart:

Here is a honey of a new pamphlet we have done. It is moving fast. Time and Newsweek both covered it in their October 3 issues--beautifully. We have had large block orders from life insurance companies and churches and colleges.

The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association has mailed it to all of their members.

Can't you get some people in Birmingham to use it and get its fruits? It merely involves having a small one-time committee of white and Negro citizens--maybe church women--to read it and then go and call on the editors and ask them to hold more closely to the rules laid down in the little green book. That was done in Atlanta two weeks ago and it has already worked wonders with both papers.

More importantly than Birmingham, I want such action taken in cities and towns across the South. That means getting this idea to churches and lodges and luncheon groups and sororities and so on, in order that each town's people can be brought around. You can see the benefit not only to citizens, but to the organizations and their leaders who accomplish change in the papers.

I will greatly appreciate your influence and thought in getting that sort of thing done.

We have stacks of the pamphlet to sell for 15¢ apiece. We also have this free leaflet (enclosed) that tells about it.

Lastly, we are awful broke. Would it stretch you too hard to find us some such sum as Mr. Comer and Mr. Gaston wrote you about last June?

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
enclosures

36-T-Misc-
Thomas, Mary Alice

October 18, 1949
Dict. October 17

Miss Mary-Alice Thomas
Personnel Bureau
Young Women's Christian Association
600 Lexington Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Thomas:

How very kind of you to help us out with the self-survey manual and RACE IN THE NEWS.

I have made careful note that you are the one to whom good eggs should be steered.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America

National Board

YWCA — 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. — PLaza 3-4700 — Cable: Emissarius, N. Y.

October 7, 1949

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It was indeed a real pleasure to meet with you a few moments during my recent visit to Atlanta and I trust that you will continue to keep our personnel needs in the YWCA very much in your mind in future months.

I am happy to report that on this date the two publications "Manual for The Home Town Self-Survey" and "Race In The News" have been sent up to our Publications Editor, Miss Rose Sherlin, and I am hoping that she will see fit to give them some space in an issue of the Woman's Press in the near future.

Once again many thanks for your continued help.

Very sincerely yours,

Mary-Alice Thomas/oms

Mary-Alice Thomas
Personnel Bureau
Personnel and Training
Services

MAT:meb

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Arthur Forrest Anderson
President

Mrs. Harrison S. Elliott
General Secretary

36-T- Misc. —

December 1, 1949

Taylor, Elizabeth

Dear GSM,

Here beginneth the minutes. I am working on annual meeting; will try to mail tomorrow.

I came over to use my brother-in-law's facilities. He is president of the Typographical local but his typewriter ribbon won't negotiate. They have just completed negotiation of a new contract including for the first time salary scales for teletype setters. These machines can be operated by women and other morons and the teletype operators were afraid the increased labor supply, at rates not set by the contract, would have a bad effect on the wage scale for printers generally. Now the other unions (from other cities) are telephoning to find the outcome.

Two nephews surround me: one is trading his services as a typewriter ribbon assistant for mine as a caller-out-of-spelling. The other is practicing writing without looking, under the influence of my typing. My niece Molly is in the next room doing her boyfriend's homework. They are engaged, to be married in seven years.

How is SRC? I miss you all. I hope thy Thanksgiving combination of Catholics and Quakers wasn't too indigestible. Courtney and I traveled to Clemson (to see George Aull) and to St. Helena's, via train, bus, and the thumb. There we talked with the principal of the school, now county-operated, the county agent (also chairman of citizens' council) and two long-time employees of the Penn School Board. Our job there, if it materializes, would be in working with the citizens' council and various agencies to promote a program of general development in health, recreation, etc. There is a strong spirit of dependence yet, although the citizens' council helps. They say they need a survey, that Mr. Aull will send "experts" for an agricultural survey. I should think SRC could help, but not now. It will require careful handling. There is

(over)

still much resentment and bewilderment over turning the school over to the county; an over-abundance of gossip, rumor, and suspicion of anything from the "outside".

If we went we would live in "Hampton House", which reeks of the plantation economy. We were informed by Aull that when the "ladies" were there they always had two of the school's choice pupils to do the cooking and cleaning. Caught off guard, I'm afraid I let escape a small snicker, not wholly unbeknownest to Friend Aull. Hampton House is completely furnished, even to pictures of long-dead do-gooders.

All of this somewhat in Mitchell confidence. Whether we will go or not will not be considered until January, when the Penn School Board meets. Marion Wright is on it - I don't know how active. Courtney is interested, from what we have learned so far, and so am I - but I have the feeling one would have to tread gently there.

Courtney rode Jim Crow down on the train and back also. Once a conductor asked him to move and when C. explained why he was there, the conductor said it didn't make him any difference.

I have a few clippings. Will send a great carton of them one day, to the dismay of all.

Yrs,
met

Hi to all.

915 Elizabeth Avenue
Charlotte 6, N.C.
Phone 3-1762

36-T-Misc. — Taylor, Eliz.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

FOUNDED 1928

American Brotherhood

FOR JUSTICE, AMITY, UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION AMONG PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND JEWS

TELEPHONE: 2-4420
ROOM 301, 121 EAST THIRD STREET
CHARLOTTE 2, N. C.

RECEIVED
7 1949
Southern Regional Council

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Francis J. Heazel

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Francis Beatty
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Frank Jarman
W. F. Kernan
Msgr. John J. Manley
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REGIONAL DIRECTOR
~~Allyn R. Robinson~~
Associate Regional Director
Margaret G. Cuddy

December 6, 1949

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am doing some work temporarily for this outfit. Abandoned the troublesome portable to use their facilities tonight.

Here are the rough notes on the annual membership meeting. I have a copy of the agenda, rules, and financial reports (the mimeo'd one) but am not sending it, since there are probably dozens around the office. I put several in the files. If none are handy, let me know and I will mail this one.

Allyn Robinson has gone to New York, as you know, ~~and the new~~ regional director, is the Rev. Harry S. Jones. Would you send him RACE IN THE NEWS? He returned quite recently from work in Germany. And don't add him for 154. Perhaps you can collect from me!

By a strange coincidence I am typing cards of contributions to NCCJ. I just happened on the addresses of Mr. Francis O. Clarkson, who is on SRC's fund-raising list: home, 227 Cherokee Rd. Office, Law Building, Charlotte, N.C.

Mr. I. D. Blumenthal is the one who is making Wildacres (in the N.C. mountains) available for interfaith meetings. But not interracial, I understand. See attached pink thing. His address: Box 1109, Radiator Specialty Co., Charlotte, N.C. Has given heavily to NCCJ. Mr. Byrd has his name. Please give him this address, also Clarkson's.

Week before last I wrote Cy Johnson about conferring with him on the N.C. mailing list. Yesterday I had a postcard, saying I could go to Raleigh and copy the card files there. That he would be there late afternoons or Saturday, that he would have someone let me in if he couldn't be there when I was. Says he is very busy. Do you think this would be worth the effort? I have told these people NCCJ I would give them as much time as possible this week and next. If you think it is worth it, I can get free to go to Raleigh next week and work on the mailing list. I fear it is out of date. Cy didn't say how many there were, so I don't know how much of a job it would be.

(over)

The National Conference of Christians and Jews is wholly supported by voluntary contributions from individuals, corporations, foundations, fraternal organizations and religious groups.

What is your suggestion? I haven't answered him.
Showers of blessing (in HIM, of course) to all.
Is Mrs. McKoy back? I hope she is much better.

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHRISTIANS & JEWS, INC.

FOUNDED 1927

American Brotherhood

FOR JUSTICE, AMITY, UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION
AMONG PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS AND JEWS

TELEPHONE: 2-6220
ROOM 801, 121 EAST THIRD STREET
CHARLOTTE 2, N. C.

PROFILE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE

National Director
Allen Rosenshine

Associate Regional Director
Morgan G. Cuddy

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CO-CHAIRMEN
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Mrs. J. C. Cobb
Benjamin Cone
Charles H. Cunningham
Jonathan Daniels
Miss Dixon Dozier
Clyde A. Erwin
J. L. Evans
Major Arthur R. Freeman
Harold P. Graham
C. Calvin Graves
Francis Heckel
Mrs. Grace S. Hunter
Frank Jordan
W. E. Kyle
Mayor John J. Maloney
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Clyde A. Miller
Philip Ollinger
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Chairman
Honorary Co-Chairman
Henry A. Wallace
Honorary Chairman
Roger William Straus
Chairman, Executive Committee
E. Wilson

December 8, 1947

Dear Dr. Lifshell:

I am daing some work temporarily for this outfit. Accompanied the Brotherhood people to use their facilities tonight.

Here are the round notes on the annual membership meeting. I have a copy of the agenda, rules, and financial reports (the wizard one) but am not sending it, since there are probably dozens around the office. I put several in the files. If none are handy, let me know and I will mail this one.

Allyn Robinson has gone to New York, as you know, and the regional director, is the Rev. Harry S. Lopes. Should you send his copy to New York? He returned quite recently from work in Germany.

By a strange coincidence I am trying urgently to contribute to Jews. I just happened on the address of Mr. Warnock C. Clinton, who is an Atlanta fund-raising firm, home, 224 Cherokee Rd. Office, Law Building, Charlotte, N.C.

Mr. I. E. Blumenthal is the one who is marketing Alkahest via the J.C. money (he is available for interfaith meetings. Phone Internacional). I wrote and asked about pink tins. His address is 1107, Wilmington Specialty Co., Charlotte, N.C. Can give weekly to 1000. Mr. Ryan has his name. Please give him this address, also Clarkson's.

Back before Lent I wrote Mr. Clarkson about coming in with him on the N.C. mailing list. Yesterday I made a postcard, saying I could go to Lenten and can the card files there. That he would be there also at terrorism on Saturday, that he would have someone letters in if he couldn't be there when I was. Guess he is very busy. Do you think this would be worth the effort? I have told these people I would give them as much time as possible this weekend and. If you think it is worth it, I can get free to go to Raleigh next week and work on the mailing list. I don't it is out of date. Don't know how many there were, so I don't know how much of a job it would be.

(over)

The National Conference of Christians and Jews is wholly supported by voluntary contributions from individuals, corporations, foundations, fraternal organizations and religious groups.

December 9, '49

Dear Mr. Jones,

I take pleasure in sending you a copy of RACE IN THE NEWS, with nice Miss Elizabeth Taylor talked with you about.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

36-T-Misc.
Taylor, Eliz.

December 21, '49

Dear Miss 'Lazabeth,

Solemn thanks for the N C list. Good for us to have it, and good for Guy to have it. We'll expect to be called on for a mailing some time.

Check herewith for travel. Most extremely modest. Mrs. McKoy has not yet found time to get to calculations on the final salary amount, but promises to do so. I have reminded her that the two days of the Raleigh trip are included.

My secretarial staff sure is in Charlotte! I miss Mrs. D., but don't begrudge her.

Best, plus,

GSM

GSM/gam

36 - T - Misc -
Thomas, L. E.

December 21, '49

Mr. L. E. Thomas
1033 N.W. 2nd Avenue
Miamia, Florida

Dear Mr. Thomas,

The time draws near for the trip to Miami, to talk to the Kind of Clubs (January 15).

I would be grateful for details of just when and where you want me, and I can make my arrangements for getting there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

36-T - Misc.
Thomas, Frank P.

22 December 1949

Mr. Frank P. Thomas
The Alabama Citizen
P. O. Box 815
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to write you about further information available on job opportunities for Negroes in the South. I enclose the latest information we have on Negro policemen; this will bring up to date the table published in the September 1949 issue of New South.

The data we have on Negro firemen is rather sketchy, as you can see from the enclosed list. You might be able to obtain more complete and up to date information from Lt. Royal E. Towns, Statistician, National Survey of Colored Firefighters, 718 35th Street, Oakland, California.

I am also sending you a list of Southern cities having Negro members of their local public housing authorities. So far as we know, in each case a single Negro person is such a member. We are on the track of a list of paid Negro officials of local public housing authorities, and will send it on to you when we get it. — Info unavailable — See Materials file — 16 - "Housing"

As for the rest of the information you wanted, Mr. Nelson Jackson, Southern Field Director of the National Urban League, will be best able to help you. I have referred your request to Mr. Jackson and asked him to send you what information he has.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

cc: Mr. Jackson

22 December 1949

Mr. Nelson Jackson, Southern Field Director
National Urban League
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jackson:

Enclosed is a request we have received from a Mr. Frank P. Thomas, of the Alabama Citizen, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, for information about job opportunities for Negroes in the South. We have sent him such information as we have, and we wonder if you would be able to send him anything further on the subject.

We would be most grateful if you would furnish him with any information you might have. I think you will see from the enclosed copy of his letter just what data he needs. We are also enclosing a copy of our reply to him.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

December 21, '49

Dear Mr. Thomas,

Mighty nice to have the good long letter from you, and to catch up. I am delighted that the story on veterans' training is not dismal, and proud of Alabama, and proud of what you did in getting over the State and keeping behind people, in shaping it that way.

I greatly hope the Tuscallosa interracial group will grow, and will at some early date come into the Council. We need a much more vigorous program in Alabama than we have as yet got set up, and I am sure the people at Tuscaloosa would help on it. I'll be glad to come to Tuscaloosa anytime you think it useful.

Here are copies of letters to the people whose names you kindly sent in. Hope they do some good.

On policemen I can give you the enclosed, and am asking an assistant here to write you with our latest items on it.

On Deputy sheriffs I only know of three or four counties that have Negro ones, and can'T locate for a certainty where they are.

On firemen, we know of only two or three cities using Negroes. We'll write you the details.

No dope on collectors, municipal employes, salesmen, chemists. Postal clerks and carriers pretty usual, as you know. Best source of infor. would be some local officer of the Post Office Letter Carriers Union, who could get you a guess for a wider area.

Our best wishes for your holiday.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL

JPS

Will you please write him with what further dope the files may (easily) contain?

GSM

Dec 21, '49

Pub. Housing officials
Firemen
Police

Refer to Nelson Jackson

THE ALABAMA CITIZEN, INC.

"A Clean, Constructive Newspaper Serving The Thousands of Alabama's Black Belt"

PHONE 9947

1307 27th Ave. Published Weekly at **P. O. Box 815**

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

December 18,1949

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

My Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have been planning a letter to you for sometime but have continue to postpone doing same indefinitely. I have been giving very serious thought to the splendid work being done by the Council and am hoping that I too may make a contribution to this splendid effort.

Your name has been on the mailing list of our paper for sometime and I trust that you have been able to follow the progress made by Alabama veterans in the various training programs many of which were instituted at the insistence of your organization. As a whole I am very proud to state that the powers that be in the field of Education in this State with few exceptions have been more than willing to do their bit in providing training opportunities for veterans of all races, color and creed. Men have been enrolled in courses ranging from Horology and Aviation to Farming and Horticulture. Many of these individuals have completed their courses and some are presently profitably engaged in these occupations.

At present we have no local Council but I am a member of a rapidly expending inter-racial organization that should in due time become a member of your organization.

I should like for you to write the persons whose names appear on the enclosed sheet informing them of the work of the Council urging them to become members. They are all good persons and very much interested in doing something to improve race relations in this section. They may not be, however, as liberal as we would like them be so your approach should be rather cautious. I hope these letters and other materials will reach them prior to our next meeting on January 15,1950.

THE ALABAMA CITIZEN, INC.

"A Clean, Constructive Newspaper Serving The Thousands of Alabama's Black Belt"

PHONE 9947

1307 27th Ave. Published Weekly at **P. O. Box 815**

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

I am in need of your assistance on a research project that I am developing for our Jan.15th meeting. We are interested in determining the number and the type of job opportunities opened to Negroes in the South. I should like to know the number of policemen, duputy sherriffs, constables, municipal employees such as clerks, inspectors, collectors, firemen, salesmen for large white concerns, postal clerks and carriers, chemists and other workers. I should also like to get the location of all such employees.

I will certainly be grateful for this and any other information which you may have.

Wishing for you and your family a very Merry Christmas and a Happy and Prosperous New Year.

Sincerely Yours

Frank P. Thomas

Frank P. Thomas

FPT:lmt.
ENC.

Mr. J. T. McKee

Northport, Ala.

Rev. DuBose Murphy
14 Oakwood Ct.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Rev. F. H. M. Williams
816 37th Ave.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Mr. E. J. Wright
2526 12th Street
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Mr. S. W. Washington
3005 18th St.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Dr. M. P. Gilmer
McKenzie Bldg.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Dr. A. B. McKenzie
McKenzie Bldg.
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

RECEIVED
DEC 20 1940

36-T-Misc.—

Thomas L.E.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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AA59

A LLK166 PD=MIAMI FLO 28 1125A=

TU ATLANTA

GEO F MITCHELL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST TU ATLA=

PLEASE FORWARD CUT MAT OR PICTURE AND BIOGRAPHY FOR FORUM PROGRAM PUBLICITY=

ATTORNEY L E THOMAS=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

December 28, '49

Mr. L. E. Thomas
Miami, Fla.

Dear Mr. Thomas,

In response to your wire I am sending you a mat and an old issue of NEW SOUTH, with sufficient dope about me!

The Southern Regional Council is described as a Council to attain, through research and action, the ideal and practice of equal opportunity for all the poeple of the South,

I look forward to the visit.

Sincerely

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Title of speech is "The Map of the South".

36-T-Misc.

Thomas, Frank

December 21, '49

Dear Mr. Thomas,

Mighty nice to have the good long letter from you, and to catch up. I am delighted that the story on veterans' training is not dismal, and proud of Alabama, and proud of what you did in getting over the State and keeping behind people, in shaping it that way.

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No dope on collectors, municipal employes, salesmen, chemists. Postal clerks and carriers pretty usual, as you know. Best source of infor. would be some local officer of the Post Office Letter Carriers Union, who could get you a guess for a wider area.

Our best wishes for your holiday.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

36 - T misc
(Thomas, L. E.)

January 5, '50

Dear Professor Mead,

Thank you a lot for your careful letter about my visit.

Yes, I can and will be on hand all day the 19th, which is Thursday, of this January. I'll plan to get to town either the night before or before nine that morning, and will call your office as soon as possible.

Happy to meet with a faculty group, or a seminar, or a class, or whatever you may arrange.

My best speech is one that draws a map of the Southeastern States, and divides it by historical periods into its four great subregions, and traces (or touches!) the economy of each, and then by drawing in the State lines, opens the way in which economy-backwardness in the old plantation areas hold down the would-be-progressiveness of industry and the greater farm-independence of the mountains and the piedmont, and the piney-woods.

But I can do some running comment on the present state of things in general.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Emergency addresses
Jan. 15. c/o L.E. Thomas
Ebenezer Methodist Church
3rd Ave. at 11th St., Miami

Jan 16. c/o Gordon Lovejoy, Univ. of Miami, Coral Gables.

January 3, 1950

Mr. L. E. Thomas
1035 N.W. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Thomas,

The easiest train for me to take would be one which leaves Daytona Beach at 9.16 A.M., Sunday, Jan. 15 and gets in to Miami at 3.05 that afternoon. But I'm scared it will be late, so as a precaution I shall definately take one that leaves Daytona at 12.31 Sunday morning, and gets to Miami at 7 o'clock Sunday morning. Then I'm safe.

As to a hotel, Miamix hotels are out of my style! Can't you find me some quite small and (relatively) inexpensive place to light? I'll only expect to be there the one night, Sunday Jan 15.

No earthly need for anybody to meet me at the crack of dawn on Sunday morning. When I'm settled, and can suppose that your household is stirring, I'll call to say I'm on hand.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

36-T min
(Thomas, J. E.)

THE KING OF CLUBS INC.

MIAMI, FLORIDA

December 30, 1949.

Office of the President
1035 N. W. Second Avenue

Office of the Secretary
1926 N. W. Sixty-first Street

Office of the Forum Chairman
1018 N. W. Second Avenue

RECEIVED
JAN 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear sir:

The forum program will be held at Ebenezer Methodist Church, 3rd Avenue at 11th Street N.W. at 4 P.M.

If you will give us advance notice of your time and place of arrival we shall be glad to meet you and take you to the place of your choice, or if your desire we shall make hotel reservations for you.

Yours truly,

L. E. Thomas

March 7, 1950

Mr. Paul S. Taylor
116 South Euclid Avenue
Berkeley 8, California

Dear Paul:

I have read the June Western Political Quarterly with my usual praise of your combination of seeing far and watching close. Also the memo on the Florida business, which was new to me, entirely, and which I will watch.

Send me some more!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Mr. Paul S. Taylor
116 S. Euclid Avenue
Berkeley 8, California

Dear Paul,

I have read the June Western Political Quarterly with my usual praise of your combination of seeing far and watching close. Also the memo on the Florida business, which was new to me, entirely, and which I will watch.

Send me some more!

Sincerely,

SRC - Race in the News

March 10, 1950

Mr. Armistead S. Pride, Dean
School of Journalism
Lincoln University
Jefferson City, Missouri

Dear Dean Pride:

Mr. Frank P. Thomas, one of your students, wrote me the other day, and asked that I send you something about the Council's efforts to improve the handling of Negro news in the Southern press.

We remember that some months ago you very kindly asked for a copy of Race in the News, but we send you another for a spare.

We got it out, through the Southern Newspaper Publishers themselves, to all the Southern dailies, months ago. Just lately we found money enough to mail it to the 2000 county weeklies. We haven't yet heard much in reply from the weeklies, but the evidence of its effect on the dailies is on the whole gratifying. Many papers are minding p's and q's that they didn't formerly, and many are most generous in coverage, and in use of pictures. It is not a movement that we can claim to have started, but we gave it a good push, and shaped it some.

My Thomas is my good friend; I am glad he is in your hands.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Thomas

THE ALABAMA CITIZEN, INC.

"A Clean, Constructive Newspaper Serving The Thousands of Alabama's Black Belt"

PHONE 9947

1307 27th Ave. Published Weekly at **P. O. Box 815**

TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA

418 Adams St.
Jefferson City,Mo.
March 6,1950.

RECEIVED
MAR 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr.George S.Mitchell,Director,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.
Atlanta 3,Ga.

Dear Dr.Mitchell:

You will doubtless be surprised to know that I am in school once more after an interval of many years.Since February of this year I have been enrolled in a course in journalism at Lincoln University in this city.The institution has an excellent faculty and is doing a splendid job.There are many fine young men and women from the deep south who will return to their homes after they have completed their training.

Mr. Pride ordered a copy of Race in the News several mos. ago.

A Mr.Armistead S.Pride is dean of the School of Journalism and I would like for you to write him concerning the efforts your organazation has made in improving conditions in the south.I would like for him to have a copy of the material prepared by the Council for the white press.Missouri is a southern state and could be helped also.

I am doing a research project on the "Alabama Sharecropper".I would like to have any material you have on the subject.I am reading books written by Drs.Odum and Johnson.If you have other books that will aid in my quest for information,I will be very grateful for their use and will return them safely.

I promise to organize a Council in Tuscaloosa as soon as I have the opportunity.I had a letter from Mr.McKee recently informing me that he thought well of the matter but would not be able to undertake the formation of a unit in Tuscaloosa.I will work on others who will,I feel, be interested in initiating such a movement.

I am most grateful for any information you may send relative to the research project and will expect to hear from you soon.I do hope you have been enjoying splendid health and success in your work.

Very truly yours,

Frank P. Thomas

Frank P.Thomas

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Frank P.

Dear Mr. Thomas,

I am so glad you are doing what you are doing. I have long thought we would all be further along if all our newspaper people had ample opportunity for just such graduate training as you are taking. Your good paper will be even better when you are back.

I wrote Mr. Pride. I am sure he must be a good egg.

On sharecropping, the latest figures are to be had from Ernest Neal, at Tuskegee. You know him, of course. Much that is useful will be found in a Gov't publication as follows:

Study of Agricultural and Economic Problems of the Cotton Belt hearings before Special Subcommittee on Cotton of the (House) Committee on Agriculture, ~~85~~ 80th Congress, First Session July 7 and 8 1947

Here are what figures I got a couple of years ago.

Try Vance, All These People

The ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Report of the Sparkman Committee of the Senate, on low-income families, last year, will be very helpful. Write John Sparkman for it.

Do get back and set us up a Committee in Tuscaloosa. We need them and they need us.

PS. Hey! I looked you up. You aren't even a member of our Council. How about coughing up three bucks, broke as you are?

Sincerely,

Mis T

May 3, 1950

Dean H. B. Trimble
Candler School of Theology
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Dear Dean Trimble:

At the request of Mr. John Griffin, we are sending you ten membership blanks.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Rogers
Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

M.S. - T

May 8, 1950

Mr. Horace Taylor
Hamilton Hall
Columbia University
New York, New York

Dear Horace:

This is a sort of accolade from the Herald-Tribune of which my Council is very proud.

Best to you and Louise.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Encl.

Mis T

May 25, 1950

Mr. Prince A. Taylor, Jr.
The Central Christian Advocate
631 Baronne Street
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

I am sure you will be interested in the results of this survey conducted at Greenville, South Carolina by a responsible Negro and white committee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

June 12, 1950 GSM

Mr. Lucien Tribus, Council for Bd. of Natl. Missions, Presby. Church, will be in Atlanta sometime after mid-June. ~~In~~ He will call you. ~~FEE~~

(See attached correspondence)

(cannot locate original letter from Beyer. Do you have it? If not, I'll look again. —Beta)

May 29, 1950

Mr. Lucien H. Tribus
Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Tribus:

I will look forward to word from you after mid-June as to when you can come to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

May 26, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: James P. Wilson

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I thank you very much for your prompt reply to my recent letter. Unfortunately, I am tied up right through the middle of June. I will, however, write you shortly after this time and arrange to come to Atlanta to see you at some later date and I hope at that time to be able to lay before you all of the facts that we have been able to develope so far in this unfortunate case.

Sincerely yours,

Lucien H. Tribus

Lucien H. Tribus
Legal Counsel

LHT:MAC

c: Rev. William H. McConaghy

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1950
Southern Regional Council

May 18, 1950

Mr. Lucien H. Tribus, Legal Counsel
Board of National Missions of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Tribus:

I am at your service here in Atlanta on any day from May 22 to June 6. Otherwise, I could come to New York (though not at my own expense) any time in there except May 22.

Please let me know as soon as you know what your plans are.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAY 18 1950
Southern Regional Council

May 16, 1950

Mr. George Mitchell
Director of Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I would very much like to have the privilege of a personal conference with you at your convenience concerning a most unfortunate case involving one of our colored Presbyterian Ministers who was beaten over the head with the pistol of a policeman, unjustly imprisoned, heavily fined and allowed to go on his way after most abusive treatment.

This is the kind of a case which needs careful consideration and balanced minds before jumping at conclusions and it is for this reason that I would like to lay the facts as we have them before you.

With kind regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Lucien H. Tribus

Lucien H. Tribus
Legal Counsel

LHT/mw

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

T-Misc
Tuskegee

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

June 27, 1950

RECEIVED
JUN 29 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

This is the promised reminder of your verbal committment to prepare a statement for the proceedings of the recent conference at Tuskegee. The editorial committee decided to ask ten people to prepare statements of 1,000 or 1,500 words on a specific subject.

The general area in which your discussion is desired is "Some Basic Problems in the Rural South". You need not accept that as a subject, but are free to select a focus anywhere you wish to in that general area.

Knowing that you are busy, we fully appreciate the sacrifice this will entail but we consider it desirable for a meaningful proceedings volume. If at all possible, we should like to have the paper by August 10th.

With warm good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

LEWIS W. JONES, Chairman
Editorial Committee

Proceedings of Tuskegee Conference
on The Changing Status of the Negro
in Southern Agriculture

Thank you for your work on the Conference.

LWJ:mhl

T-Misc

July 24, 1950

Mr. Lucien H. Tribus
Legal Counsel
Board of National Missions of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Tribus:

I am grateful for your letter of July 18.

The finding will preclude your visit to Atlanta, but come to see us when you happen to be in the city.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Mr. Mitchell's absence

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

July 18, 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: Rev. James P. Wilson

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I have had a complete and unbiased report from the Attorney General of the United States, who was kind enough to let me see the F. B. I. files on the above matter.

Incidently, the ace investigator for the F. B. I. in charge of this case was a colored man, so that there is no question of bias.

Mr. Wilson was charged with reckless driving and resisting arrest. The F. B. I. found no grounds for indictment, and, in my opinion, there are no existing grounds for a suit.

Very sincerely yours,

Lucien H. Tribus

Lucien H. Tribus
Legal Counsel

LHT:MAC

T - Musical

July 31, 1950

Mr. J. T. Brooks
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Brooks:

I should like to add my own and the Southern Regional Council's cordial appreciation of Mr. Trenholm's twenty-five years of service to the cause of education in Alabama.

His energy and wisdom have directed the growth throughout a large part of the whole educational system of the State. I had myself the other day an opportunity to understand, in conference with groups of teachers at the College, the high degree of ability and alert interest which Alabama teachers display.

Mr. Trenholm has been a valued principal officer of the Southern Regional Council's Alabama Division from its beginning, and we are most grateful for his generous sharing of his time and interest in promoting in this way the cause of interracial understanding and a common citizenship in Alabama.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

THE COMMITTEE ON THE OBSERVANCE OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY
OF
DR. H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM
AS PRESIDENT OF THE ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE

Montgomery, Alabama.

Dear Friend:

The 1949-50 school term marks the seventy-fifth year of the operation of the Alabama State College and the twenty-fifth year of service of Dr. H. Councill Trenholm as President. During his administration the institution has grown from a small normal school to one of the largest of our colleges.

The local friends and associates of Dr. Trenholm are honoring him on THURSDAY, AUGUST 3, 1950 at EIGHT O'CLOCK P. M., with a Testimonial Banquet at which Dr. Felton G. Clark will be the speaker. We are sure that you, along with a large number of his friends and his associates in all parts of the country, will wish to have a share in paying tribute to this great and unselfish leader. Reservations for the banquet are five dollars per plate, the funds from this source to be used in the purchase of a substantial gift for the honoree.

It is expected that large numbers of his friends and well-wishers who cannot be present in person but will notwithstanding wish to participate in appreciatory occasion. If you find it inconvenient to be present, but wish, nevertheless, to share in this effort either through a banquet reservation, or by sending a special contribution, kindly fill in the enclosed card and return it with your check to the undersigned.

The committee also proposes to present to President Trenholm a bound volume of testimonial letters, which should be written on 8½ x 11 bond paper. These letters should express YOUR personal sentiments. We hope that you will share in one or both of these gestures of appreciation, and we look forward to receiving your letter and/or banquet reservation or special contribution NOT LATER THAN JULY 25th. Please send these to the undersigned as it is the desire of the committee that the occasion will have an element of surprise.

Sincerely yours,

J. T. Brooks

J. T. BROOKS, Chairman.

September 20, 1950

Mr. Frances Taylor
The News and Courier
Meeting Street
Charleston, S. C.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

At the suggestion of one of our Charleston members, I am happy to send you this account of the mob violence in and around Groveland, Fla., last summer.

We have read with great interest your stories on the recent Myrtle Beach disorder. You are to be congratulated on so thorough a job.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

enc.
New South, Aug. 49

Tydings

November 10, 1950

Mr. J. M. Tydings
The Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

We were mighty sorry not to have you, but grateful for Dr. McDowell and Dr. Parrish. They added a lot to the meeting.

Do write me a good long Kentucky letter and tell me how things are. And did Hortense Young get elected? And what happened at the meeting last month?

Your two emissaries will tell you about the meeting here. Good for everybody's soul, but not much good for anybody's body.

My Berea business works out to be from noon Friday, November 17 to Saturday night, when I head back to Atlanta. I will rejoice when the plane lands on the green grass and grieve when the train headsSouth.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

THE LINCOLN FOUNDATION

LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

STANLEY NEWHALL, PRESIDENT
CHARLES W. ALLEN, VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. FREDRICK T. FLYNN, SECRETARY
CHARLES E. STOLL, TREASURER
C. L. THOMAS, MEMBER

J. MANSIR TYDINGS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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J. F. LAINE
THRUSTON B. MORTON
STANLEY NEWHALL
W. H. PERRY, JR.
MISS JULIET POYNTER
WILLIAM A. STARK
CHARLES E. STOLL
C. L. THOMAS
COLEMAN WRIGHT

November 6, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Dr. Martti Hela, President of the Teacher Training College for Finland, is being sent here by the Department of State, Washington, D.C. and will be our guest in Kentucky from November 8-17.

I am to be his guide during his stay, and, therefore, I will not be able to attend the annual meeting of Southern Regional council on November 7 and 8.

During the meeting of our Kentucky Division Directors, on October 20, Dr. Edward McDowell, and Dr. Charles H. Parrish were elected as delegates for Kentucky. They will assure you that our interest in the Southern Regional Council program is alive as ever.

I shall miss being with you very much. Best wishes for an inspiring and productive meeting.

Sincerely yours,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:gh

RECEIVED
NOV 8 1950
Southern Regional Council

Trigg

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

November 17, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I want to tell you how much I enjoyed the hospitality extended to me by you and your very wonderful family. It is very seldom that I get a chance to rest, but I did rest at your home.

We have not been able to schedule that meeting here yet, The people who are willing and anxious to do something seem unable to get together. I am not discouraged about it, I am sure that we will be able to have a meeting in the very near future and we will do something about it.

I am sending a small package to you and Mrs. Mitchell for consumption around the fireplace at home.

I think your two daughters are well adjusted personalities. They seem to have a feeling of adequacy that always encourages me in young people.

But for SRC finances you have every reason to be 100% happy.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
President

RECEIVED
NOV 20 1950

HLT:mbw

12/4/50 - acknowledged - said GSM out of city - BK

T misc
Tuskegee

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

RECEIVED
DEC 7 1950
Southern Regional Council

November 29, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am sending copies of the attached proceedings of the second Conference of Rural Community Centers to a few persons whom I feel may be interested in the doings of our fledgling organization.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis W. Jones

Lewis W. Jones
Research Associate

LWJ:bh
encl.

Proceedings

CONFERENCE OF RURAL COMMUNITY CENTERS

Second Annual Meeting; Highlander Folk School,
Monteagle, Tennessee
July 17 and 18, 1950

Myles Horton, Highlander Folk School - Chairman
Ernest E. Neal, Rural Life Council,
Tuskegee Institute - Executive Secretary

Second Annual Conference of Rural Community Centers
Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee, July 17 and 18, 1950.

PROGRAM

MONDAY, JULY 17, 1950

8:00 A.M.: Breakfast

9:00-10:00 A.M.: Registration

10:00-10:15 A.M.: Opening Remarks and Introductions

10:15-10:30 A.M.: Purpose of Conference of Rural Community Centers and report of Executive Secretary

10:30-12:00 Noon: Address - Honorable K. T. Hutchinson, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

12:00 Noon: Lunch

1:30-4:00 P.M.: Report on Activities in other Rural Centers, Chairman, Miss Ruth Morton, American Missionary Association

4:00-6:00 P.M.: Review of Highlander Folk School Program

6:00 P.M.: Dinner

7:30-9:30 P.M.: Recreation, Mrs. Zilphia Horton

TUESDAY, JULY 18, 1950

8:00-9:00 A.M.: Breakfast

9:00-10:00 A.M.: Opening Exercises

10:00-12:00 Noon: Panel Discussions on Agency Services

1. Mr. C. S. Shelton
National Farm Loan Association Secretary
Winchester, Tennessee

2. Mr. John H. Jarratt
Secretary-Treasurer
Murfreesboro Production Credit Administration
Murfreesboro, Tennessee

3. Mr. Webb, Representative
Soil Conservation Service (state office)
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Nashville, Tennessee

4. Mr. Raymond C. Smith
Assistant Chief
Bureau of Agriculture Economics
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Washington 25, D. C.

12:00 Noon: Lunch

2:00-3:00 P.M.: Address - "Philosophy and Principles of the Methodist Church Community Centers", by Miss Marjorie Minkler, Executive Secretary, Bureau of Town and Country Work, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church.

3:00-3:30 P.M.: Discussions

3:30-4:30 P.M.: Business Session

6:00 P.M.: Dinner and End of Conference.

CONTENTS

1. Purpose of the Conference -
Ernest E. Neal, Executive Secretary

2. Framework of the Conference -
Lewis W. Jones, Research Associate,
Rural Life Council, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.

3. "Philosophy and Principles of the Methodist Church Community Centers" - Miss Marjorie Minkler, Executive Secretary, Bureau of Town and Country Work, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church.

4. Reports on Activities of Rural Centers -
A. Highlander Folk School - Myles Horton
B. Work in American Missionary Association Community Centers -
Samuel C. Adams, Lincoln School, Marion Alabama

C. Mississippi Rural Center -
Columbia, Mississippi
J. C. Pittman, Director

D. Scott's Run Settlement House -
Route 1, Morgantown, West Virginia
Miss Laura Robbins, Superintendent

E. Amberstdale Wesley House -
Amberstdale, West Virginia
Miss Mildred Ralston, Superintendent

F. Mobile County Rural Center -
Mount Vernon, Alabama
Mrs. Marjorie H. Hughes, Director

G. Rural Work of the Church of Brethren -
Rev. Ora Huston, Social Action Director,
Church of the Brethren

H. Scarritt College Rural Center -
Crossville, Tennessee
Mrs. Catherine Ezell

5. Federal Agency Services for Rural Communities -
A. The National Farm Loan Association - Mr. Shelton
B. The Production Credit Association - Mr. Jarrett
C. The Soil Conservation Service - Mr. Webb
D. Service Provisions for Farmers - Mr. Smith

Report of the Executive Secretary and Purpose of the Conference

Ernest E. Neal, Director
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

On July 6 and 7, 1949, representatives from the following rural community centers met at Tuskegee Institute for a conference on Social Experimentation on the Community Level:

1. Macedonia Cooperative Community, Clarkesville, Georgia
2. Bricks Rural Life School, Bricks, North Carolina
3. Dorchester Cooperative Center, McIntosh, Georgia
4. Lincoln School, Marion, Alabama
5. Cotton Valley School, Tuskegee, Alabama
6. Sabine Farms Resettlement Project, Marshall, Texas
7. Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee
8. Log Cabin Community, Sparta, Georgia

This conference was important in that it brought together in a body individuals and organizations working on common problems, but not too well acquainted with the work or philosophies of each other.

The results of this two-day conference was the organization of a Conference of Rural Community Centers. The members of that conference felt that there was a need for such an organization. It could function as a clearing house to keep each project director informed of the activities of all the others, and as an instrument for the sharing of resources and experiences.

It was the concensus of those attending the conference last year that this conference be more concerned about services and information available for the improvement of the very low group that most of the centers worked with.

During the past year, the executive secretary prepared a report of the proceedings of the 1949 conference, issued one newsletter, and sought to contact every organized rural community center in the South. In addition to the eight centers represented last year, we were able to contact twenty-two centers operated by the Bureau of Town and Country Work, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church; two centers operated by the Catholic Church; and one center operated by the Friends Service.

The second newsletter has not been prepared because we failed to get any replies from our request for information from the centers to include in the second newsletter.

Those of us who attended the conference at Tuskegee Institute last year know that the idea for a Conference of Rural Community Centers originated with Mr. Lewis W. Jones. Mr. Jones has developed a framework for this second conference which will be presented to you.

Many of the best community centers are found to be run or sponsored by church groups, because as a rule the churches are most concerned with people. They are sensitive to and aware of the needs of the people. Long before a hospitable opinion has been created in which public action may proceed to meet social problems, the church organizations have pioneered, often at the risk of unpopularity, and accumulated knowledge and know how while they served.

The primary purpose of this organization is to facilitate the pioneering in social services to rural communities by a sharing of experience which dissiminates successful practices and offers safe guards against errors and mistakes which having been made in one or another instance of experimentation need not be repeated.

Pioneering on the social frontier in the interest of the man fartherest down, each of us needs the moral support and hard earned experience of others of our kind. Rather than feeling oneself to be isolated in the immensity of rural social problems of our day, each of us can regard ourselves as one of the vanguard with a common purpose. In providing lines of communication between the members of this vanguard, this organization has its reason for being.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE WORK OF RURAL COMMUNITY CENTERS*

Lewis W. Jones

I have no greater admiration than that I hold for men and women of goodwill who dedicate their hearts and expend their energies on behalf of those they see needing aid or assistance. I have no greater compassion than that I feel for these good people who are bewildered and disappointed at the unrewarding results of their tireless efforts and almost super-human self denial.

It has been my privilege to observe the ruins of some of these efforts. These ruins have often been majestic as ruins frequently are. I remember gazing indignantly at the beautiful community center erected on the Circle M ranch in Noxubee County, Mississippi that had been put to use as a hay barn.

This community center embodied a dream of Ernest W. Marland once owner of the ranch and later Governor of Oklahoma. Its auditorium planned for the entertainment of the people, was filled with hay for mules while the people whom it was built had no relief from their forlorn shacks.

I have seen churches with parsonages, built by philanthropy, never occupied by a minister.

I have seen Credit Unions flourish for a year and fail, destroying people's hopes.

---

* Presented as the framework of the second annual conference of Rural Centers at Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn., July 17 and 18, 1950.

I have seen dedicated and dilligent workers in rural communities forlorn and sad in the failure of their missions.

I have seen the most conscientous and earnest christians become unabashed liars - claiming success and victory for undertakings that were undeniable defeats.

I have seen people - people needy of the world's goods, true enough, but needing most the faith men live by, disillusioned because promises made to them and expectations raised in them fell short of realization.

Why have these things been? Why are they in process of being? Because the greatest of christian virtues - faith, consecration, self-denial, compassion, and energy were not enough. Workers undertook chosen tasks in a world where economic laws and social processes operate inexorably. Denying, ignoring, or simply failing to understand, they lashed these seas which billowed and kept tide schedules, unfeeling and unmindful.

These things need not have been and it is my chosen task to explain why they should not be.

Study and Analysis - Action Research

In too many instances policies have been formulated and programs inaugurated for people and places without understanding the people or places and failing to consider the forces playing on them.

The only way to acquire the essential basic understandings is through study and analysis. I am aware that people of action sigh disgustedly when a "study" is proposed. To them it means another round of inquiry, another report to gather dust on some out-of-the-way shelf. This is not the kind of research I am suggesting. Before any undertaking is begun, there is need for basic understanding of the situation.

In the case of a community program: What is the structure of the community? What is the nature of the economic and social processes influencing the community?

You may ask, "Why take the time to study and analyze community structure when it is obvious that something needs to be done"? Unless you know the concentration of population in the several age-groups a sound program cannot be developed. Unless you are aware of the cliques and factions in a community you may become identified with one and preclude working with others. For a program to succeed you must know the natural leadership in the community - those individuals who enjoy prestige and followings. Unless you are aware of divisions and groupings within the community, there is likelihood of failure to secure full representation in planning activities.

"What about these economic and social processes"? You may ask. Are the natural resources and industrial opportunities such that the people are assured of a livelihood? Are they being depleted or waning? Is the trend in the economic enterprises found in this area one of mechanization which produces technological unemployment? Is this an area into which people are moving? I know of a community in which a modern school building was erected three years ago. A four-room four-teacher building, all glass and brick. This year the enrollment dropped to 96 pupils and two teachers were cut off. Mechanization of farming reached the area and the surplus farmers had to seek employment elsewhere.

A sure way to have a program fail is to set the goals of a community program contrary to the fundamental economic and social trends. To devise a program in tune with these trends is the first prerequisite for a successful activity.

Once the goals are in harmony with the rhythm and tempo of the com-

munity, the next consideration is that of techniques and procedures. The right procedures must be employed to achieve the ends desired.

Limiting the Program

Some community centers have programs filled with such a variety of activities that the staff whirls in a breathless keeping up with the schedule.

The program should be limited and the activities of members of the staff limited.

It seems that the first consideration in limiting the program to manageable proportions is to check proposed activities for duplication. When a service is available from another agency referrals may be made to that agency. In rural areas, especially, there is a temptation to aid farmers in solving problems for which special agencies exist. Rather than offer the services of an amateur, make referrals to specialists whose experience will serve the farmer better.

For those services that fall within the province of existing institutions such as the church, the school, the extension service, the welfare agencies, etc., cooperation with these agencies may be developed rather than have the rural center assume a part of their responsibilities.

When duplication of the services of another agency has been avoided the program can then be planned in terms of the need of the people in the community and what members of the center staff can do well. The center may not have staff or resources to serve all of the unfilled needs of the people and will do well to select several on which to concentrate. In choosing these areas of concentration the wisdom which is the better part of enthusiasm dictates selection being made on the basis of the abilities of members of the staff. There will be things which the staff

can handle capably and others with which they can only fumble. Choice of areas of concentration seems clearly indicated between those things that can be well done and those which cannot. Instances may be cited in which well meaning people considered an activity, foreign to their experience, as being simple indeed, only to make bold and find themselves confounded by what they have on their hands.

Policy Making

Too many institutions reflect the philosophy and point of view of the person administering the program. It is my contention that each community center should have a policy - a policy formulated to govern the center and as binding on the director as upon the least person served by the center.

A policy, formally stated and written, prevents the center's activities from being a personalized affair. Where there is a policy the danger of self gratification on the part of the administrator is avoided. Unless the policy is clearly stated, the director may impress his religious views, his moral concepcions, his conventions, his political views, etc., on the institution and make of it an extension of his personality.

This danger leads me to the point of view that policy formulation is the province of the national office, board of directors, or other governing agency. Workers employed then understand that they accept employment with the agreement that they are to work within the framework of careful thought out policy.

Program Direction

Just as policy is the province of the board or agency having to do with overall direction, so it seems that the program of the center, within

the framework of policy, should be left to those working at the local level. These people at the local level are most familiar with what is actually happening and what should and can be done. There is a danger that functionaries in New York or Washington intrude into program making and require activities of the center staff that the staff knows to be unwise and unsuited, but because the national office requires it they undertake these tasks they know are not to be productive. Just as the staff should not make policy so the board should not make programs.

Nothing appears to be more destructive to the morale of a staff than to receive orders to undertake action they know to be unwise. They can't accomplish what has been set for them and yet their efficiency is judged on basis of the results by the person who issued the directions. It is small wonder that the spirit of the worker shrivels and enthusiasm departs as he makes lying reports to satisfy the ego of the director whose "community" is an air conditioned office.

Conclusion

Problems of rural people in the South are perhaps more serious than they have been before. There has hardly been a time when the need for rural centers has been greater. As a matter of fact the rural center movement is in its beginning, called forth by the urgent needs of the times.

People scarcely realize what is happening to them as not being personal. Things, to them, are just happening. Behind their personal fortunes in the situation is a logic creating the situation. It is a logic of overdue economic and social changes. The forces at work will bring the logic to its conclusion regardless of personal hopes and frustrations. Reorientation of the people affected is the need which the rural centers may help in supplying.

Older people in the population are increasing in numbers and proportion at a time when technological changes in production are eliminating them, as a class, from agriculture. Children are being emancipated from labor in the fields by machines. These new machines and improved farm practices are making traditional occupational skills obsolete and increasing the amount of leisure farm people have. People suddenly declared surplus in agriculture find themselves evicted from farms, and temporarily at least, in villages and towns near the places where they formerly worked

The rural center has an opportunity for service no less dramatic than that of urban settlement houses in city slums. We would do well to draw heavily on their experiences. With careful study and analysis of the situation in which our centers are placed, clearly formulated policies by our directing agencies, and wise program planning on our part, the Rural Community Center may render an unprecedented service to the people of the South.

PHILOSOPHY AND PRINCIPLES OF THE METHODIST CHURCH COMMUNITY CENTERS.

by

Miss Marjorie Minkler, Executive Secretary,
Bureau of Town and Country Work, Woman's
Division of Christian Service of the Board
of Missions and Church Extension of the
Methodist Church.

(Miss Minkler's full address will be distributed at a later date. The following summary is based upon notes taken at the time Miss Minkler spoke. Editor)

(SUMMARY)

Most of our work in rural areas is not community centers; most of the work is done by another method. Rather than speak of the philosophy of our centers, I should rather speak of the philosophy and church work in rural areas. In back of that is our philosophy of missions. The church has been a pioneering agency in areas of need through the years. There was a time when there was very little opportunity for education except in church schools. The church pioneered in the field of education. The need for such church schools now is not as great as it used to be. The church pioneered in the field of health, hospitals, etc., and the church continues to pioneer in new fields. Work was done through the church through alms giving. It was a forerunner of the public welfare system we have now. We should turn our work into fields to meet needs that are not being met by anyone else. We have had, for a long time, community centers in the cities, but not until recent years have we had centers in rural areas.

If we are to do this kind of pioneering, we must be able to change.

We are living in a changing world and we must change. We must include in our philosophy the importance of change. In all of our mission work our aim is to help people help themselves. There is danger of our losing sight of this despite the fact that we repeat it so often. Through our work we may be at times making more people dependent instead of less dependent on our leadership. I think that is particularly true in some areas; for example, our work with the American Indians and here I am afraid that some of our church work has had the same effect as the government work.

Through our work we are helping them to become less dependent and do things for themselves. This is also true in our work in industrial and farm areas. The town and country work of the Methodist Church includes work in towns of 1,000 population and under. Towns of 2500 and over are not rural, but we do have a great deal of work in small towns. We have one thing in common — our common denominator is our work on community relationships. Our aim at helping to build a christian life removing whatever barriers there may be to complete brotherhood and understanding , and the things that make for a better life.

We feel that leadership is needed in most areas. Most of our work is done in rural areas through institutions or whatever there is in a community to use or work with. Each community ought to have buildings for recreation, clubs, etc. Our workers help the people to study their community to see what its needs are - to see the possibilities there and to work out ways of doing something about these things which are needed in order to make it a more christian community and one that makes for better environment for children.

Our workers do not stay in one place permanently. They usually stay perhaps for a period of three or four or more years; but long enough to help the people have some experiences together, but not staying long enough that the people will become dependent on the worker for leadership.

Two problems facing the people today are the problems of war and conserving the soil. One of the basic causes of war is inadequate food supply. More and more we realize the importance of influence of character of individuals in the earlier months of childhood. A sense of love and security from successful participation in group activities, will enable him in adult life to have confidence in himself and to make a definite contribution to his community. More than one-half of the people in the United States live in towns of 10,000 population and under. Christian leaders in such communities have unlimited possibilities.

Rural churches are responsible for developing leaders. 68% of the members of the Methodist Church are rural people. Changes are taking place rapidly in rural areas and towns. There is a constant shift in population from rural areas to urban. Radical changes are occuring in community life because of social, economic changes, migrant labor, mechanization, etc. Rural churches often serve only land owning farmers and in the tenant areas, the churches are dying. When we look at this picture, we see the church's responsibility.

On John's Island, South Carolina, the farmers own their own land and are discouraged. County Agents give very little time to the island people, so the Division of Home Missions of the Church made plans to employ an agricultural missionary for this area.

In more normal areas where technical assistance is available, it is not necessary for the church to send leaders in the field of agriculture but the church does have an important role to play. Agricultural experts are not supplying information and help in that line that people need. The church must be concerned with the problems of the soil. Able leaders for the rural churches to promote religious living is needed.

What can the church do to help farmers in rural areas? At the last General Conference of the Methodist Church authorization was given for the setting up a committee to expedite loaning money to young farm couples. This committee can help by not only with funds loaned by the church members, but by knowing the community and farms that are for sale and helping them in getting started. Can also help farmers by encouraging them to buy seeds, machinery, etc. either cooperatively, or set up cooperatives.

The church also has interest in the farm laborer. We are trying to develop leadership offering recreational facilities and are working in the field of adult education. Then we have community centers in small towns along the Mexico border. One of the greatest needs there is helping the children and adults learn the language. Children often drop out of school at an early age because of the difficulties of not knowing the English language.

We have a good many centers in mining areas, and we are trying to help the people develop a sense of civic responsibilities in such areas. We should like to try methods other than community centers in the mining areas. Last year we asked Scarritt College to make a study of the situation in Bluefield, Virginia. Three professors ar Scarritt formed a seminar and studied the situation and then went into the area and

and asked the people about their community and what was needed and how the church could best help them with their needs. We are now looking for a man and his wife and a community worker to go into that area. The job will be chiefly that of community organization.

We do have a few leadership training centers in rural areas and are bringing in groups for various institutes and short term schools, etc. The majority of our workers are those working without buildings of any kind. Beginning with the children they are helping build creative activities -- teachers cooperate with the leaders and we work through the adult leaders of young people. Our workers do not come to the area with a set program in mind. They first get acquainte with the area and agencies there - then plan programs for their own needs. We must have leadership and well prepared ministers who wish to stay in the rural areas.

The churdh is a real responsibility for developing wholesome community life -- inter-church cooperation is encouraged. If the church is to be effective in building a community, it must also cooperate with the other agencies. It isn't the aim of our workers to do things themselves, but to help people find ways to do them.

It is the responsibility of the church to give people a world vision so they will know the needs of the people not only in this country, but in other countries.

REPORTS ON ACTIVITIES OF RURAL CENTERS

According to the plan of procedure adopted at the first conference, a different rural center will be host to the conference each year. In this way members of the conference will have the opportunity to observe the work of centers other than their own. This year the host center, Highlander Folk School, was examined by the conference group and when observation had been completed the program was discussed.

Review of Highlander Folk School Program
Myles Horton, Director

We are delighted to have you here at Highlander and to have an opportunity of explaining our program to you. As far as possible we will show you what we are doing by visits to the nursery school which is also used as a community center; our library where this conference is to be held, the Film Center and the school farm. Now, However, I would like to tell you what we have been trying to do since the school started back in 1932.

We believe that education must be for a clearly defined purpose and that the job cannot be done in a vacum. Consequently, we have always tried to make clear our purpose as outlined in the official statement of the policy. Specifically Highlander Folk School is dedicated to a democratic goal - a goal that includes everyone and democracy without reservations. "We hold that democracy is inactive unless workers are given a full voice in industry through unions; or farmers are given a voice in the market place through cooperatives; or where freedom of thought and discussion is limited; that democracy is outlawed by

legally entrenched discrimination and segregation. An army of democracy deeply rooted in the lives, struggles and traditions of the American people must be created", reads the school's statement of purpose. "Our services are available to labor, farm, community, religious and civic organizations working toward a democratic goal."

Belief in democracy or any goal in democracy is not enough. An educational method must be developed that is in keeping with the goal. To make our program realistic we stay with the solution of genuine problems facing the people of the South. Highlander provides practical training for leaders, particularly of economic organizations and farm organizations and cooperatives. Because of our beliefs, we can move more rapidly toward our goal of democracy.

We have a goal: democracy, and we strive to develop leaders who will be effective in terms of things we believe in. This means we strive to develop leaders for the people - leaders for democracy.

To fulfil its purpose, Highlander helps people form their organizations, as in the early years of industrial unionism and today in the present stage of Farmers Union organization in the South, when staff members worked as organizers.

In one and two-week "schools" held at Highlander and in institutes and conferences held in rural and industrial communities all over the South, Highlander's staff teaches the newly organized workers and farmers the understanding and skills they need to make their organizations effective instruments for strengthening and broadening the scope of democracy.

The hosiery mill worker who learns to think through his problems, and those of his fellow workers and to speak up in a local union meeting is on his way to raising his voice in the affairs of the nation.

The farmer who learns how to build a strong, successful cooperative that serves his community and to protect it against big business sponsored legislation is taking the economy a steady step out from under monopoly control.

The Negro who organizes a successful registration campaign in the face of the white primary system has forged a powerful weapon against terrorism, against control by greed and hate.

These are the people Highlander serves. The school helps them understand how their lives are shaped by economic and political institutions. It teaches them how to control these forces. It helps them set a goal beyond but including the bettering of their economic situation - a goal of a working democracy in this country and peace in the world.

Highlander believes that the organized efforts of all the people are needed. The school brings together white and Negro - farmer and industrial worker - wherever Highlander carries on an educational program, whether it is at the school or in some community to which staff members have been invited. Together they work out solutions to their problems. People learn to live and work together only with practice.

An interracial school in a southern community is impossible unless there is community understanding and support. Highlander develops this support in its own community by participation in all community activities and by bringing its neighbors into the school's program. Staff members are active in the parent-teacher club and in the community sewing cooperative.

It provides a recreation center for the young people. Highlander operates a nursery school for the children. The nursery school, with a trained teacher who is a member of the Highlander staff, offers the

children in this small mountain community pre-school guidance comparable to that available to children in cities. The service to the community creates strong ties between the parent and the school.

The Highlander Film Center provides visual aids to teaching - movies, film strips, posters, displays, photographs, and teaching charts.

The Highlander library serves the community and students from all parts of the South.

Highlander's impact on the South must be measured not alone by the skills and understanding it gives its "students". It builds a fire under them. Highlander stirs the mind to believe that it is possible to get out of the monotonous rut of being dogged from pillar to post by landlord, boss and creditor; of being used by any politician on any side of any issue. It is possible to be among the dreamers and planners and builders.

A Negro farmer put it, "It's like the crowing of a rooster before the dawn breaks."

And over the South the people stir. A farmer following a mule down a sandy furrow in Alabama lifts his head. A steelworker firing a furnace in Chattanooga wipes the sweat, rests his shovel and listens.

These are the new leaders of the South.

WORK IN AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION CENTERS
Samuel C. Adams

The oldest community program of the A M A is that carried on at Bricks, North Carolina. There a program is being worked out for the education of sharecroppers as a part of the process of advancing them up the tenure ladder. Selected sharecropper families are established on the Bricks farm for guidance and training. Usually, they remain for five years in this training situation after which time they are expected to be prepared to follow a successful farming program wherever they establish themselves.

In addition to this farmer apprenticeship program, Bricks has a modern building and short terms residence courses are offered there.

The Dorchester Community Center at McIntosh, Liberty County, Georgia has a program designed to help the people improve their economic conditions. Major activities carried on there are the cooperative purchase of tractors, a credit union and most successful has been activity in the political action field. A political organization developed there has brought increasing numbers of Negroes to utilize their voting privileges.

The most recently undertaken community program has been that of the Lincoln school at Marion, Alabama. At the time a community program was launched the area was in the throes of migration. The county lost about 6,000 people while the southern end of the county moved from cotton growing to dairying and cattle raising. In the upper section of the

county there are about 484 Negro land owners. When we moved into the community our project was called "A program of awakening awareness." As a first step we made a study of the entire section and the problems of the people. When we came to the program development stage we concentrated all of our efforts on one project in a single community. This club has been developing activities for farmers in the area.

Mississippi Rural Center,
Columbia, Mississippi
J. C. Pittman, Director

The community is completely colored with about 300 colored families. A survey showed 6,000 persons in the immediate and adjoining communities. We have a clinic with a full time doctor and they feel the clinic is one of the most important assets in the community. The clinic program includes blood tests, vaccinations, etc., work with religious activities is already in progress - have bible classes, study groups, etc. We have library and books donated from different organizations. Acquainted the people with the other agencies in action in the county. We found that people did not know how to use the different agencies and facilities available to them. There is a planned recreation program for different age groups. The only standard gymnasium for colored people in the state of Mississippi is at our center. Staff: started out with two workers - have added two persons including the doctor. The school gave the land and cooperated with the center - helped with the buildings. Schools and people at first doubted the experiment would work, but they feel they have responsibilities for maintaining facilities and help carry the program out, and they are beginning more and more to appreciate and

understand the importance of the center.

A committee made up of the people from the community, helping with the planning, decided the things that were needed - because of their desire and realization of the need that the center start there. The center is not confined to the immediate community but people from all over the state of Mississippi come to the center to have annual meetings, etc.

Scott's Run Settlement House
Miss Laura Robbins

Scott's Run Settlement House is in a rural industrial area. The community is around 60 years old. About 28 years ago a deaconess made a survey and found no church in the area. As interest increased, they rented a building and as work increased they employed more workers. The building includes a gym which was used for the Junior high school, a room for a kindergarten, usual club activities, boy scouts, etc. A club for the other youngsters not in that age group. By being in the community we have been able to make a church home for the people. Population is largely foreign - about 15 different nationalities using the center. We have a dining room and kitchen, small library.

Students from the University of West Virginia help with club activities. We cooperate with the public school - work with the PTA in the community cooperatively with the school on recreation activities. Around 100 families are tied in with some club at the settlement.

Amherstdale Wesley House
Amherstdale, W. Virginia
Miss Mildred Ralston

This community is in a coal mining area and wages are of the lowest

level. We have undertaken to serve the employees of two counties. Work is sponsored by the Woman's Division of the Methodist Church. Our aim is largely to develop a sense of independence and most definitely Christian living among these people. Most of them are natives of Kentucky. Conditions of the people do not seem to make for gracious living. Most of them feel that if they could have fewer working hours and more money, their problems would be solved. One of our objectives is to give them an idea that life is something more than bread and water.

Mobile County Rural Center
Mount Vernon, Alabama
Mrs. Marjorie H. Hughes

This community is in a logging county. The people are of mixed blood and do not want to be identified as Negroes or whites. Purpose of the center was originally to give the young people an opportunity for education. There is some employment in turpentine work, logging and pulp mills. The land is company owned. Until the Bureau came in, there was no education at all. The church gave them a school. Now young people are going away to learn to be teachers and they will probably return there for work. Work was first started a few years ago when two college students went to work with children. There was no school for them. The students went back and asked the Woman's Missionary Council if they could go in and serve as teachers. The school was classified as a colored school and the white teachers are paid the salaries at the rate for colored teachers. Recently a farm program for veterans has begun.

Church of Brethren, Elgin, Illinois
Rev. Ora Huston,
Social Action Director

We have in southern Texas a community center working with Mexicans. A survey of the community showed the workers had an average of 18 cents a day income. Several buildings have been constructed. There is a 200 acre farm, a shop for manual arts, and a church. A phase of the program has been teaching English to the children and adults, classes in recreation, manual art classes and some club work. There is agricultural work which is of demonstrational nature. Another project of ours is in Green County, Virginia, a mountain community in an agricultural area where the income is supplemented by working in nearby towns. There the program is one of handicrafts, health program, and working very closely with government agencies.

Scarritt College Rural Center
Mrs. Catherine Ezell

Project financed by the Tennessee Conference of the Methodist Church. Scarritt College sponsored and is interested in the students going into rural sections for some training. The Woman's Division furnishes two community staff workers who are active in 10 communities. We seek to work with pastors in making the rural church program more effective - try to develop local leadership through different programs along community lines - encourage PTA and community organizations. We converted abandoned school building into a community building in Claysville. Community citizens learned how to work together. Scarritt students work with the social workers and once a year have a short term school for rural missionaries in

health, education, economics and factors in rural life. Farm program has been largely for demonstration. People in the area have turned to dairying. The center is used by the University of Tennessee, T.P.I. and other schools for training programs, workshops, etc.

FEDERAL AGENCY SERVICES FOR RURAL COMMUNITIES

In most conferences where the services available from government agencies are discussed, the agencies are represented by personnel from the state or national offices. For this conference, Myles Horton secured representatives of agencies at the local level - the people to whom directors of centers would have to go in securing services for people in the communities in which they work. Since the talks of the agency representatives were extemporaneous and points about their agencies were brought out in replies to questions, the statements which follow are summaries by the secretary and are not stenographic reports of what the gentlemen said.

Mr. Shelton, National Farm Loan Association
Winchester, Tennessee

The agency, although organized by an Act of Congress (1917) is not now government run and subsidized. It was subsidized by the government when the agency was young, but has now paid back all the money, so that it belongs solely to the farmers who are a part of it. It is a farmers cooperative and service rendering institution. Five percent of the amount granted for a loan is withheld for stock in the association. The agency makes short-term loans, trying not to tie farmers down for long periods of time. Aim is that farmers own their

own land, debt free. Agency under the supervision of the government, without using government money.

It is not practicable for a person seeking a farm loan to go to the Louisville Federal Land Bank and the National Farm Loan Association district offices in the region of the Louisville bank serve to handle the applications for loans. The district representative regularly visits each county in the district and receives applications and talks with farmers who want Federal Land Bank Loans. All of our loans are sound business transactions.

Mr. Jarrett, Murfreesboro Production
Credit Association

Production Credit Association was established in 1933 by Act of Congress. It was created because there was a definite need for this type of credit for farmers in the United States - a type of credit that fitted the needs of the farmers, being loaned by people who knew and understood their problems. There are twelve districts throughout the country in which there are individual credit associations; there are 525 associations organized to put credit into the hands of local farmers. The government put $120 million into the beginning of the organization as capital, and each association started out with capitalization from the government. The idea was that the government should slowly be repaid in full. The money lent by the organization is gotten from the Federal Intermediate Credit Banks, which issue bonds against farmers notes to invest for short terms. The investing public buys these bonds.

Association makes sound loans which are secure, and can be paid

over a reasonable amount of time, to farmers who are responsible and have re-payment possibilities on the farms to repay the loan. These loans are made only for agricultural purposes.

Mr. Webb, Soil Conservation Service:

The Soil Conservation Service is an integral part of the Department of Agriculture and is a full-fledged government agency. It grew out of the depression when in 1933 it became obvious that land fertility was needed to help more people earn a living. The Service grew out of the Soil Erosion Service in 1935 and operates primarily through Soil Conservation Districts, of which there are about 2,200 in the United States. Soil Conservation Districts are organized and created under state acts - directed by a board of five farmers. When a district is organized they make formal application to the Department of Agriculture for assistance. There is a four-step program conducted by the Bureau for farmers: 1) There is a physical inventory of the farm by experts so the farmer knows exactly what he has to work with; 2) a completely detailed plan of how to operate a farm with the facilities he has to work with; 3) Then Soil Conservation Service technicians assist in the application of those measures; 4) they work with and assist in the measures and practices suggested to help farmers maintain the new state. There is no charge to the farmer for these services. Plants and seeds are occasionally given individual farmers from the Bureau's nurseries, when it is felt that they particularly suit the soil and climate and are what the farmer needs. Soil Conservation Service also conducts research stations, operates nurseries, and does work on soil erosion and flood control.

Mr. Smith, Bureau of Agricultural Economics: County Agents and Home Demonstration Agents everywhere have valuable farm information, and will work with farmers on special problems. The lower income group of farmers can be divided into two main sections, and each section then subdivided into two more.

1. Adequate Economics

   A. Farmers with basis for conventional credit
   B. Farmers without basis for conventional credit

2. Inadequate Economics

   A. Enlargeable or improveable farms able to get into the adequate economy group.
   B. Farm not enlargeable or improveable.

An organization where 100 percent loans are given by the government, so that it takes the risk with the farmers, is needed to help Group 1 B.

Authority from the government to improve the land and assist them to get into Group 1 is needed to help Group 2 A. Assistance for the people: helping them to change to a different kind of economic existence, or to migrate to other places, is needed to help Group 2 B.

REPRESENTATION IN THE CONFERENCE OF RURAL COMMUNITY CENTERS

Amberstdale Wesley House, Amberstdale, West Virginia
Mildred Ralston, Superintendent

Bricks Rural Life School, Bricks, North Carolina
Neal McLean, Director

Dorchester Cooperative Center, McIntosh, Georgia
C. A. Turner, Director

Lincoln School Community Project, Marion, Alabama
Samuel S. Adams, Director

Log Cabin Community. Sparta, Georgia
B. F. Hubert, Director

Macedonia Cooperative County, Clarkesville, Georgia

Mississippi Rural Center, Columbia, Mississippi
J. C. Pittman, Director

Mobile County Rural Center, Mount Vernon, Alabama
Marjorie H. Hughes, Director

Rural Life Council, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Ernest E. Neal, Director

Sabine Farms Resettlement Project, Marshall, Texas

Scarritt College Rural Center, Crossville, Tennessee

Scott's Run Settlement House, Morgantown, West Virginia
Laura Robbins, Superintendent

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ROSTER OF ATTENDANCE, 1950 CONFERENCE

Mr. & Mrs. Samuel C. Adams
Lincoln School, AMA Community Center
Project, Box 447
Marion, Alabama

Miss Bessie Eldridge
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

Mrs. Catherine Ezell
Scarritt College Rural Center
Crossville, Tennessee

Miss Jeannette Harris
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mrs. Marjorie Hughes
Mobile County Rural Center
Mount Vernon, Alabama

Mr. Ora Huston
Social Action Director
Church of Brethren
22 South State Street
Elgin, Illinois

Rev. & Mrs. Alfred Henriksen
30 Chapel
Augusta, Maine

Mr. & Mrs. Myles Horton
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

Nehemiah H. Jackson, Jr.
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Mrs. Jeanetta J. Jones
R.F.D.
Greeneville, Tennessee

Lewis W. Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Mr. & Mrs. Fred Lasse
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

Dale McGee
Scott's Run Settlement
700 Pearl Avenue
Morgantown, West Virginia

Miss Marjorie Minkler, Exec. Sec.
Bureau of Town and Country Work
Woman's Div. of Christian Service
Methodist Board of Missions
150 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Ernest E. Neal
Director, Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Miss Mildred Ralston
Amherstdale Wesley House
Amherstdale, West Virginia

Miss Laura Robbins
Supt. Scott's Run Settlement House
Route 1
Morgantown, West Virginia

Miss Betty Sarchet
Scott's Run Settlement House
Route 1
Morgantown, West Virginia

Raymond C. Smith
Assistant Chief, Bureau of Agricultu
Economics, U. S. Department of Agric
Washington 25, D. C.

J. C. Pittman
Mississippi Rural Center
Box 229, Columbia, Mississippi

Mr. & Mrs. Emil Willimetz
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

T Misc - Talmadge

Office of the Governor
Atlanta

HERMAN E. TALMADGE
GOVERNOR

ALTA PETERSEN
SECRETARY

December 14, 1950

RECEIVED
DEC 18 1950
Southern Regional Council

George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mitchell:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of December 11, 1950, in which you include a pamphlet entitled "Representation for all."

I want to thank you for giving me the benefit of this information, which I intend to study carefully.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Herman Talmadge

HET:jbk

T Misc
Talmadge

HERMAN E. TALMADGE
GOVERNOR

Office of the Governor
Atlanta

GLADYS CREAL
SECRETARY

May 26, 1950

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1950
Southern Regional Council

Honorable George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very kindly for sending me the pamphlet of the report of a Self-Survey conducted in Greenville, South Carolina.

I read this with much interest, and will refer to it from time to time for my own information. It was thoughtful of you to mail it to me, and I enjoyed reading it.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Herman E. Talmadge

HET:nm

Office Phone Ja. 1417 Res. Phone Ja. 4095

MARK A. THOMAS, M. D.
Physician and Surgeon
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Subject: Need of adequate hospital facilities for Negroes in Atlanta and training opportunities for Negro Physicians.

(1) There should be made available suitable municipal hospital facilities for the care of Negro patients also in which the Negro physicians of Atlanta can have access to their patients for scientific observation, research and practice.

(2) This facility should have adequate charity beds and adeq uate pay beds for those who are able to defray all or a part of their hospital bill.

(3) The number of beds in the facility should be in keeping with the number of Negroes in the total population and the expected morbidity rate.

(4) The facility should have the necessary departments in keeping with standard hospital operation.

(5) The facility should be staffed by Negro physicians as far as possible or Negro doctors should be integrated into the various staff positions as soon as it can be determined that they are sufficiently qualified under competent supervision.

(6) There should be provided interneships also medical and surgical residencies.

Note. These are necessary in order to attract the younger graduating physicians to Atlanta, where they might eventually go into practice.

Office Phone Ja. 1417 Res. Phone Ja. 4095

MARK A. THOMAS, M. D.
Physician and Surgeon
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

1. What medical school did you graduate from?

2. What year?

3. Where did you do your pre-medical work?

4. What degree obtained?

5. Did you take an interneship?

6. Where?

7. Name any other post graduate study?

8. Where?

9. Length of time?

10. List any professional medical organizations to which you may belong.

11. Would you be willing to render professional services at a municipal hospital for Negroes if such a facility could be obtained?

12. Are you associated with any hospital?

13. Have you published any article in a medical journal in the past five years?

14. If so, give name and date.

SRC-ED

August 31, 1953

Rt. Rev. Vincent G. Taylor, O.S.B.
Belmont Abbey College
Belmont, N. C.

My dear Father Abbot:

How extremely kind that was of you and of the College to send so generous a check for what was so pleasurable an occasion for me. In these uncolleged days I seldom proceed begowned in solemn train, and side by side with the man most honored of all! And then to have one's small speech come out in print as one of the "vital" speeches of the day, and further to have one's Council chest munificently replenished is great kindness indeed!

Do let me come back when it may suit you for my map speech. It is a special delight to walk your halls.

Respectfully,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

BELMONT ABBEY COLLEGE

BELMONT, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 29, 1953.

George S. Mitchell, Ph.D.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

I offer abject apology for our remissness in not previously sending a token of appreciation for the service you rendered us last June. I was unaware that the matter had not been taken care of until a few days ago. The absence of the Treasurer occasioned further delay: he did not return until this morning.

With cordial best wishes, I again express sincere thatnks for your kindness. I am looking foward to the giving of your lecture here some time this fall, I hope.

Sincerely yours,

Vincent G. Taylor, O.S.B.

(Rt. Rev.) Vincent G. Taylor, O.S.B.
President.

August 28, 1953

Rev. Cuthbert Allen, O. S. B.
Belmont Abbey College
Belmont, N. C.

Dear Father Cuthbert:

Forget not, please, the task you were kind enough to assume of seeing the powers that be about whatever check may be intended in re the commencement occasion. It goeth not to me but to the Council, and the Council's treasury is always in need!

I am most grateful for a whole week of Benedictine hospitality. It was a great privilege to be with so many able and thoughtful people.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

September 21, 1953

Mr. Prince A. Taylor, Jr.
The Central Christian Advocate
631 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Mr. Taylor:

I sorrow with you in the loss of Bishop Brooks.

You may or may not have seen our latest pamphlet.

We hope that it will be widely used by local and preferably bi-racial discussion groups as a means of getting the issues understood by everyday people.

Anything you can do to spread the use of it and knowledge of its availability will be much appreciated.

We will follow it in a couple of weeks with another that will give a check-list of how to find differences between the school systems locally.

I I have already sent this one out to all the Bishops in the Southeastern, South Central and Central Jurisdictions.

Sincerely,

GSM/allo
enclosure

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Southern Regional Council	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

Pd.

May 17, 1956

Mr. and Mrs. Armen Tatarian
143 Morning Sun Avenue
Mill Valley, California

Arriving San Francisco Saturday, May 19, at 7:50 P.M., TWA, Flight 23 from Chicago.

Love,

Fred

March 13, 1958

Mr. Seizo Tanetani
First Secretary
Embassy of Japan
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tanetani:

Thank you very much for the Japanese figures which arrived today. I do appreciate your thoughtfulness.

With best wishes to you and Mrs. Tanetani.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

May 30, 1958

Mr. Lyle Tatum
Central Committee for Conscientious
Objectors
2006 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Dear Lyle:

Thanks so much for your prompt reply to my request for information regarding Bob Hughes' voting situation in Birmingham.

It is my understanding that Bob will make another approach to the Registrar at a proper time when a full discussion can be had. Again, my appreciation.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV/mf

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

TAYLOR, 1706 Girard Trust Building
1400 South Penn Square
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

REGARDING

REGARDING bequest of $95.00

See letter of 3/17/66 from Barbara Harkins, Secty. to
John Yungblut, to Mr. Taylor

DATE

3/17/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Filed Religious Organizations
"Quakers"

October 15, 1953

Prof John R Bross
Division of the Social Sciences
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr Bross:

This confirms my undertaking, by 'phone this morning, to be available at Talladega on Tuesday, November third, for a twelve o'clock talk to students.

I will drive over and expect to reach your office about eleven A M. I hope I can bring Mrs Mitchell with me. We are driving on back to Atlanta that afternoon.

It is a little hard to know what to talk about at the chapel appearance. I have never tried to discuss the segregation in the schools issue in so short a time as eighteen or twenty minutes, but I could try if that is what is needed.

I have another speech called the "Rules of Industrial Society" which shows that we have to have equality all around to keep going. You tell me what you want and I will try to do it. Only let me know ahead of time.

The thing I do well is a map speech on the blackboard, but that is for classrooms.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm:t

2846

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

DIVISION OF
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

12 October 1953.

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I received the note from your secretary in regard to our invitation to you to come to Talladega and to speak in one of our weekday chapel programs.

We would like to renew that invitation and to state that we would be more than happy to have you speak to our students about the Supreme Court Cases and about the progress which is being made in civil rights in the South.

Nov. 3 and Nov. 5 are open dates on our calendar and if you should find it possible to come over here one of those dates, we would be very happy to have you.

If you suggest a Tuesday or a Thursday in late October that might also be possible, but I can not say at this time, until other requests of mine now in the mail are answered. But I do know that Nov. 3 and Nov. 5 are definitely open and nothing has been scheduled for those times.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience.

Cordially yours,

(Dr.) John R. Bross

John R. Bross, Assoc. Prof.
Psychology & Philosophy

RECEIVED
OCT 14
Southern Regional Council

October 5, 1953

Dr. John R. Bross
Dept. of Psychology and Philosophy
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Dr. Bross:

Dr. Mitchell is out of town this week and I am writing to acknowledge your letter of October 1 and to tell you that, unfortunately, it will not be possible for him to come to Talladega on October 20th. There is to be a very important meeting of the Council's "Fellowship of the Concerned" on that day which will keep him here.

I am sure he will appreciate your invitation and will write to you as soon as he returns to the office with suggestions for possible times when he could come.

Sincerely,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks

TALLADEGA COLLEGE

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

DIVISION OF
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

Dept. of Psychology & Philosophy
1 October 1953.

RECEIVED
OCT 5
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

One of our students listened to you speak somewhere in the south this past summer and was quite impressed with your knowledge and fluency of the Supreme Court cases dealing not only with the segregation-in-educational cases now before that Court, but also with your knowledge of all civil rights cases which have been before the Court.

The suggestion has been made that you come to Talladega and speak on some of these cases and inform the students and faculty at Talladega just what is what. I think the last issue of the New South entitled "Questions and Answers" is an excellent job and communicates these ideas very well. If you could do that sort of thing for our students it would be a big help.

Consequently the Chapel Program Committee asked me to invite you to address one of our week-day chapel programs - the one on Tuesday, Oct.20 and speak to us. We should be very glad to have you stay for lunch with us and go to the 1:30 P.M. class in Social Science to speak further in a free open discussion before all the college family. Would you be able to come that time? Our chapel is at noon and lasts from 12 noon until about 12:30 P.M.

We will see that your expenses are paid to and from Atlanta. This student ascertained from you thatyou would not charge us an honorarium, because I believe she mentioned to you the possibility of your coming over.

If you would let me know as soon as possible whether or not you would be free that date, it would be a big help to me in planning our future chapels. Thanks very much, indeed.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr.) John R. Bross

John R. Bross, Assoc. Prof.
Psychology & Philosophy

October 28, 1953

Mr John R Bross, Chairman
Chapel Program Committee
Talladega College
Talladega, Alabama

Dear Mr Bross:

Many thanks for October 24 letter. I will try to do what you want on the Chapel Program.

Should be in your office by eleven that morning. Mrs Mitchell is coming with me for the day's outing.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

TALLADEGA COLLEGE
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
TALLADEGA, ALABAMA

DIVISION OF
THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

RECEIVED
OCT 26
Southern Regional Council

24 October 1953.

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you again for your phone call and your letter of Oct. 15. We are looking forward to your chapel appearance.

I could not say everything I wanted to say over the phone to you about the campus situation 2 years ago and the situation now. I was in a public office at the time and did not feel free to speak. But I wanted you to be sure that the situation here at Talladega is altogether different now. And furthermore, now is the time for the SRC to make a presentation to the students and let them know that it is a worthwhile organization, doing a worthwhile job. My own opinion, action, and values has been that we must support any and all movements which will work together to end segregation as soon as possible. Any movement, except, of course, subversive ones which seek only to use the Negro for their own ends, e.g. the Communist party.

There was a lot of resentment of the SRC two years ago here, because of Dr. Beittel, more than because of the organization itself. However, that has gone and the students have been speaking of the SRC from the pulpit in weekday chapels. That is what I thought was the opportune time to present someone from the SRC. If it had been faculty members suggestion it, I would not have thought the students were ready, but since it came from students themselves, it seemed to me to be very ripe. So, I think you should come Nov. 3 and am glad you have consented to come.

Now, as to the kind of talk. I talked with one of these students who suggested your name. She thinks that if you could do the kind of thing you did at the YW and YM conference at Blue Ridge this summer, that would be excellent. Also, she thinks you ought to talk more about the details of the cases now before the Supreme Court. Your pamphlet on Questions and Answers and the second part, on the school survey, ought to be brought to the attention of the students. If you could answer some of those questions publicly and then let the students have copies after the program, that would be a big help. You might think the Negro students would be quite aware of the cases, but many of them are not. Tell them more of the details of the cases now before the Supreme Court and emphasize some of the southern reactions to them.

We will plan on your staying for lunch and perhaps meeting with a class in the afternoon. The latter is not definite as yet. The teacher would like to meet with you - it is in Social Sciences - when you get to my office around 11.

Sincerely,

John R Bross

John R. Bross, Chairman
Chapel Program Committee

Make file: Target Area Service, Inc. file in "T" Section

September 25, 1967

Mr. Whitworth Stokes, Jr.
618 Stahlman Building
Nashville, Tennessee 37201

Dear Whit:

Enclosed is our check for $500.00 representing a contribution to Target Area Service, Inc.

I am sure it is unnecessary to remind you that these funds must be used in accordance with Internal Revenue Service regulations concerning tax exemption.

At your convenience, please not the receipt of these funds on the enclosed carbon of this letter and return it to us.

You have a good idea, and we hope you can pull it off.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 2.

LAW OFFICES
SNODGRASS, BOYCE, BARRETT & STOKES
618 STAHLMAN BUILDING
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37201

STANLY T. SNODGRASS
GRAHAM B. BOYCE
GEORGE E. BARRETT
WHITWORTH STOKES, JR.

TELEPHONE
CODE 615
244-2202

September 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

In accordance with my conversation with you and Ed Stanfield on Thursday, September 21, 1967, I am enclosing a copy of the charter of Target Area Service, Inc. This non-profit organization has been formed by five attorneys for the purpose of applying for a legal services grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity and also applying for a grant from the Roger Baldwin Foundation for a Civil Liberties Office.

At the present time, certain necessary expenses have already been incurred in forming this corporation, and there will undoubtedly be more expenses before it is funded, if it is.

Therefore, I am asking your office to consider making a grant of $500.00 to this corporation. This will be deposited in a bank account in the name of the corporation and all funds will be fully accounted for. In the event that this corporation does develop into a funded OEO or Baldwin program, expenditures by the Southern Regional Council will be refunded.

Of course, if the corporation does not succeed in obtaining any grant, and another corporation takes over this project, we will be unable to repay any expenses incurred, but would refund the balance of the unexpended funds and dissolve the corporation.

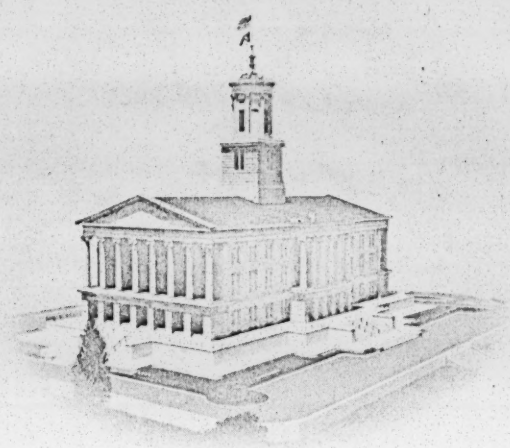
Sincerely yours,

Whitworth Stokes, Jr.

WSJr:pw
Enc: 1

BOOK 4171 PAGE 196

State of Tennessee



Department of State

I, **Joe C. Carr** *, Secretary of State of the State of Tennessee, do hereby certify that the annexed Instrument with Certificate of Acknowledgment was filed in my office and recorded on the* 14th *day of* September *1967*

IN CORPORATION RECORD BOOK VOLUME O-26, PAGE 2475

In Testimony Whereof, *I have hereunto subscribed my Official Signature and by order of the Governor affixed the Great Seal of the State of Tennessee at the Department in the City of Nashville, this* 14th *day of* September *A.D. 19* 67

Secretary of State.

GENERAL WELFARE

STATE OF TENNESSEE

Charter of Incorporation

Be It Known, That George E. Barrett, Reber Boult, Jr., I. T. Creswell, Jr., John G. Mitchell, Jr., and Whitworth Stokes, Jr.

are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate, by the name of and style of Target Area Service, Incorporated

for the purpose of

FIRST: To secure funds from sources both public and private to implement efforts initiated and designed by the local community to provide the advice and advocacy of lawyers for people in poverty.

SECOND: To accumulate empirical knowledge to find the most effective method to bring the aid of the law and the assistance of lawyers to the economically disadvantaged people of the local community.

THIRD: To sponsor and conduct educational and research programs in the area of procedural and substantive law which affect the causes and problems of poverty.

FOURTH: To acquaint the whole practicing bar with its essential role in helping to combat poverty and to provide the resources to meet the response of lawyers to be involved in efforts to alleviate poverty.

FIFTH: To finance and conduct programs to teach the poor and those who work with the poor to recognize problems which can be resolved best by the law and lawyers.

SIXTH: To cooperate and work with any and all agencies or groups having the same or related purposes as those herein stated.

The general powers of said corporation shall be: (1) To sue and be sued by the corporate name. (2) To have and use a common seal, which it may alter at pleasure; if no common seal, then the signature of the name of the corporation, by any duly authorized officer, shall be legal and binding. (3) Any corporation chartered under the laws of Tennessee for religious, charitable, educational, missionary, or other eleemosynary purposes, and not for profit, shall have the power to receive property, real, personal or mixed, by purchase, gift, devise, or bequest, sell the same and apply the proceeds toward the promotion of the objects for which it is created, or hold any such property and apply the income and profits towards such objects. Unless otherwise specifically directed in the trust instrument by which any real or personal property, money, or other funds, are given, granted, conveyed, bequeathed, devised to, or otherwise vested in, corporations formed for religious, educational, scientific, or other charitable purposes, the directors, the governing board, or the authorized finance committee thereof, when authorized by the corporation, shall have power to invest funds thus received, or the proceeds of any property thus received, in such investments as in the honest exercise of their judgment they may, after investigation, determine to be safe and proper investments, and to retain any investments heretofore so made. (4) Any corporation heretofore chartered for any of the foregoing purposes, desiring to avail itself of these powers, shall submit the question to its directors or trustees at any regular meeting, or special meeting, called for the purpose, or to any regular or special meeting of its executive committee, and if a majority of said directors, trustees, or executive committee vote in favor of applying for the amendment, it may then proceed in usual course to file an amendment to its charter. (5) To establish by-laws, and make all rules and regulations not inconsistent with the laws and constitution, deemed expedient for the management of corporate affairs. (6) To appoint such subordinate officers and agents, in addition to a president and secretary, or treasurer, as the business of the corporation may require. (7) To designate the name of the office, and fix the compensation of the officer. (8) To borrow money to be used in payment of property bought by it, and for erecting buildings, making improvements, and for other purposes germane to the objects of its creation, and secure the repayment of the money thus borrowed by mortgage, pledge, or deed of trust, upon such property, real, personal, or mixed, as may be owned by it; and it may, in like manner, secure by mortgage, pledge, or deed of trust, any existing indebtedness which it may have lawfully contracted.

The said five or more corporators shall, within a convenient time after the registration of this charter, elect from their number a president, secretary, and treasurer, or the last two officers may be combined into one, said officers and the other corporators to constitute the first board of directors. Any corporation not for profit may increase its directors or trustees to a number not more than one hundred, by due and proper amendment to its by-laws, unless otherwise specifically provided. In all elections each member to be entitled to one vote, either in person or by proxy, and the result to be determined by a majority of the votes cast. Due notice of any election must be given by advertisement in a newspaper, personal notice to the members, or a day stated on the minutes of the board one month preceding the election. The term of officers may be fixed by the by-laws, the said term not, however, to exceed three years. All officers hold office until their successors are duly elected and qualified.

The general welfare of society, not individual profit, is the object for which this charter is granted, and the members are not stockholders in the legal sense of the term, and no dividends or profits shall be divided among the members.

The board of directors shall keep a record of all their proceedings, which shall be at all times subject to the inspection of any member. The corporation may establish branches in any other County in the State.

The members may, at any time, voluntarily dissolve the corporation by a conveyance of its assets and property to the State of Tennessee, any County or municipality of the State, or to any other corporation holding a charter from the State for purposes not of individual profit, first providing for corporate debts; provided, that assets and property so conveyed shall be used by the grantee for purposes similar to those of the conveying corporation.

Whenever there has been no meeting of the members for a period of five years or more, and because of the death of members or the condition of the corporate records it is impossible to notify a sufficient number of members to constitute a quorum, notice of a meeting of the members may be made by publication in some newspaper in the County where such corporation has its principal location, at least thirty days before such meeting shall be held. The members attending such meeting shall be deemed to constitute a quorum for the purposes of electing directors or trustees, and authorizing such directors or trustees to dissolve the corporation and convey its property and assets in accordance with this section.

The charter is subject to modification and amendment; and in case said modification or amendment is not accepted, corporate business is to cease, and the assets and property, after payment of debts, are to be conveyed, as aforesaid, to some other corporation holding a charter for purposes not connected with individual profit. Acquiesence in any modification, thus declared, shall be determined in a meeting of the members especially called for that purpose, and only those voting in favor of the modification shall thereafter compose the corporation.

The means, assets, income, or other property of the corporation shall not be employed, directly or indirectly, for any other purpose whatever than to accomplish the legitimate objects of its creation, and by no implication shall it engage in any kind of trading operation, nor hold any more real estate than is necessary for its legitimate purposes.

Expulsion shall be the only remedy for the nonpayment of dues by the members, and there shall be no individual liability against the members for corporate debts, but the entire corporate property shall be liable for the claims of creditors.

We, the undersigned, the incorporators above mentioned, hereby apply to the State of Tennessee for a charter of incorporation for the purposes declared in the foregoing instrument.

Witness our hands this, the 13th day of September, 1967

George E. Barrett
Whitworth Stokes, Jr.
Reber Boult Jr.
John D. Mitchell Jr.
I. T. Creswell

SUBSCRIBING WITNESS:

STATE OF TENNESSEE, COUNTY OF DAVIDSON

Personally appeared before me Mrs. Ruth Link Holley (~~Clerk of the County Court or~~ Notary Public), the within named incorporators, George E. Barrett, Reber Boult, Jr., I. T. Creswell, Jr., John G. Mitchell, Jr., and Whitworth Stokes, Jr.

with whom I am personally acquainted, and who acknowledged that they executed the within application for a Charter of Incorporation for the purposes therein contained and expressed.

Witness my hand and official seal at office in Nashville, Tennessee, this 13th day of September, 1967

Mrs. Ruth Link Holley
(Signature of ~~County Court Clerk or~~ Notary Public)

(If Notary Public) My commission expires 22 day of July, 1971

(Official Title) Notary Public

(Certificate of Probate for Subscribing Witness if not acknowledged by all of the Incorporators)

STATE OF TENNESSEE, COUNTY OF _____

Personally appeared before me _____ of said County, the within named _____ the subscribing witness and incorporator, with whom I am personally acquainted, and who acknowledged that he executed the within application for a Charter of Incorporation for the purposes therein contained and expressed; the said _____, subscribing witness to the signatures subscribed to the within application, being first duly sworn, deposed and said that he is personally acquainted with the within named incorporators, _____

and they did in his presence acknowledge that they executed the within application for a Charter of Incorporation for the purposes therein contained and expressed.

Witness my hand and official seal at office in _____, Tennessee, this _____ day of _____, 19____

(Signature of County Court Clerk or Notary Public)

(If Notary Public) My commission expires _____ day of _____, 19____

(Official Title) _____

file "J" - Gen. Corresp.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired, otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Mr. Jesse Morris February 7 1964

Street and No. Tougaloo College

Care of or Apt. No. *Destination* Tougaloo, Mississippi

Tried to phone you yesterday. Regrett cannot be with you February 8. Very much interested in your conference. Best wishes.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council

Senders's name and address (For reference)

Sender's telephone number

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1246A EST FEB 5 64 AA024
NSA003 NS JZA523 NL PD JACKSON MISS 4
DR LESLIE DUNBAR, CARE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
ROOM 201 5 FORSYTH ST NW ATLA
ON SATURDAY FEBRUARY 8, 1964 A CONFERENCE ON JOBS AND JOB TRAINING WILL BE HELD AT TOUGALOO COLLEGE. WE WOULD LIKE YOUR PRESENCE AT THIS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT GATHERING. THE CONFERENCE SPECIFICALLY IS CONCERNED WITH GETTING MORE FEDERAL FINANCED TRAINING AND RETRAINING PROGRAMS IN MISSISSIPPI. GOVERNMENTAL OFFICIALS AND INDUSTRIAL REPRESENTATIVES HAVE BEEN ASKED TO COMMENT ON SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS THAT WERE DRAWN UP AT A PREVIOUS MEETING AT TOUGALOO COLLEGE ON JANUARY 25TH. THOUGH WE APPROACHED YOU ON SHORT NOTICE AND HAVE SENT YOU NO LITERATURE, WE WOULD LIKE TO PLACE YOU ON OUR AGENDA. WOULD YOU KINDLY WIRE US OR CALL US AT 352-9605 TO LET US KNOW YOUR INTENTIONS OR FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Jay Jones

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NSA003/2

JESSIE MORRIS

8 1964 25TH 352-9605.

954

June 29, 1950

Mr. W. K. McPherson
Assistant to the Director
Division of Regional Studies
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McPherson:

That was most kind indeed of you faithfully to send the Inventory of Assets of Western North Carolina. I have examined it with a great deal of care and profited both from its facts and from the recollections it brought of the many cool green places in those mountains that I have been to.

filed in Materials file under: "30 - Regional Planning"

I have long had a notion that the Southern Appalachian mountains taken as a whole have a special governmental problem because the area is made up of the back yards of seven Southern States. The obvious answer to that problem is informal association of all the back yard dwellers into something big enough to find its own facts and make up its own mind. Then a program helpful to the mountains as a whole could obtain whatever validating legislation might be required from Richmond and Raleigh and Columbia and Atlanta and so on. The bulletin you have sent me fits neatly into that pattern. I hope some day to go to an all mountainy convention which will be armed with just such facts and will plan a program for the whole area.

And of course TVA is leading the way toward progress of this kind.

I gladly send some more things about the Greenville Survey. If you can interest other towns, we are most anxious to do so.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

June 21, 1950

RECEIVED
JUN 22 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I was very much interested in looking over the Greenville study, but I loaned it to someone and now find myself without a copy. Would it be possible to have an additional copy or two of this publication?

This study is particularly interesting because it represents a local effort and is something which every community that has the initiative and enterprise to do something about social and economic problems can undertake.

Enclosed is a copy of an inventory of resources made by the Western North Carolina Associated Communities that I referred to in our discussion Monday. Although the subject matter is much different and although no analyses and recommendations were forthcoming, this study is similar to the Greenville study in that it also represents an undertaking in which the community had the responsibility and secured the efforts of the public and private agencies to do the job. This study would of course have been even more valuable had the Western North Carolina Associated Communities made the type of analysis and recommendations that were made by the Greenville group.

Kindest regards.

Very truly yours,

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

W. K. McPherson

W. K. McPherson
Assistant to the Director
Division of Regional Studies

Enclosure

4F / 0 / 6 SM

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

July 17, 1953

RECEIVED
JUL 20
Southern R

Dear George:

I have delayed a reply to your letter of July 7 until I could check on Ed Norton's schedule. He and his wife came by here a week or so ago and told us that they would be out of the country for several months--probably until September 15. I thought that you would like to know this in the event you might wish to make other plans for an article in the meantime.

Of course, I shall be glad to drop him a note suggesting that he undertake the assignment you have in mind if you still wish him to do this after he returns.

Hope all goes well with you and your program.

Sincerely,

Bill

Raymond R. Paty
Director

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 7, 1953

Dr. Raymond Paty
c/o T. V. A.
Knoxville, Tenn.

Dear Mr. Paty:

The president of our Council is Marion A. Wright, a graduate of the University of South Carolina who practiced law for some decades in Conway and now, in (early) retirement, lives at Linville Falls, North Carolina. He is anxious, properly, for NEW SOUTH to run a couple of articles pointing out the economic and industrial argument for a voluntary practice of increased use of Negroes at their highest skills. Mr. John H. Wheeler, of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank in North Carolina, has agreed to do one. On careful inquiry, we have thought that the best individual to do the other would be Mr. Ed Norton of Birmingham.

I don't know Mr. Norton, and suppose that we would have more success in drawing the article from him if we were in some way introduced to him.

You know about us, and we are told you are a friend of Mr. Norton's. Would you be willing to drop Mr. Norton a note saying that you do know us and that we have some reputation and place in these matters in the South? If and when we hear from you that you have written him the note, we will then approach him with further details of the sort of thing we hope he will be good enough to write. I would send Harold Fleming, who edits NEW SOUTH, over to Birmingham to talk with Mr. Norton.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

February 2, 1954

Mrs. James W. Thompson
227 Heathwood Rd.
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

You were very kind to provide me with supper and conversation and transportation, and I do appreciate it.

I had occasion to stop in Charlotte an hour or so on the way back down and asked Mrs. F. O. Clarkson, 227 Cherokee Rd., who is interested in many of the things the Southern Regional Council is interested in, to make your acquaintance.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Secretary

GSM:hh

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

June 13, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have not been sure until today about my plans for the time when I would arrive in Atlanta on the 18th. My plane is due in time to get down town before lunch, and I will be calling or come by your office by 12:30 p. m. if that will not be inconvenient for you.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith
Director

June 4, 1963

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Smith:

I shall be in the office all day on June 18, and would be delighted to see you at any time at your convenience, including lunch if you are not already engaged.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

June 3, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I will be in Atlanta on Tuesday, June 18th, and would appreciate a chance to briefly visit with you if you are going to be in town that day.

Cordially,

Frank Smith

Frank E. Smith
Director

June 21, 1963

Mr. Frank Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Smith:

I greatly enjoyed meeting you last Tuesday. I hope that you will feel free to call on us any time you think we might be of assistance to you.

The President's civil rights message was fine. I have just this afternoon got hold of the bill, and examined it quickly. I wanted to do this at once because I am attending a Presidential conference tomorrow morning, and wanted to have a little background.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

June 25, 1963

NM MMJ

Nobbie,

Please put the following person on our research mailing list: (I suppose he'd go into category #10)

Mr. Frank Smith, Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

thanx, mmj

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

July 22, 1963

Mr. Frank Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

— file "Te" Gen. corresp

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to Burke Marshall about Beckwith. I read it with a lot of interest. A friend of mine, George McMillan, is supposed to have an article in a forthcoming Saturday Evening Post about Beckwith. From what George told me, after returning from Greenwood, the article will be very much in agreement with your own insights into the man.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

VJ
PA
SB
LDV

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

June 26, 1963

The Honorable Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1963

Dear Burke:

Perhaps you will be interested in some of my personal contacts with the man charged in the murder of Medgar Evers.

Several years ago De La (Delay) Beckworth came to my office in Greenwood to ask, in general, why the world was in the hands of the Communists.

"Let me know if I can kill a nigger for you," were his parting words.

De La is a product of all right-wing, racist organizations. He was district treasurer of the Sons of the American Revolution for several years and active in their affairs. He was an associate of the local John Birch leaders. His well known, outspoken talk about Negroes brought him attention and prominence. He occasionally embarrassed the Citizens Council leaders, but they regularly used him as a promoter and agitator.

A few years ago De La sent me a letter he had written to President Eisenhower, abusively protesting the integration of the Armed Forces. I sent it back to him, but he later got it published in one of the local papers. He was a frequent letter-writer to the Memphis Commercial Appeal and the Jackson paper.

Last spring during my campaign Beckworth was the only person in Greenwood who had a Whitten sticker on his car, until the last few days before the primary. He was an active field worker in the Whitten campaign, distributing the various unsigned attacks on my record.

Because of his family background, and acceptance in the local community, I think he should not be written off as an isolated fanatic. There are others like him all around.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

BCC: Mr. Leslie Dunbar

File
U.S. Govt

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

November 13, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I want to express my appreciation for the advice and assistance you provided for Jim Silver in the preparation of his Southern Historical Association paper.

I am sure the advance planning will help give Jim some of the national recognition he deserves as well as some financial return.

Much beyond that, however, I believe that the wide attention given this type of forthright attack on "the closed society" will be one way of breaking some of the barriers.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith
Director

December 2, 1963

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Smith:

I was very pleased to get your letter of November 13.

These have been brutal days. God help us all.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file

February 10, 1964

Mr. Frank Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Smith:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosure. It is our latest full report on Mississippi, and both Mr. Muse and I would be most interested in any thoughts it may suggest to you.

Please show the report to others -- if any at all -- with great discrimination.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(Ben Muse's "Report on Mississippi" January, 1964)

file →

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

MJ - copy for BM + file

February 12, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for sending me Mr. Muse's report on Mississippi. I think it is fairly indicative of the general thinking at the moment. There is considerable optimism about Governor Johnson's plans for his administration, but I cannot share it all until I see some results. The worst elements in the state played such a prominent part in his election that it is hard to see how he can get very far away from it. I think he obviously would like to, but the question is how strong he can be.

Governor Coleman was probably being fairly reserved in his comments to Mr. Muse, although as late as last week in talking to me he was very optimistic about what Governor Johnson appeared to be doing.

There can't be any real test as to what Johnson will do or can do until there are court orders on the Jackson school integration.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

File
Tenn. Valley Authority

March 10, 1964

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Smith:

I know little more about the Fellowship of Concern, which the Presbyterians have established than you do. It is limited to the Presbyterian Church.

I am also a Methodist, and I join with you in wishing that the Methodists might do something similar. As a matter of fact, there seem to be stirrings in the wind within the Church. I do not know of any bishops to suggest to you as persons to whom you should write. This does not mean that there may not be one or two.

My suggestion would be that you take up the question with the following people:

Miss Thelma Stevens
Executive Secretary
Woman's Division of Christian Service
Department of Christian Social Relations
The Methodist Church
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dr. A. Dudley Ward
General Secretary
Board of Social and Economic Relations
The Methodist Church
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Mr. Grover Bagby. (Mr. Bagby is in Washington, and I do not know his address. He heads up a human relations service of some kind within the Church.)

I think ThelmasStevens is a native of Mississippi. Moreover, I believe Thelma would have a good bit of sympathy with your idea and your interest.

Thank you for sending me the letters. You might have seen Claude Sitton's piece about Mississippi voting in the New York Times for March 2. The prominent Canton citizen whom he quoted as saying marshals would be needed was Mr. Phil Mullan.

One final thought. Over in Nashville the Reverend Elbert Jean is located on a project of the National Council of Churches. Elbert is a Methodist from Arkansas. He is, maybe, a little too much of a preacher to suit his superiors in New York, and I guess they are letting his project wind up in a couple months. Some of us have been hoping that the Methodist Church would keep him working in the field, because there is simply no one like him. His address is Route 5, Pine Circle Road, Franklin, Tennessee. I think you would enjoy meeting and corresponding with him.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

File "To" Gen. Corresp.
check to see if it would have to make a folder for Smith

March 17, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your letter of March 10. I am writing Miss Stevens and Dr. Ward in the hope they can help stir up something.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

Folder could be made on Frank Smith.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

February 19, 1964

Rec'd 2/20/64

in the mind
Royale Lamotte - Augusta
profound clergyman
teacher Paine College

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

no bishops

Dudley Ward
Thomas Stem
Homer Bigham
(Wash)

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Several weeks ago I read of the formation of an organization called Fellowship of Concern, which was going to provide financial assistance to ministers who needed it as a result of the position they have taken in regard to racial problems in the South.

After investigation I find that this is limited to the Presbyterian Church. It occurs to me that something similar should be attempted in the Methodist Church, of which I am a member. Do you have any idea which bishop in the church might be the most interested in such an idea?

For your information, I am enclosing copies of a couple of letters I have received recently from a friend in Mississippi. Naturally, please treat them as very confidential.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

Enclosures

Stained Glass
Jungle
Wilson

Published Weekly
Official Newspaper for
Canton
and
Madison County

MADISON COUNTY Herald

PRINTERS·PUBLISHERS·STATIONERS
LETTERPRESS AND OFFSET PRINTING

A Diversified Agriculture
and
Industrial Area
in the
Center of the State

CURTIS H. MULLEN
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

CANTON, MISSISSIPPI

February 17, 1964

Dear Frank:

I spent a couple of days with my chillun in Nashville last week. I was so full of ~~this~~ our local economic catastrophe that I thought they would want to hear about it.

You know, they just weren't much interested. They never expect to live in Mississippi again. They have no sympathy for the whitepeople in Mississippi and little for me.

Your rather cool letter came along, in the same vein, and/if somehow I could convey those feelings to Mississippians how alone they would feel. And not all Mississippians, just us in the black counties are alone.

I say "they" because, if this situation does ease, and we are offered any kind of a reasonable price, Dad and I are getting out of here. What we should have done three years ago. Now our business is reduced in selling price but at least one third.

It is an impossible situation. I really believe these boycotted merchants will lose their businesses, close their doors, before they will give up one inch of the white supremacy. The big farmers are gloating.

Well, you can look at the third section of the paper this week. Your picture is in it.

Regards,

Phil

Phil

Published Weekly
Official Newspaper for
Canton
and
Madison County

MADISON COUNTY Herald

PRINTERS·PUBLISHERS·STATIONERS
LETTERPRESS AND OFFSET PRINTING

A Diversified Agriculture
and
Industrial Area
in the
Center of the State

CURTIS H. MULLEN
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

CANTON, MISSISSIPPI

Feb. 6, 1964

Dear Frank:

Neil McAlpin, the guy who holds one of the two jobs like you tried to give me with Savings Bonds, was in my office the other day. He thinks that somehow we should be able to persuade a number of sensible editors and civic leaders to start standing up for the federal government. He is concerned, he says, "That the school children of Mississippi are being brain-washed into considering the federal government a huge and evil thing which all Mississippians oppose."

He points out that the MEC issues press releases each year telling each county just how many millions dollars they will have to pay in taxes to support the federal budget. He asked Swayze why they didn't issue another release telling of what federal government benefits mean to Mississippi. Swayze said, "That's not my side of the story."

McAlpin had read some of my stuff and I thought I might help. He said he has used that story I did from the Library of Congress figures numerous times in counteracting this ignornance in Mississippi. I told him if he could get Oliver Emmerich, George McLean and some others to serve, I'd serve on such a committee.

Now, could you now do what you did more than a year ago. Get me from the Library of Congress the breakdown on federal taxes that Mississippians pay and the amount of money spent by the federal government in Mississippi and for waht. The newer figures would be more convincing.

We're in terrible trouble here, as I amsure you have read in The Herald. I never dreamed the Negro boycott could be made to work but it has and it has scared hell out of all of us. I have been talking too much but they are listening and so far I can detect no serious resentment to my talk. Maybe I am fooling myself.

I can tell those people that I have much at stake in this thing also, altho we do practically no business with the Negroes. For we have a $160,000 investment that could shrink to $100,000 in a few months under these conditions. The boycotted stores, several of them, are my biggest advertisers.

We have agree to try to wear it out in 60 days and then get together and "explore all possible avenues." I called young Hodding and asked why Greenville has had less racial conflict thatn any city in the state. He told me, "My people are more sophisticated."

Published Weekly
Official Newspaper for
Canton
and
Madison County

MADISON COUNTY Herald

PRINTERS·PUBLISHERS·STATIONERS
LETTERPRESS AND OFFSET PRINTING

CURTIS H. MULLEN
EDITOR AND PUBLISHER

CANTON, MISSISSIPPI

A Diversified Agriculture
and
Industrial Area
in the
Center of the State

And, of course, the reason they are, or one big reason, is because they have had a newspaper who day after day has not only told the people the truth but the whole truth. I have suggested that my local officials and civic leaders drive up there and talk to their counterparts in Greenville. They have said they will but I doubt it.

This is a very vicious thing, the fear these Core agitators and the young Negro hoodlums have been able to pose at the rest of the Negroes. None of our leading Negroes are involved but I am sure they are enjoying it.

Merchants have flowed through my office to talk about the situation and I have told them that when they get ready to sit down and look at the real "causes" and the reasons why the boycott is effective, then we will.

The Mayor and A. B. Mannell, pr sident of the supervisors and a big farmer,and I had a long frank talk, and their thinking is alright to a certain point. Frank Allen, the banker and new president of the Chamber of Commerce, has always thought like I do, or has said so. If business continues to be hurt so bad, Mr. Allen might take public steps to do something about the entire situation. There are, of course, a dozen white leaders in this town who could do what is necessary without the loss of prestige but they will not do it until the last minute. So we'll ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ sweat it out for awhile. Right now, as Ed Henry put it, "This is war."

The first reaction, as The Herald has revealed, was to meet it headon with force. I begged them not to give it that opening publicity but, in a big meeting, they let two people stampede them and they demanded the publicity. So as I advised them right at the beginning, they are listening to me.

Of course for me it seems an opportunity to be of important service if I don't get hurt, personally, by my advanced views. So far no indications of that.

Three years ago, when you offered me that treasury dept. job, we had an offer for The Herald of $160,000. Dad said the other day if he had known he was going to feel as well as he does today he would have taken the offer and we would by now be established some place else. Too late for that now. But as you wrote, where do we have to run to? I hope you read my childish article on the front page of the third section this week.

Anyway, get the Library of Congress material for me. If you can't, maybe my "good friend" John Stennis can.

Regards.....Phil

File Tenn Valley Authority

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

PAL
PWV
SB
VJ
MJ-file

Rec'd 4/1/64

March 31, 1964

Dr. James W. Silver
Department of History
The University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi 38677

Dear Jim:

I was pleased to see you standing up for the low wage rates at Ole Miss and making it clear that your wife did not earn $3000 a year. If word about your high total income gets out, I am sure it will be harder to get new industry in. I presume you are still subscribing to the Jackson papers and getting a better account of the anti-Silver speeches in the legislature than I am.

I think that back around 1880 the Mississippi legislature was very strongly pro-silver, condemning L. Q. C. Lamar and praising Blanche K. Bruce for his pro-silver sermons. Incidentally, I note that I just researched enough to learn that George Washington Cable made the commencement address at Ole Miss in 1882, speaking on the Negro question. Do you suppose we can get a return engagement on the same subject by 1982?

I was interested to see that my Senator has a real appreciation of your value. You will note that he makes it clear that the future of the state depends on whether or not we get rid of you. I think the Patridge address makes good advertising copy for your book, although you should probably stop the Southern Regional Council from distributing any more copies--it is likely to interfere with your sale.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

BCC: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Patridge Calls Again For Action Against Silver

JACKSON, Mss. (AP) — Sen. Corbett Patridge of Schlater called on the state Legislature today for the second time to take action against Dr. James Silver, University of Mississippi history professor who has been critical of the state's racial policies.

Patridge asked lawmakers to direct the university chancellor and the state College Board to 'drastically reduce the salary and duties of Dr. Silver and stifle his degrading activities."

He said the future of the state depends on 'this immediate consideration. If the chancellor and the board do not act in relation to Dr. Sivler, then I say let us, the members of the legislature, assume the responsibility . . . and do the job, and do it well.

'. . . We sit complacently by and let a person tread the length and breadth of our great nation deceitfully and cowardly expanding the subject of racial hate, calling our people backward, ignorant and with a closed society.'

He said copies of Silvers speeches, "where in he bites the very hands of the taxpayers of this great state that feeds him," could be secured from the Southern Regional Council of Atlanta, Ga., 'a known, organized Communist party brought into being . . . to destroy this great nation.'

Silver, who has been on the staff at Ole Miss for 23 years, has criticized state policies at speeches on college campuses in several other states.

Patridge called several weeks ago for Silver's ouster, and a similar call was issued earlier this week in the House by Rep. Malcolm Mabry of Coahoma County.

Pub
VJV
LD

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

June 17, 1964

file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

I was very much interested in the community reports on Louisville and Charlotte. The Charlotte report was especially good. I don't know how this report will stack up against various kinds of scientific measurement, but I think it gives us a better picture of a community than any other way we could get it.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith
Director

file

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

PAV
PWV
BPV
MI-file

July 8, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for the copy of report from Benjamin Muse. I have over-all been fairly well pleased with the record of compliance in Mississippi. From several reports which I have received, it would be even better if the politicians and the Citizens' Councils were not persisting in trying to prove their points against the bill. I am a little irritated at some of the TV and press coverage of Governor Johnson. He is certainly a vast improvement over Barnett, but he is still the only Governor who has spoken up in favor of continued resistance to law.

We all try to find the rays of sunshine, and I think somebody ought to call attention to some of them, such as the one included in the enclosed editorial from the Delta Democrat-Times.

Two interesting sidelights about the trial: The defendant was also reported to be a civil rights worker. The defendant's lawyer was Howard Dyer, Jr., a very able lawyer and a man not burdened by many of the traditional Mississippi problems. Remarkably enough, he is the chief lieutenant of Governor Johnson in Washington County. This, however, is because of long-time personal contacts with both Paul, Jr. and his father.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

Enclosure

EDITORIALS OF

The Delta Democrat-Times

Page 4 Greenville, Miss., Sunday, July 5, 1964

Remarkable Trial

Today we are so overwhelmed with blaring headlines that we sometimes fail to note the truly important news which is not as obviously significant. Yet last week, here in Washington County, a circuit court jury's inability to make a decision said more about progress in race relations than most of the headline stories of the past two weeks. The case, of course, was the criminal assault trial in which Oliver Lee Williams, a young Negro, was the defendant. His alleged victim was a young white mother. And the circuit court jury which heard the case for two long days split almost evenly on his guilt.

The mistrial was not the first instance in which a Negro in Mississippi has not been convicted when accused of raping a white woman. But it was one of the few when the conviction has not been as automatic as the charge. When the fact that the defense did not contest the prosecution's charge that Williams had sexual relations with the prosecutrix is taken into account, the mistrial becomes even more remarkable. Perhaps in a perfect world this should not be so, but in Mississippi in June, 1964, at a moment in history when racial troubles are on everyone's mind, it is.

* * *

NONE OF this concerns the question of Williams' guilt or innocence. A jury has not determined that fact, and the prosecution remains as convinced of his guilt as the defense is of his innocence. The next trial may or may not resolve the issue.

But the hung jury was a healthy omen for color-blind justice in Mississippi. The reported 7-5 split in favor of conviction demonstrates that the old assumption about one brand of justice for the Negro and another brand of justice for the white in Mississippi does not necessarily hold true anymore. This is as good for the state as it is for justice.

It was unfortunate, we believe, that Circuit Court Judge Arthur Clark Jr. closed the courtroom not only to the public but to the press also. There are few men we respect more than Judge Clark, and his reasons undoubtedly seemed sound and well thought-out. But this was a case in which intense public interest was aroused. The reasons why a jury felt it should convict, acquit or do neither were and are matters of public concern. A court by its very nature in a free society should be an open institution, because the people's faith in the system ultimately rests upon their knowledge of its workings. It was not prurient interest which should or would have been served by allowing the press to report the proceedings, but a healthy regard for making the facts known to the people in a trial which had far-reaching implications.

In many ways a hung jury is not a satisfactory resolution of any trial. But considering the overtones of this particular case, we believe last week's mistrial was something of a milestone for Washington County and Mississippi. Again without considering the ultimate question of guilt or innocence, that five men had the integrity to stick to an undoubtedly unpopular position, at this time and place, renews our pride in our county and its citizens.

... You may wish to keep this in SRC files. BM

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

File

August 3, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for the special report on Mississippi and one on Memphis.

I want to take exception to one part of the Memphis report which implies a greater contribution by the Memphis Commercial Appeal to the city's racial progress than that which it has actually made. Although the Commercial Appeal has cooperated to a large extent, it still fans a racist opposition wherever it can. The editorial cartoons and the editorials on national subjects are completely at variance with their support of the segregation in the city itself. Its letters-to-the-editor section every Sunday is a broad offering of extremist views.

The Mississippi edition is quite often hard to distinguish from the two Jackson papers.

I realize we should perhaps be thankful that the editorial policy has at least rejected the idea of keeping Memphis in racial conflict, but it has certainly not adopted this policy for the whole South or the country.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Rec'd 9/2/64

September 1, 1964

WB ✓
PWL ✓
ML ✓
PA ✓
LEV ✓
VJ ✓
LD ✓
BP - file
MF - file
ltr.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

This is a letter from a young law student at Greenville--an interesting report that I think worth some attention.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

Enclosure

Report filed in Research
1964 ~~materials~~ CLIPPINGS
LEGAL DEFENSE

October 21, 1964

Mr. Frank Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

I am very glad to have your letter of October 16.

I suppose you have seen the enclosed clipping.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

October 16, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

I will be very pleased to become a member of the Southern Regional Council. I hope I can be of some service to the organization.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith
Director

December 3, 1964

Mr. Frank Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

Sorry this is late.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

December 11, 1964

Mr. Frank E. Smith
405 New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

We have had an awful time with your letter of December 7. The court decisions do not give the background, and the news coverage of the Bolivar case was hit and miss; at least we made a very thorough search of our clip files, and could not piece together a connected story.

Enclosed are the decisions, taken from Race Relations Law Reporter, Spring 1964; we have checked 325 F.2d 210, and it is identical. Enclosed also are the clips we have, in chronological order.

Judge Tuttle's office here has returned the papers on the case to New Orleans. We could get them from there, but have instead today phoned the Department of Justice, hoping that would be quicker, and they have promised to send down a copy of the Department's brief, which should give a connected account. When I get it, will send it up.

Merry Christmas,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures -- 2.

Rec'd 12/8/64

FRANK E. SMITH
405 NEW SPRANKLE BUILDING
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

December 7, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I will appreciate a report about the action of Judge Clayton in delaying the change of name on a Department of Justice petition before his court. As I recall, it involved Bolivar County, Mississippi, and the petition could not be acted upon until the name of Attorney General Kennedy was substituted for that of Attorney General Rogers.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

March 17, 1965

Mr. Frank Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

Thank you for your comment on our memorandum. Have you seen the good job that the Commission on Civil Rights has done on federal farm programs? I am sending a copy to you under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

March 15, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

I was glad to get the statement about "New Federal Programs in the South." I think it might be worth considering making a special study of the need for stronger action on equal opportunity in the various Federal farm programs.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

Rec'd 3/29/65

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

March 26, 1965

PW
SW. file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Thanks for sending me the notes about the talk in New York. They seemed extremely good to me. I, too, am very much concerned about some of the developments around the Freedom Party group. A general voter registration campaign following passage of the pending legislation may be the best way out of this.

I am going to be meeting with some people in Mississippi early next week, and I will try to arrange to call you about it when I get back to Knoxville.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

file
Tenn. Valley Authority

April 28, 1965

Mr. Frank E. Smith
405 New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

He probably thought you were Lillian's brother.

Best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

FRANK E. SMITH
405 NEW SPRANKLE BUILDING
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

Recd 4/22/65

April 21, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

Before anybody takes too much credit for the voter rights bill, please note the ultimate authority.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

Enclosure

Barry's partisans still think he's right, and they show it

By LES SCHLANGEN

PHOENIX, Ariz. (AP) — Barry Goldwater's supporters are still sure he's right.

They showed it Wednesday night when they turned out, 1,700 strong to attend a $100-a-couple testimonial dinner for the 1964 Republican presidential candidate. Some 200 of the guests had to be accommodated in adjacent rooms.

Party unity was the keynote as a succession of Republican dignitaries lauded the former Arizona senator.

Former Vice President Richard M. Nixon said, "Goldwater was right during the campaign and President Johnson is right now on Viet Nam policy."

And he said the President's policy is likely to prevail, "largely because of solid Republican support for a firm stand in South Viet Nam."

Nixon said a defeat in Viet Nam would mean "the Red tide will roll over Asia and some 200 million people, and perhaps force us to defend the Philippine Islands in five or six years."

Former Rep. William Miller of New York, Goldwater"s running mate, brought a thundering cheer when he said, "The time will come when Barry is known as a prophet in his own country."

Ray Bliss, the former Ohio Republican leader who took over as a national chairman April 1, praised Goldwater as "one man who could be counted upon any time to go anywhere to raise funds for the party or help a fellow Republican."

The partisan crowd saved its mightiest cheers for Goldwater, who said: "There's no reason why the world's greatest power should talk about negotiations or a settlement in Viet Nam."

The approval was equally strong when he said, "I don't believe we have to destroy the Constitution of the United States to placate Martin Luther King, a Frank Smith or anybody else."

Goldwater told the audience, "We are a minority party in the state and nation. Let's not choose up sides and fight each other but get on with winning the 1966 elections.

"We don't give a tinker's damn about 1968 — now."

Goldwater attacked the President's Great Society and said he has no intention of doing nothing "while a weak-kneed, gutless Congress lets welfare programs be shove down its throat."

Goldwater said the principles of free enterprise need to be preached and the country's philosophy explained abroad. He said he might be able to help a little on the foreign situation when he leaves today for West Germany. He is scheduled to meet with several Weatern European leaders.

May 5, 1965

Mr. Frank Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

We are still looking, but the enclosed represents about all we have come up with yet. It isn't much.

We'll be back in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Encl: Excerts from News clips on Farmer Gov. Coleman of Miss. Gathered by RP.

File

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

May 18, 1965

Rec'd 5/19/65

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

I don't know what is involved in the correspondence between Messrs. Wheeler and Smith about the judgeships. John Fox is a good man, but I had assumed that his age would bar his appointment. Apparently the Coleman appointment is on the verge of being made, possibly held up until the voters bill has passed. It certainly is better than what once could have happened, and I hope it does not presage a slowdown of results in voter registration.

Cordially,

Frank

Frank E. Smith

file

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

May 18, 1965

PW
PB
BP - file chg
MI - file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

Some of the best recent commentary about Mississippi has been, as usual, in the editorials in the Delta Democrat-Times, both in regard to the general state situation and the disrupted efforts of some of the groups symbolized by the Mississippi Freedom Party. Here are four or five of these editorials in the past month.

I am also enclosing copy of a talk by Harry Brandt Ayers of Anniston, Alabama, which you may not have seen.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

Enclosures

file

May 20, 1965

Mr. Frank Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

Please see the enclosed carbon. I am also enclosing copies of some more correspondence received from McNeill Smith. You two really should be in touch with each other. He is a first-rate man.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Read 5/24/65

May 21, 1965

Mr. McNeill Smith
Suite 700
Jefferson Standard Building
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Smith:

Leslie Dunbar has shown me copies of the letters which you received from Nolan Fortenberry at Ole Miss about the district judgeship in Mississippi. I concur in the statements he has made about all of the men concerned. There are some good candidates available from Mississippi who believe in the necessity of Federal law against nondiscrimination, and I hope the Justice Department will insist upon one of them for the appointment.

I still believe the President should insist on a like appointment to the Fifth Circuit.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

BCC: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

file

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

June 3, 1965

Rec'd 6/7/65

File

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Leslie:

I forgot to tell you that I had a call last week from Doris Fleeson about the judgeship situation. She was going to make some checks about it, but she did believe that it was pretty difficult to override Senator Stennis.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

Rec'd 6/28/65

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

File

June 25, 1965

Mr. Emmett Peter, Jr.
Lakeland Ledger
Lakeland, Florida

Dear Mr. Peter:

Thanks to the Congressional Record, I have read all of your articles about the Agricultural Civil Rights Advisory Committee in addition to the brief report in The New Republic. The influence that your group can have in the South is vitally important, and I want to express my appreciation for the fine start that has been made.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

BCC: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

July 2, 1965

Mr. Frank Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

Both Pat and I are deeply pleased over the comment in your letter.

We are sending you extra copies under separate cover.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

See memo to file of July 1, 1965

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

more info

June 29, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

The Pat Watters study and essay is extremely important. Please send me about twenty-five copies that I can distribute to some people who would not be on your mailing list.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

File
~~H.S. Foot~~
Tenn. Valley Authority

File

July 9, 1965

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are sorry that you are not goingto be with us at the conference described on the enclosed brochure but felt that you would be interested in seeing how the program finally shaped up.

Sincerely yours,

JPS

John P. Sisson
Director

fl

enc

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Mr. Mathew Ahmann

Rec'd 8/6/65 file

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

August 5, 1965

RA
BM - file reply
MS - file letter

Mr. Jack Reed
Reed's
P. O. Box 230
Tupelo, Mississippi 38802

Dear Jack:

I have just had a chance to read your talk to the North Mississippi Conference reprinted in the Mississippi Methodist Advocate. It was certainly a very wonderful statement.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

BCC: Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar (w/article)
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File

PWA
MS

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE 37902

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Rec'd 10/19/65

October 18, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The brief, "Southern Justice: An Indictment," is very good, and I believe it will do some good.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

CC: Mr. Charles Morgan, Jr.

Fire - U. S. Govt - Tennessee Valley Authority

July 6, 1966

Mr. Frank Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Dear Frank:

Thank you for the copy of your good speech delivered at Greensboro. It surely must be one of the shortest commencement addresses on record. You are to be commended for that as well as the quality of it. It has been passed on to Pat Watters who is considering excerpting it for New South. If he decided to do so, you will be hearing from him about it.

Pat has also told me of your generous offer to use the first chapter of your book for New South. We appreciate this too, and Pat will be in touch with you about it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Tenn. Valley Authority
(N.S.?)

May 2, 1967

Mr. Frank E. Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Dear Frank:

I have read your excellent Chicago speech and appreciate you sending it.

It has been passed on to Bob Anderson, Managing Editor of NEW SOUTH, for his consideration. Here editors edit, but I hope he will see fit to publish it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Texas Christian University

April 5, 1957

Dr. Harold L. Lunger
Brite College of the Bible
Department of Christian Ethics
Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Dr. Lunger:

Thank you for your letter of April 2 regarding the Institute on the Church in a Multi-Racial Society. You asked if it would be possible for someone, perhaps me, from our organization to come and discuss with the group what is happening in key communities and the role played by the church.

While I should be glad to attend, I believe there are others who are better qualified than I for this purpose:

(1) Reverend John H. Marion, Executive Director
Virginia Council on Human Relations
100 East Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

(2) Reverend Hugh A. Brimm
Carver School of Missions and Social Work
2801 Lexington Road
Louisville, Ky.

(3) Mr. Will Campbell
National Council of Churches
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee.

Jack Marion is Director of our state affiliate in Virginia. He was long-time Executive Secretary of the social action end of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia. He is an excellent speaker and knowledgeable in the field of human relations. Hugh Brimm was formerly and is once again Director of our Kentucky affiliate. He is a Southern Baptist of liberal persuasion and once directed the social action end of the Southern Baptist Convention. He too was knowledgeable in this field. Will Campbell is now

Director of the Division of Racial and Cultural Relations (Southern area) of the National Council of Churches. He is a Mississippian, but is entirely liberal on the basic issues and is very knowledgeable in the field.

If you decide on any of them, please feel free to mention that I suggested them.

I do not know Martin Luther King, Jr.'s schedule for the summer. I do know he is out of the country for the moment, but believe he will be back by the time your institute meets. Your best bet for reaching him is:

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
The Montgomery Improvement Association
530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama.

Again, feel free in using my name.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Copy of this letter sent to Ed. J. Kloppe
Texas affiliate - May 27, 1957

May 27, 1957

Mr. Harold L. Lunger
Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of May 24th and am happy that I was able to help you obtain the services of Jack Marion for your Institute. He is really "top drawer."

I am embarrassed that you have not received your subscription to New South after forwarding a membership fee to Ed Kloppe of the Texas Council. I will take this up with him immediately. However, there is no need to wait 'til you hear from him to start sending you New South. I will send back copies under separate cover and enter your name on the subscription list. I am also embarrassed that he did not reply to your subsequent letter asking cooperation on planning your Institute. This will also be taken up with him.

I am sending you the pamphlets you requested for which there will be no charge. We will keep the 40¢ which you sent and mail you "Integregation North and South," which costs 40¢. I believe you will find it well worth the money.

If I can be of any help at any time, please feel free to call on me.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FRB/mf

Lunger

TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
FORT WORTH, TEXAS

BRITE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS
HAROLD L. LUNGER

June 10, 1957

Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred,

May I make a couple of further requests of you in connection with our institute on "The Church in a Multi-racial Society".

In connection with this institute we are preparing a packet of materials for the fifty or so who have enrolled. We have a twofold purpose in mind: 1) to give them relevant material on the subject, and 2) to acquaint them with sources of information which will be helpful to them in the future.

In line with these objectives there are two pieces of material from your organization that I would like to have sufficient quantities of to put in these packets. I refer to the January, 1957, issue of the "New South" containing particularly the article on "Pro-segregation Groups", and also the pamphlet, "Next Steps in the South".

Please forward fifty (50) of each of these items if you have them on hand and bill the Department of Christian Ethics, Brite College of the Bible.

Again my thanks to you for your fine cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Lunger

Harold L. Lunger
Head of Department of Christian Ethics

HLL:pn

June 11, 1957

Dr. Harold L. Lunger
Head, Department of Christian Ethics
Brite College of the Bible
Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Harold:

I have turned your request for fifty copies of "Next Steps in the South" and the January issue of New South over to our information division. They will forward fifty copies of "Next Steps in the South" and fifty copies of a mimeographed report on pro-segregation groups.

We are substituting the latter for the January issue of New South, which we have run out of. Actually, this is the report on which the article in the January New South was based and it will cost you less money. We will bill the Department of Christian Ethics, Brite College of the Bible of Texas Christian University for this material.

We are only too glad to cooperate with you in setting up the institute on "The Church in a Multi-racial Society." We believe that the churches should and can play an active role in bringing about a more democratic society. Your efforts in this direction are praiseworthy.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

July 1, 1957

Mr. Harold L. Lunger
Department of Christian Ethics
Brite College of the Bible
Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Mr. Lunger:

Since Fred Routh is out of the office for an extended period of time your letter of June 26th has been referred to me.

Under separate cover, we are sending the fifteen (15) copies of "Next Steps". Unfortunately, we do not have additional reprints of the January New South.

I trust that you have arranged with Dr. Lovejoy to send the film "Face of the South" to the Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, immediately after using it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
FORT WORTH, TEXAS

BRITE COLLEGE OF THE BIBLE
DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS
HAROLD L. LUNGER

June 26, 1957

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred,

Enrollment at our Institute exceeded expectation with the result that we need fifteen (15) additional copies of the following items:

"Next Steps in the South"
the reprint of the article from the January "New South" on hate groups

If you would be so good as to forward these additional copies at the earliest possible date and bill us for the same.

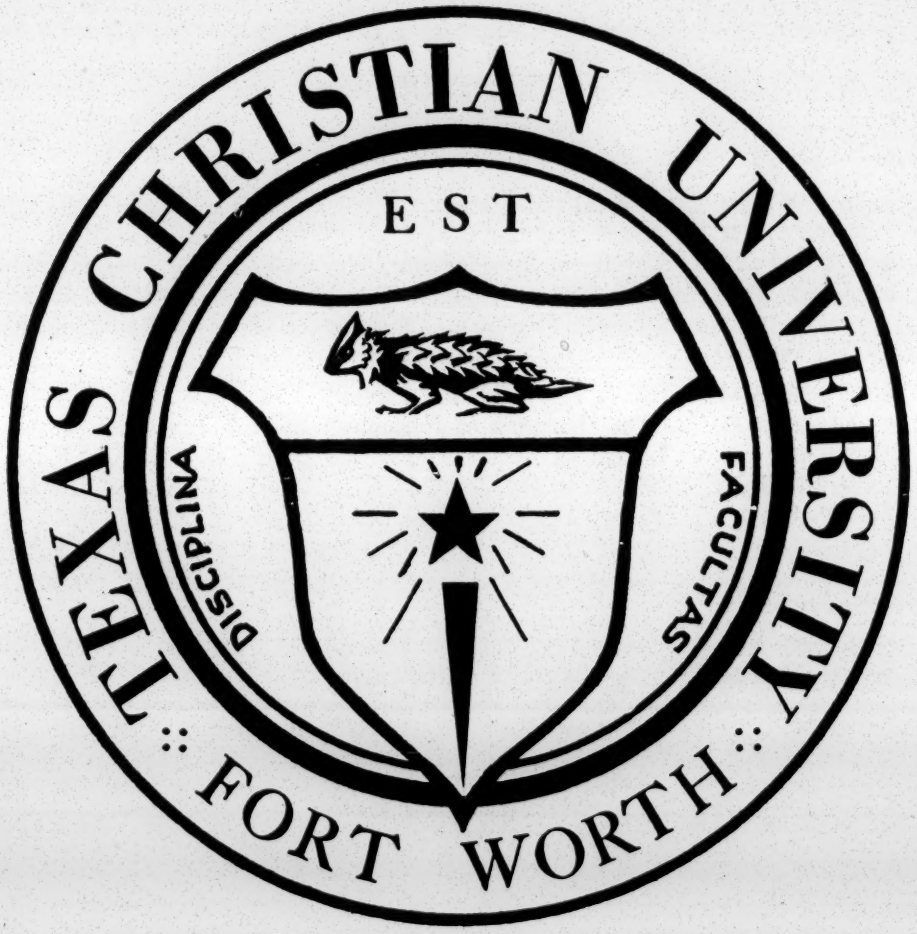
Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Lunger

Harold L. Lunger
Department of Christian Ethics Head

HLL:pn

encl.



THE CHURCH IN A MULTIRACIAL SOCIETY

An Institute Conducted by

Brite College of the Bible

June 25-July 12, 1567

with the cooperation of

The Department of Social Welfare
of the United Christian Missionary Society
and
The Commission on Cooperation with Religious Organizations
of the National Conference of Christians and Jews

SCHEDULE

Tuesday, June 25

8:30- 9:30 A.M.	General Orientation	
9:30-10:30 A.M.	"Race and the Bible"	Harold L. Lunger
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon, Introductions, Welcome . . .	Elmer D. Henson
1:30- 2:30 P.M.	"The Unity of Mankind"	Austin L. Porterfield

Wednesday, June 26

8:30- 9:00 A.M.	"Race and Christian Ethics"	Dr. Lunger
9:00-10:30 A.M.	"The Dynamics of Prejudice"	Gordon W. Lovejoy
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon, Remarks by NCCJ representative	
1:30- 2:30 P.M.	"Roads to the Present"	Dr. Lovejoy
7:30 P.M.	Film: "The High Wall" Discussion led by	Dr. Lovejoy

Thursday, June 27

8:30- 9:00 A.M.	"Race and Christian Theology"	Dr. Lunger
9:00-10:00 A.M.	"Constants and Variables in Southern Culture"	Dr. Lovejoy
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon, Begin reports on action groups	
1:30- 2:30 P.M.	"Action and Reaction: A Region in Transition"	Dr. Lovejoy
7:30 P.M.	Film: "The Face of the South" Discussion led by	Dr. Lovejoy

Friday, June 28

8:30- 9:00 A.M.	"Race and Church History"	Dr. Lunger
9:00-10:30 A.M.	"Where Do We Go From Here"	Dr. Lovejoy
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon	
1:30- 2:30 P.M.	"Understanding Your Community" . .	Robert H. Talbert

Tuesday, July 2

8:30- 9:30 A.M.	"The Question Before the Schools" . . .	Otto R. Neilsen
9:30-10:30 A.M.	"Constructive Community Action for Desegregation: Principles and Cases" .	John H. Marion
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon	
1:30- 2:30 P.M.	"The Mansfield Story"	Theodore Freedman
7:30 P.M.	Film: "The Clinton Story" Discussion led by	Dr. Marion

Wednesday, July 3

8:30- 9:30 A.M.	"Constructive Community Action" (continued) .	Dr. Marion
9:30-10:30 A.M.	Film: "A City Decides" Discussion led by	Dr. Marion
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon	
1:30- 2:30 P.M.	Workshops on Action at the Community Level	
7:30 P.M.	Films Useful in Church/Community Programs	

Thursday, July 4 **Holiday**

Friday, July 5

8:30- 9:00 A.M.	"Race, Christian Missions and World Peace"	Dr. Lunger
9:00-10:30 A.M.	"Philosophy and Strategy of Non-Violence in the Montgomery Situation"	E. H. Mason
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon	
1:30- 2:30 P.M.	"Economic Aspects of Segregation and Integration"	Dr. Talbert

Tuesday, July 9

8:30- 9:00 A.M.	"Race and the Ecumenical Movement"	Dr. Lunger
9:00-10:30 A.M.	"What Can the Local Church Do?"	Robert C. Lohman and Lewis Deer
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon	
1:30- 2:30 P.M.	Workshops on Action in the Local Church	
7:30 P.M.	Films Useful in Church/Community Programs	

Wednesday, July 10

8:30- 9:00 A.M.	"Race and the Church's Own Witness"	Dr. Lunger
9:00-10:30 A.M.	"The Integration of the Local Church"	Richard B. Clayborne and Lewis Deer
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon	
1:30- 3:20 P.M.	Workshops on the Integrated Church	

Thursday, July 11

8:30- 9:30 A.M.	"The Fourteenth Amendment and States Rights as They Affect Minority Groups"	John Rogers
9:30-10:30 A.M.	"What Can the Churches of a Community Do Together?"	Harold Kilpatrick
12:30 P.M.	Luncheon	
1:30- 2:30 P.M.	Workshops on Interchurch Action	

Friday, July 12

8:30-10:00 A.M.	"The Disciples of Christ—Segregated or Integrated?"	Paul A. Sims and Lewis Deer
10:00-11:00 A.M.	Closing Worship in Robert Carr Chapel—Sermon by	James A. Crain

PARTICIPANTS

Clayborne, Rev. Richard B., San Antonio, Texas, Minister of Woodlawn Christian Church

Crain, Dr. James A., Houston, Texas, Secretary, Joint Board of Christian Churches

Deer, Lewis, Indianapolis, Ind., National Director, Social Education and Intercultural Relations, United Christian Missionary Society

Freedman, Theodore, Houston, Texas, Director, Southwest Regional Office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Henson, Dr. Elmer D., Dean, Brite College of the Bible, T.C.U.

Kilpatrick, Harold, Austin, Texas, Executive-Secretary, Texas Council of Churches

Lohman, Rev. Robert C., Albuquerque, N. Mex., Minister, Sombra Del Monte Christian Church

Lovejoy, Dr. Gordon W., Professor of Sociology, Guilford College, North Carolina, and Program Consultant, National Conference of Christians and Jews

Lunger, Dr. Harold L., Professor of Christian Ethics, Brite Colloge of the Bible, T.C.U.

Marion, Dr. John H., Richmond, Va., Executive Director, Virginia Council on Human Relations

Mason, Rev. E. H., Montgomery, Ala., Minister, Ross St. Christian Church, former vice president, Montgomery Improvement Association

Nielsen, Dr. Otto R., Dean, School of Education, T.C.U.

Porterfield, Dr. Austin L., Professor of Sociology, Addran College, T.C.U.

Rogers, Dr. John, Enid, Okla., Professor of Constitutional Law, University of Tulsa Law School, and President, International Convention of Christian Churches (Disciples of Christ)

Sims, Rev. Paul A., Dallas, Texas, Director of Negro Work, Texas Board of Christian Churches

Talbert, Dr. Robert H., Professor of Sociology, Addran College, T.C.U.

January 2, 1959

Mr. Harold Lunger
Brite College of the Bible
Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, Texas

Dear Harold:

I have read with considerable interest the summary report on the 1958 institute on "The Role of the Church in a Multi-racial Society." It would seem from the comments of both participants and staff that a great deal of good was accomplished during this brief three-week period.

I am enclosing a copy of the December issue of New South which contains the statements of the bishops of the Episcopal, Methodist, and Roman Catholic churches, plus some related material. I am also sending a copy of the most recent statement of the Atlanta ministers. The New South would cost 20¢ per copy; we could supply the Atlanta ministers' statement free in quantities of fifty or less. I write you about this now because our supply of both items is not as extensive as we would hope, and if you want to use these for the '59 Institute it would be wise to order now.

Best wishes for the coming year.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosures - 2 (New South, and Atlanta ministers' statement.)

215-Fifth Street
Columbus, Georgia
March 3, 1945

Dr. Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63-Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

In discussing the problem to ascertain the number of Negroes working in the Textile Industry in Columbus, we have found the conditions as follow:

I. Bibb Mill:

There are ten Negroes in the opening room, four women and six men. Three of the women feed hoppers, one sweep. Five men open cotton, one is an oiler.

In the picker room, there are seven Negroes, three men on the picker machine, three women on hoppers, one woman sweeps.

Both of those mentioned have been on the job all the time during three shifts, making a total of 51 Negroes in both departments, salary 47½¢ per hour.

In the card room, Negroes have this job for the first time during the War. They lay laps, rack laps, turn cans, and run the card frames. There are about three hundred down stairs and four hundred up stairs.

In the twister department there are three creelers and three doffers on each shift, each of which has twenty-four machines. In the coat room there are twenty-nine women, twenty-one run twister machines, two run spooler machines, one sweep, four quill and one checks. This is done only on the first and second shifts. There are fifty-four spinners on each side of the twister machine and forty-nine on each side of the spooler.

In #3 spooler room there are six automatic spooler operated by six white women. On the two day shifts, but six Negroes quill. Too, the winders are operated by whites in the day, while Negroes doff. All these machines, the automatic spooler, the automatic warpers are operated completely by Negroes during the grave yard shift.

In the spinning department, the Negroes only sweep and push yarn. They pay on all these jobs 47½¢ per hour.

Note: When the Negroes were first put on these jobs, the whites grumbled, but the Superintendent assured both groups that it was to be done the way he planned, and now they work side by side. Two Negroes run the supply room on the first shift, whites have this job on the second and third shift.

II. Eagle& Phenix Mill:

There are twelve Negroes in the dye house on one shift, one acts as oiler and one as fixer, who have been on the job before the War.

There are ten Negro men in the picker department on each of the three shifts, three run machines, one oil, one stripper, one lay racks, one fixer and three drawing frame hands.

In the #1 card room all machines are operated by Negroes, except one and that is operated by a white woman.

There are ten men and women on each of three shifts who have cloth

and sweep. No new jobs were opened in this mill because of War.

III. Little Swift Mill:

In the waste house there are two shifts with two Negroes each, who run baling presses at 50¢ per hour.

In the opening room there are two shifts of two Negroes each, who run hoppers at 50¢ per hour.

There are twenty Negro men on one shift who truck cotton to the opening room and do general labor at 50¢ per hour.

Note: There are no new jobs because of War, and even the sweepers are white.

IV. Jordon Mill:

There are about twelve men who do all the work in the dye department on two shifts, and their production schedule. This is not a new job.

There are three Negro men who run three pickers at 47½¢ per hour. In the opening room about twelve Negroes truck cotton.

In the card room, Negro women and white women run drawing frame side by side on two shifts, but white women run the card machines on the first and second shift and Negroes run all the third shift. The card hands receive 55¢ per hour and those on the first shift make forty-eight hours per week, and those on the third shift make forty hours per week.

Note: All workers to receive salary must make production.

V. Muscogee Mill:

Negroes are in the weaving department. Three women sweep and pull quills on the third shift at 47¢ per hour. Negroes are also working in the card room and dye room, but we do not have numbers.

Note: There was a strike in this mill when Negroes were placed on the job as machine operators where they ran all machines and did the work. We do not have the numbers.

VI. Big Swift Mill:

In the dye house there is one full shift of about thirty Negroes, at 47 and 49¢ per hour.

In the card room, since the War, men and women run the machines, doff, quill, lay laps, rack laps etc., but we do not have the numbers.

Negroes also work in the picker room.

Note: We have not completed the survey to the extent that it is complete, because lack of time. We will complete this information on the mills needed if necessary.

W. M. Thomas

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this Mar 5, 1945
Jno. S. Jennings, Notary Public
Muscogee County, Ga

March 16, 1945

SPECIAL

Dr. E. M. Calhoun,
429 Cotton Avenue,
Macon, Georgia

Dear Dr. Calhoun:

We never did receive the information from you in regard to employment of Negroes in cotton mills in Macon.

Mr. W. M. Thomas was in our office last Saturday when we went over the situation on a statewide basis. Mr. Thomas told us that if we didn't hear from him to the contrary he would be in Macon last Tuesday to help you complete this work in order that we might incorporate it into our confidential report on the situation in the state as a whole.

Not having heard from him, we assume that he did come, and that the delay reflects the difficult problem of getting up one of these reports. We found this to be true in Augusta and in Columbus.

We have the reports from the other two towns, and I am leaving for Washington Saturday where we hope to turn this information to some constructive uses. We just generalized on Macon the same way as we did on the other two towns, but in high quarters these individual reports will be shown as substantiating evidence. We are therefore out on a limb as far as substantiation on the Macon situation goes, but if you or Mr. Thomas can finish this Macon report and mail in to us here, a summary of it can be forwarded to me in Washington next week.

Sincerely,

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on t y letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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TU ATLANTA

DR GUY B JOHNSON, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAET TU ATLA=

SAW MR WILL, MR WOLF, MISS HERRING CHAPEL HILL. INTEREST SHOWN PROJECT HERE AND MAY MAKE SOME HEADWAY. FAIR EQUIPMENT WPB NAVY OWI COOPERATION SEEING ARMY MANPOWER FOLKS TODAY BUT SEEING ARMY AND NAVY PROCUREMENT MAY GO OVER INTO NEXT WEEK. JUST HAD CONFERENCE DR WILL HERE. HE PLEASED AND ADVIES HANGING WITH IT. PLEASE ADVISE MRS ROBINSON=

CLYDE ROBINSON.

WPB OWI

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS SERVICE

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

Confidential

March 29, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Guy:

When Mr. Robinson, representing the Southern Regional Council, was in Chapel Hill March 19, he asked me about possible increases in the employment of Negroes in cotton mills in North Carolina. He said that some mills in Georgia are using Negroes not only in jobs and departments traditionally employing them, but in others as well and along side white women operatives. While I assume the total number of Negroes has increased due to increased operation, two and three shifts, etc., I told him that I had heard nothing of such revolutionary changes as he mentioned.

Just to check up on it, I wrote to Mr. Forrest Shuford and today I have the enclosed reply from him. Please protect Mr. Shuford on the opinions expressed in his second paragraph.

I only talked to Mr. Robinson on the telephone, as someone apparently suggested my name to him about supper-time, so I did not ask as many questions as I would have if we had had a more satisfactory conversation. But if I may make a suggestion, if I were you, I would check the situation pretty thoroughly before using the figures in Washington. I understand he is going to take the matter up with the W.P.B. or some other war man-power-production agency.

The mills at Augusta, Columbus, and other places where he said Negroes are so much more excessively employed may be using them in the opening room where some Negroes have long been used by some mills; the picker room where some mills have used both white and Negro men. They may even be using Negroes in the carding and drawing rooms where only white men are customarily employed. But if any are in the spinning, weaving, and other departments where women are employed, I wonder if you will not find that the mill has set aside a whole room and uses Negroes in that exclusively.

This sort of thing was done a little in the first world war, though more in hosiery mills which did not involve training for so many different kinds of jobs and in which white men continued to do the machine fixing. In cotton mills, a number used Negro women for cleaning and scrubbing, jobs usually done by white men in departments where white women worked.

The mores against mixing Negroes with white women, whether it involves Negro men as cleaners in the departments or Negroes of either sex as machine operatives, is one of the strongest traditions in the textile industry. It is, I should say, far stronger than the same tradition in the South as a whole outside the mills. The mills at Danville had some labor trouble recently because of trying to break over this rule at some point. I only heard about it in a very sketchy fashion, so I cannot give you the date and the exact jobs involved. South Carolina has even written the tradition into law.

Mr. Robinson also said he had been told in Atlanta that 95 percent of the cotton mill operatives (in the whole of Georgia I understood, since the total figures were so large) were women. He was doubtful about that, and I told him that it was bound to be wrong. The mills in the South normally have only from 39-42 or 43 percent women, and even the War could not have changed the proportions so drastically. That would not leave enough men for jobs handling bales, warps, rolls of cloth, and other work too heavy for women, to say nothing of mechanics, fixers, beamers, warp tiers, dyers, etc., where long training is necessary and there were no women with experience. Even if the draft had taken all the men of military age, which I doubt in view of the tight situation in military textiles, there would be enough older men to make a larger percentage than the figure given him. Such a percentage might be possible in a shirt or overall factory, though I doubt it even there.

Best wishes to you and Guion and I hope you will be coming by soon.

Sincerely yours,

Harriet

HARRIET L. HERRING
Research Associate

HLH:h

March 20, 1945

Mr. Forrest Shuford
North Carolina Department of Labor
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Shuford:

Have cotton mills in North Carolina started using Negro labor more extensively than they did before the war? Do you know of instances where they are using Negroes in departments which were formerly exclusively white, and particularly in which white women are employed? What sort of jobs are they doing: (1) chiefly janitorial; (2) trucking warp to and cloth from looms, laying up roving, supplying filling, etc.; or (3) on machine operations?

The Southern Regional Council is interested in this problem, both because it affects textiles, where there is considerable labor shortage on war production, and because it opens industrial opportunities for Negroes. Their representative has found some mills in Georgia where there seems to be pretty thorough utilization of Negroes on all sorts of jobs and in departments with whites.

He asked me if the same was beginning in North Carolina, but I was unable to tell him of any and so am appealing to you. If you know of any such instances, I would be very much obliged if you would let me know the names of the mills, so that he can get information from them as to how it is working out.

Yours very truly,

HARRIET L. HERRING
Research Associate

HLH:h

State of North Carolina
Department of Labor
Raleigh

FORREST H. SHUFORD
COMMISSIONER

March 28, 1945

Confidential - G.B.J.

Miss Harriet L. Herring, Research Associate
Institute for Research in Social Science
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Miss Herring:

Since receiving your letter of March 20 I have made inquiry of all our inspectors whom I have seen regarding the employment of Negroes in cotton mills. So far, I have not found any indication of such employment, other than the type of work which was being done by Negroes before the War, such as janitorial work, outside employment, or work in opener and picker rooms. There may be some increase in jobs which are now being done by Negroes in cotton mills but, if so, it is very slight, or else our inspectors would have come into contact with it before this time.

It was very interesting to me to learn that in Georgia there is a pretty thorough utilization of Negroes on all sorts of jobs, and in departments with whites. I would not expect to find this condition in Georgia, of all places. I wonder what the reaction of white employees is to this situation. A few days ago I heard of an instance where a Negro had been placed on a job in the same department with white workers, and it caused a great deal of commotion. I fear that if much of that is indulged in, it will bring about a strike.

As you probably know, many industries in the State have employed Negroes in an increased percentage, but I believe they have kept them pretty well segregated, and have not mixed them up in the same department with white employees.

Sincerely yours,

Forrest H. Shuford

Forrest H. Shuford,
COMMISSIONER.

3-27-45

Textiles

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Dr. Howard W. Odum

From: Mr. Aubrey Clyde Robinson, Southern Regional Council
Date: April 13, 1945

Recently we discovered that Negro men and women were employed in cotton mills in four Georgia towns, namely, Columbus, Macon, Augusta, and Porterdale. Negroes are employed in some twelve or fifteen mills in these towns to the extent of between two and five thousand persons and are (1) assigned to work under various arrangements such as manning whole departments by Negroes on three shifts, (such departments as the card room); and (2) assigned to do more or less unskilled work formerly incorporated in a machine operator's job whereby that white machine operator was given enlarged assignments; and (3) employed exclusively on the third shift at machine operating work in departments manned exclusively by whites on the other two and more desirable shifts; and (4) in some few cases interspersed as machine operators among white operators in the same department at the same time.

We, of course, documneted this situation and presented it to people in authority in war production of textiles in Washington.

While I was in Chapel Hill I talked to a young white woman who reported herself as a hospital employee in Winston-Salem, whose job it was to take occupational and other personal data concerning patients admitted to the hoppital. She told me, quite confidentially, that the tobacco companies in her town were now using many Negroes on jobs formerly assigned exclusively to white people. She thought further that the companies seemed to be keeping this quiet, inferring that they did not want to be committed to this practice after the war.

I discussed this yesterday with Giles Hubert and it was our thought that if this situation could be scouted and found to be true it would be equally significant to the cotton mill situation as manisfesting the successful employment of Negroes on jobs heretofore considered above Negro levels of skill. It was our thought also that if this situation could be documented the contrast of present emphoyment practice in the tobacco and cigarette industries with employment practices and working concepts obtaining at the time Dr. Charles S. Johnson made his cigarette studies in 1935, would be clear and decisive.

I am therefore calling it to the attention of both of you in the hope that the employment situation in the tobacco and cigarette industries in Winston-Salem, Durham, and Reidsville could be scouted by some one from Dr. Odum's staff for further consideration.

cc: Mr. Giles Hubert

FISK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NASHVILLE, 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR

April 17, 1945

Mr. Aubrey Clyde Robinson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Robinson:

Thank you for sending on the memorandum (a copy of which was also sent to Dr. Odum). I quite agree with you that the situations which you described are quite significant and could be useful in indicating employment of Negroes on jobs heretofore condisered above Negro levels of skills.

I hope to be able to write you more about this later on.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj-p

REMARKS ON TEXTILE POLICIES AFFECTING NEGRO EMPLOYMENT AT POINTS IN ALABAMA

A. West Point Manufacturing Company.

1. Lanett Mill. Negroes have been placed on all cleaning and blowing down jobs throughout the mill, jobs which before the war were exclusively given to whites. These cleaning and blowing down jobs exclude the custodial work of scouring, etc., and are confined to plant and machine daily cleaning. In the card room Negro sweepers are used. Sweeping is not ordinarily considered a cleaning job,as much waste cotton is recovered. In the card room Negroes for the first time are employed at card stripping. This would involve some 6 or 8 men. So far there have been no Negroes employed at machine operative work except in the picker room at which operative work Negroes were employed before the war. It is safe to assume from reports given by reliable people that the labor shortage has been partly filled by replacement of whites by Negroes in the servicing work, as outlined above to the extent of about 10% of the total employment of the mill.

2. Shawmut Mill.

3. Langdale Mill.

Employment patterns of Negroes in these mills follow the same lines as outlined above for Lanett Mill.

4. Fairfax Mill. The labor situation was so acute in this mill that back some 2 or 3 months ago they attempted to man the card room exclusively with Negroes, both men and women. After partially achieving this for a day or two--introducing Negroes gradually into the card room--the whites became indignant to the point of grouping up in the mill gates and threatening the Negroes as they came to work one morning. Immediately the mill company abandoned the plan for manning the card room by Negroes.

(White folks sometimes get mixed up in the accounts of turning back Negroes from work in the mill. Some say it was at Langdale and that two Negroes were thrown into the river and drowned.)

5. Riverview Mill. This is one of the towel mills. In the mill itself employment of Negroes follows the same lines as in the rest of the mills. However, it is reliably reported that about 30 Negroes, women, are working in the towel packing room on jobs given before the war to whites.

It is to be noted that these mills are scattered about two miles apart, having spearate villages, separate police systems--maintained exclusively by the company--forming, so to speak, separate and distinct communities.

Mr. Floyd Tillery, a liberal on the Negro problem, variously a school teacher, a contributor to national magazines, and now editor of the West Point News, promised to interview the chief personnel officer of the West Point Manufacturing Company and give us on a confidential basis the complete story of the Negro employment in these mills. If he doesn't change his mind, and if he goes through with giving us this report, we may have considerable more particulars on Negro employment in this area than any observer could get on a visit.

B. Comer Mills.

1. Sylacauga Mill. With the exception of the Eva Jane Mill employment of Negroes in the 5 mills located together in this town, follows the same pattern as West Point Manufacturing Company. In the Eva Jane mill they have successfully introduced an all Negro shift of 35 in the card room on the third shift only. Apparently the whites have taken this arrangement all right. When Negroes were first put on this shift in this room as operative workers the white mill hands had some of their number go and watch the Negroes going into the mill at the beginning of the shift. The superintendent noticed this and dispersed the watchers.

In summary it is safe to say that the Negroes employed are about 10% of the total employment of all the mills, and that they are mainly put in service jobs at the bottom of the skills.

2. Sycamore Mill. This mill is about 10 miles above Sycamore. Just a mill and village off to itself. Negroes man the card room from the slubbers back to the opening room. There are about 50 to 60 Negroes. These Negroes come and go by special entrances.

3. Birmingham Mill. Except for blowing down and cleaning, no Negroes are employed at operative work in this mill. It is to be noted, however, that there is no third shift, the mill operating in two shifts only.

Textile Industry

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A STATEMENT ON

THE TEXTILE WAR GOODS SHORTAGE

We know that in peace time the textile industry is one of the most important basic Southern industries. It affects nearly a quarter of a million mill workers. Of the 151,661 mill workers of the lower Southern states (not including mills in North Carolina or Virginia) employed in the 437 mills having government contracts for war goods, 145,354, or 95%, are women, and only 17,890, or 11%, are Negroes. Of the 437 mills in war production, not more than 6 or 8 mills use Negro mill employees except for custodial and cleaning work, and not more than 3,000, or 1 1/2%, Negroes are used as regular mill workers. In spite of the fact that the industry is 95% a women's industry, of 14,000 Negroes employed as custodial workers, very few are women.

We know that the output of most of the Southern cotton mills has been turned to war goods production. We hear, through the press, that the Southern mills are further behind in their war goods schedules as set by War Production Board's quotas than any other industry. And we hear that the shortage, particularly in ducks, is impeding the war effort considerable, so much infact, that this shortage is receiving national attention at the present time.

We can assume that one factor in this shortage of duck (as well as shortages in other textiles) is the fact that the workers in the textile industry receive the lowest scale of wages of all large Southern or national industries. This has resulted in (1) loss of large portions of the normal textile labor force to other better-paid war industries, and (2) inability to compete in attracting new rural workers called forth by WMC to work in the war industries.

We can also assume that another factor in the shortage is the failure, because of certain historical labor patterns in the industry, to use a vast untapped reservoir of potential labor that <u>could</u> be made available to the textile industry almost immediately.

It is with this last factor that we are particularly concerned. We can use our patriotic efforts to:

1. Explore the attitudes of the government agencies involved, namely, the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission, towards this textile war good shortage, the textile industry's attitude toward its problems in meeting production schedules, and the attitude at present of organized labor toward certain historical patterns of employment that probably obstruct the industry from using untapped reservoirs of labor.

2. Explore qualitatively the present setting of the industry and the reservoirs of labor that could be made available to the textile industry.

3. Use our good offices to get the government agencies involved to treat with the textile industry and organized labor on the premises of these untapped sources of labor, and, if possible, to get definite and official reactions from both the textile industry and organized labor on why this labor is not utilized.

4. Use our good offices further to aid the textile industry and organized labor, especially to aid textile workers themselves in places where these workers are not unionized, in working out techniques, and publicity, to facilitate a full utilization of all potential textile labor now available, up to the amount needed for full utilization of plants and machinery to meet war production schedules.

We can assume that all textile machines, and a big part of the other work in the cotton mills, up to approximately 95%, can be manned by women.

We can assume that there are thousands of women, particularly Negro women, who do not now have war jobs open to them, and we can assume that these women are not now working anywhere, or are working at low-paid domestic and preparation work.

We can assume that textile labor is classified largely as common and semi-skilled labor, and that the employee training period, while being one of the critical problems to be encountered in introducing Negro women to the textile industry, could be short, a matter of a week at the most in all departments, with the exception of the weaving department.

We can assume, since certain mills, particularly mills located in Columbus, Georgia, are successfully using Negro labor inside the mills, that other mills could do so with equal success.

Any efforts made to bring to all people involved a full realization of the situation existing in the industry as it affects the welfare of our nation would be a patriotic service. We are being asked to go "all out" to win the war as quickly as possible. According to McArthur many lives are being lost purely because of an insuffiency in the supply of textile goods, particularly duck. This is a sad commentary on both our white and Negro Southerners.

REPORT ON BIBB MILL NO. I

The report on Bibb Mill No. I found:

I Between 250 and 275 Negroes hired in all type of work from the yard throughout the mills.

II 85% yard work is done by Negro men labor.

III 95% of cleaning and sweeping is done by Negro women. 5% by Negro men.

IV In handling yarns 45 to 55% Negro women working along with white side by side.

V Few Negro women working along beside white in Spinning room.

VI All supervisor work handled by white.

VII Negro found in most every part of Mill working along with white.

VIII There are few doing skilled work, but not sure about skilled pay.

REPORT ON BIBB MILL NO. 2

The report on Bibb Mill No. 2 is the same as for Bibb Mill No. 1.

WILLINGHAM MILL

Willingham Mill does not have any Negro laborers.

REPORT ON BIBB MILL NO. 1

Investigations show that Bibb Mill, No. 1 has a total of 45 Negro women employed as follows:

Spinning Floor

First Shift	11
Second Shift	10
Third Shift	10

Card Room

First Shift	3
Second Shift	3
Third Shift	3

Skilled Labor

Drawing Room

First Shift	5
Second Shift	5
Third Shift	5

Common Labor

Twister's Floor

2 in A. M. - one each on 2nd and 3rd shifts

Swift Room

2 on each shift

Reclaim Dept.

3 on second shift

1 sweeper

Remarks:

White workers are permitted to work on Sundays and are not required to lose a day in the following week. If the Negro works on Sunday he is required to lose a day the following week.

White workers are paid double time, Negroes are not.

Bibb Mill No. 3 is practically the same as Bibb Mill No. 1.

REPORT ON ATLANTIC COTTON MILL

Investigations show that Atlantic Cotton Mill has 29 Negro women employed as follows:

Card Room

5 on each shift -- 4 running Drawing, 1 running cards - rate of pay 40¢ an hour.

Spinning Room

4 on each shift

Yard -- in the day -- 2

Remarks:

All machines are running.

By A. L. Thomas

Macon, Ga.

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. Charles S. Johnson and Dr. Howard W. Odum
From: Mr. Aubrey Clyde Robinson

Recently we discovered that Negro men and women were employed in cotton mills in four Georgia towns, namely, Columbus, Macon, Augusta, and Porterdale. Negroes are employed in some twelve or fifteen mills in these towns to the extent of between two and five thousand persons and are assigned to work under various arrangements such as manning whole departments by Negroes on three shifts,(such departments as the card room) and (2) assigning Negroes to do more or less unskilled work formerly incorporated in a machine operator's job, whereby that white machine operator was given enlarged assignments; and (3) employing Negroes exclusively on the third shift at machine operating work in departments manned exclusively by whites on the other two and more desirable shifts, and (4) in some few cases interspersing Negro machine operators among white operators in the same department at the same time.

We, of course, documented this situation and presented it to people in authority in war production of textiles in Washington.

While in Chapel Hill recently I was told quite confidentially by a young white woman who reported herself as a hospital employee in Winston-Salem, whose job it was to take occupational and other personal data concerning patients admitted to the hospital, that the tobacco companies in her town were now using many Negroes on jobs formerly assigned exclusively to white people. She opined further that the companies seemed to be keeping this quiet, inferring that they did not want to be committed to this practice after the war. I discussed this yesterday with Giles Hubert and it was our thought that if this situation could be scouted and found to be true it would be equally significant to the cotton mill situation as manifesting the successful employment of Negroes here-to-fore considered above Negro levels of skill. It was our thought also that if this situation could be documented the contrast of present employment practice in the tobacco and cigarette industries with employment practices and working concepts obtaining at the time Dr. Charles S. Johnson made his cigarette studies in 1935, would be clear and decisive.

I am therefore calling it to the attention of both of you in the hope that the employment situation in the tobacco and cigarette industries in Winston-Salem, Durham, and Reidsville be scouted by some one from Dr. Odum's staff for further consideration.

NEGROES EMPLOYED IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY
Columbus, Georgia

I. BIBB MILL

There are ten Negroes in the opening room, four women and six men. Three of the women feed hoppers, one sweeps. Five men open cotton, one is an oiler.

In the picker room, there are seven Negroes, three men on the picker machine, three women on hoppers, one woman sweeps.

Both of those mentioned have been on the job all the time during three shifts, making a total of 51 Negroes in both departments, salary 47½¢ per hour.

In the card room, Negroes have this job for the first time during the War. They lay laps, rack laps, turn cans, and run the card frames. There are about three hundred down stairs and four hundred up stairs.

In the twister department there are three creelers and three doffers on each shift, each of which has twenty-four machines. In the coat room there are twenty-nine women, twenty-one run twister machines, two run spooler machines, one sweeps, four quill and one checks. This is done only on the first and second shifts. There are fifty-four spinners on each side of the twister machine and forty-nine on each side of the spooler.

In #3 spooler room there are six automatic spoolers operated by six white women. On the two day shifts, but six Negroes quill. Too, the winders are operated by whites in the day, while Negroes doff. All these machines, the automatic spooler, the automatic warpers are operated completely by Negroes during the grave yard shift.

In the spinning department, the Negroes only sweep and push yarn. They pay on all these jobs 47½¢ per hour.

Note: When the Negroes were first put on these jobs, the whites grumbled, but the Superintendent assured both groups that it was to be done the way he planned, and now they work side by side. Two Negroes run the supply room on the first shift, whites have this job on the second and third shift.

II. EAGLE AND PHENIX MILL

There are twelve Negroes in the dye house on one shift, one acts as oiler and one as fixer, who have been on the job before the war.

There are ten Negro men in the picker department on each of the three shifts, three run machines, one oils, one is a stripper, one lays racks, one is a fixer, and three drawing frame hands.

In the #1 card room all machines are operated by Negroes, except one, and that is operated by a white woman.

There are ten men and women on each of three shifts who haul cloth and sweep. No new jobs were opened in this mill because of the war.

III. LITTLE SWIFT MILL

In the waste house there are two shifts with two Negroes each, who run baling presses at 50¢ per hour.

In the opening room there are two shifts of two Negroes each, who run hoppers at 50¢ per hour.

There are twenty Negro men on one shift who truck cotton to the opening room and do general labor at 50¢ per hour.

Note: There are no new jobs because of the war, and even the sweepers are white.

IV. JORDON MILL

There are about twelve men who do all the work in the dye department on two shifts, and their production schedule. This is not a new job.

There are three Negro men who run three pickers at 47½¢ per hour. In the opening room about twelve Negroes truck cotton.

In the card room, Negro women and white women run drawing frames side by side on two shifts, but white women run the card machines on the first and second shifts and Negroes run all the third shift. The card hands receive 55¢ per hour and those on the first shift make forty-eight hours per week, and those on the third shift make forty hours per week.

Note: All workers to receive salary must make production.

V. MUSCOGEE MILL

Negroes are in the weaving department. Three women sweep and pull quills on the third shift at 47¢ per hour. Negroes are also working in the card room and dye room, but we do not have numbers.

Note: There was a strike in this mill when Negroes were placed on the job as machine operators where they ran all machines and did the work. We do not have the numbers.

VI. BIG SWIFT MILL

In the dye house there is one full shift of about thirty Negroes, at 47 and 49¢ per hour.

In the card room, since the war, men and women run the machines, doff, quill, lay laps, rack laps, etc., but we do not have the numbers.

Negroes also work in the picker room.

Note: We have not completed the survey to the extent that it is complete, because of lack of time. We will complete this information on the mills needed if necessary.

Signed
W. M. THOMAS

Sworn to and Subscribed before
me, this March 5, 1945
Jno. F. Saennis, Notary Public, Muscogee County, Georgia

Confidential

CONFERENCES ON THE TEXTILE LABOR SITUATION

March 19: With Dr. Wolf in his office in Chapel Hill.

Corrected some figures of sex classification previously secured from another source, which were in error. He estimated the proportion of male and female in cotton mills now to run about fifty-fifty.

Wolf indicated it was his feeling that the trial of introducing Negroes as mill workers in Dan River Mills, Danville, was over dramatic, probably at the invitation of both the management of the mill and the union. In other words management wanted the trial to end in failure. Wolf said they tried it twice, trying to install two Negro women, and each time white people stopped work, and this work stoppage is classed as strikes. The Negro workers were withdrawn.

Wolf seemed sympathethic to the feeling of the management that the most efficient workers would come from the white group because of the lack of industrial experience among Negroes.

With Dr. Will Alexander in his home near Chapel Hill.

Dr. Will read the statement, offered no criticism as to form, etc. He indicated that he thought it an important project. He stressed that the thing to do was to try to get to the man in the Army whose job it was to handle the personnel problems in textiles, and maybe this man would get something done. He suggested that I see Phileo Nash in Washington, and gave me several other names of people to see. He thought there might be some possibilities of response from people in War Production Board, but doubted if any body in WMC would do anything about it. Said he would see me in Washington on the coming Thursday and would give me any further help he could on it. Dr. Will thought the Macon, Augusta parallel might be found in places in North Carolina. He suggested I might contact Max Gardner and others about this. Dr. Will remembered once there was a cotton mill in Durham, N. C. that used a high percentage of Negro employees. He doubted if Malcolm Ross would do anything.

Telephone Conversation with Harriet Herring.

She said mill workers usually ran about 47% women and 53% men. Said now with the war it might run fifty-fifty men and women. She doubted if any mills in North Carolina were introducing Negro workers into the mills else she would have heard about it. One thing she pointed out that there were not many Negroes, proportionately, in the Piedmont mill sections of the Carolinas. She promised to keep listening out for any developments in increased Negro employment of Negroes in mills and to advise us.

March 20: With Malcolm Ross and Will Maslow.

They seemed impressed by the potentiality if the facts in the Macon-Augusta-Columbus story could be gotten over to people shouldering the responsibility of textile production in the government. They suggested one use to which the statement could be put: If the Southern Regional Council would bring a formal complaint to the FEPC, signed in the regular manner by the organization, the FEPC could make investigations in the Southern mills. They pointed out that FEPC was powerless

to act without first having a formal complaint of racial discrimination. Mr. Ross suggested that we point the thing up to all the other mills in general--other than the Macon-Augusta-Columbus mills involved in these statements in order not to pick on any. Ross indicated that they could tackle it as a movement. Ross asked me to see him again the following Saturday or Monday. He said the FEPC would have to approach it as a general movement and stay out of South Carolina because Judge Byrnes would turn the politicians loose and ruin the whole thing.

A subsequent meeting with Mr. Davis of FEPC (Head of Research and Statistics).

Davis wanted to have a copy of our statement to cite to WMC and WPB officials in connection with the cut-backs in Mobile and Brunswick. Previously these officials had indicated that most of the people released from war work in these two places could be absorbed in the textile industries in the South. It was Davis' desire to hold the ceilings for outside recruitment for the cotton mills as low as possible to force the mills to make proper use of the available labor supply consisting of Negroes.

March 21: With Lt. R. B. Smith of the Navy,(formerly one of the Chief aides of Thomas E. Blaisdell in the Planning Division of the WPB)

Lt. Smith undertook to steer me to the top policy people concerning the textile industry in WPB and the Army and Navy and in most cases he intervened to make the appointments. The first conference was with:

David Sapos, General Labor Economic Adviser, WPB.

Mr. Sapos thought this statement should be pushed down the alley-ways of WPB, the Army and Navy and WMC and suggested as the most effective way of doing this that the Southern Regional Council formally submit this statement with a cover letter to, first, Mr. Krug, Chairman of WPB, with copies of this cover letter and statement to several key-men whose names are appended at the end of this summary; and second, to Paul McNutt, Chairman of the WMC and a copy of this cover letter and statements to several key-men whose names are appended; and third, a copy of the statement and cover letter to the Under Secretary of War with copies to his key-men; and fourth, to the Under Secretary of the Navy with copy of the cover letter and statement to his several key-men; and fifth, to Malcolm Ross, Chairman of FEPC and to James Byrnes; and sixth, a cover letter and copy of the statement to Senator Meade, Chairman of the Senate Committee Investigating War Activities. Dr. Sapos said that they then could cook up something in WPB and the document could be made of general use throughout the government by having it submitted on a formal basis rather than on a confidential basis. He indicated that he and several people whom he knew would be very aggressive to see that arguments previously offered by key-men in these agencies that Negroes could not be put to work in Southern cotton mills without work stoppage on the part of the whites, would be effectively off-set.

March 21: With Major Ralph Hetzel, Deputy-Vice-Chairman, Manpower Requirements Branch WPB and Kenneth Douty, Liason Man between WPB and WMC and WPB and the Army and the Navy and the textile industry itself (Mr. Douty also is the go-between of the Military Requirement and Civilian Requirement branch of WPB in textiles)

Mr. Douty knew about the ~~Council~~ Columbus situation where Negro and white worked in the same mill and he on two occasions requested WMC to take case history surveys in these mills to make greater utilization of Negro labor. No replies were made to this request. In the conference Major Hetzel directed him to follow up these requests

and try to keep the heat on. Douty had expressed amazement that the Negroes had not previously taken the initiative to get more Negroes into the cotton mills. These men suggested that I secure conferences with Colonel Brennon in the Army Service Forces whose responsibility it was to handle manpower problems for the production of the textiles (Colonel Brennon gave me the run around but I finally succeeded in getting a conference with his superior, Colonel Gow.)

Major Hetzel said for the time being to hold up on the Sapos approach of issuing a formal statement until we could first see these people on a conference basis and if we had no response then we should do the other. Hetzle said in effect that beautiful words from the Army were not enough. That the only way to get anywhere was for the Army to undertake a progressive program in the light of this statement and if they undertake it in the right way they would make a project of it and prosecute it vigilantly. That if they failed to do this it was better to issue the statement formally as Sapos had recommended in order to point up the situation and responsibility for inaction in the past as well as the present and future.

March 23: Lt. Cowee (handling the industrial manpower problems in the Navy.)

Lt. Cowee suggested that he call in several of his agents including the Navy officer who visited the mills in the South urging greater textile production. It was Lt. Cowee's feeling that if Colonel Brennon of the Army would go along with him that they could push the cottom mill management in the South to employing Negro labor. He expressed intense interest in the general outcome of the conference with Brennon and suggested that if the Army gave it the run around that we issue the statement on a formal basis in order that these people should be forced to take the responsibility for their inaction. He instructed his field man in the South to point out the situations described in the statement as examples to the mills who were behind in their schedules. One of the Lt.'s (Cowee) men brought out the fact that duck production was no longer as critical as steel.

March 23: With Dr. Will Alexander and Phileo Nash (OWI)

Dr. Will thought there were considerable possibilities for enlarging the employment of Negroes in the mills because of the shortage of textiles for civilian requirements and we began to work out strategy for getting to people in the WPB and other places concerned with civilian requirements. Nash pointed out that if the situation had eased up on military it was at the expense of the civilian requirements, that cotton mill production generally had not been accelerated to any great extent. It was agreed that I continue my conferences until I had reached the top people in the Army manpower section when I had conferred with the Navy to see what could be done further particularly in regard to the civilian requirement side of the picture.

March 24: Colonel Gow, Head of the Army Service Forces, Division on Manpower Requirements in Industry, and Lemuel Foster, Negro Assistant on Matters concerning Minorities.

Colonel Gow expressed interest in the statement but pointed out that his officers had done a good job in the South and duck was considerably less critical at the moment from the military side of the picture. He promised to use the statements as examples to urge the mills behind on their schedules to study the techniques the mills in Macon-Augusta-Columbus in introducing Negro labor into the mills. All in all the interview did not point to any particular action on the part of the Army to further Negro employment in the South. As a matter of fact Colonel Gow pointed out that the President directed him to be impartial on all race relations.

He said that while he had some officers in the field in the South who would be too aggressive and crusading on the Negro question, he had others who would do as little as possible about it, concerning putting Negroes in the mills.

A Series of Conferences with Phileo Nash, Mr. Powell of the Civilian Requirement Branch of OCD, Theodore R. Poston, Unofficial Negro Representative in the Government, and Noel Beddow.

These conferences were held with one man at a time, not jointly. They disclosed the fact that Mr. Beddow, A Brimingham attorney formerly with the steel workers union and now a one dollar a year man paid by the union, had been sent South on three occasions to try to get greater utilization of Negroes in all Southern industry, especially the cotton mills which were so far behind in their production. Mr. Beddow was hostile, obstructive, and abusive toward the Council's efforts in behalf of Negroes, pointing out that Donald Comer was using Negroes in mills. He said that no Negro was capable of attaining the skill of a doffer in the cotton mills. He defied anybody to prove to him that a white woman would tolerate a Negro man working near her in the mills. He threatened to make long distance calls to Columbus, check up on the situation and break it in Columbus and Macon the next day. He said that he had had conferences with Bibb Manufacturers in Columbus and that they indicated the use of very few Negroes and these in their customary custodial assignments. Beddow called in John Eidleman and attempted to inflame the union officials against the Council's approach in the matter because the Council was using as examples mills known to have bad attitudes toward unions and to be mills using the lowest pay scales in the South. Eidleman reacted favorably to the idea of pointing up the situation where Negroes were employed in cotton mills and managed to calm Mr. Beddow down considerably. In the wind-up Ted Poston, Phileo Nash, and Mr. Powell concurred with Mr. Sapos' suggestion that the Council should issue this statement on a formal basis to agencies of the government concerned with textile production.

They all stressed that it would be necessary, for this to be effective, for it to be done quickly before the war ends in Europe. Phileo Nash agreed to contact Dr. Will Alexander on recommendations for further action and Ted Poston agreed to contact Dr. Reid.

Mr. Robinson's comments:

It is worth something on the moral side to have placed this information on a confidential basis with the men in the action agencies in the government responsible for handling the textile production in the South but it is my feeling there will be no material gains except by issuing the statement formally where it can stare certain people in the face every time they attempt to continue such pussyfooting as Noel Beddow has been responsible for in representing what can be done and what cannot be done in Negro employment and all other war industries in the South as well as in the cotton mills involved in the areas outlined in the statement.

I, therefore, recommend with David Sapos, T. R. Poston, Phileo Nash, Malcolm Ross, and others that we tighten up the statements and formally submit them to agencies of the government concerned. However, in order to make such a step effective it will be necessary for Dr. Will Alexander to concur also in this judgement. I suggest that if we do not hear from Dr. Alexander on this matter that we submit this information to him for his reaction.

ALSO Brought out in the Conferences with Mike Ross:

On a second interview with Mike Ross he suggested that Sapos'would be the most effective step to take, assuring us that his agencies as well as other agencies would then be able to use the facts pointed out in the statement in influencing government policy whereas if the statement is merely shown on a confidential basis nobody in the government will be able to undertake negotiations on the basis of facts brought out in our statement.

ALSO Brought out in the Conference with Hetzel and Douty.

Mr. Douty pointed out that some of the language in the statement would be attacked and he kindly agreed voluntarily to make certain editorial suggestions on a personal basis in order to get the document immune from these attacks (we have already received Mr. Douty's suggestions). On a second telephone conversation with Mr. Douty discussion of Dr. Will Alexander's suggestion of trying to play up the civilian requirement side of the thing was held and Mr. Douty suggested that the only way to dig in on this would be by making formal protest to the government such as would be effected in the formal submission of this document to the heads of these government agencies (Mr. Douty was the man referred to by every other person contacted as being the key man to advise us on what steps to take in order to properly utilize the information we have gotten on the textile labor situation.) It is Mr. Douty's feeling that when this statement is submitted formally and becomes a part of the files of the heads of the agencies concerned with textile production the government itself can begin to find ways to do something about the situation in our Southern cotton mills.

A. C. Robinson

CONFIDENTIAL

NEGROES EMPLOYED IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY
Columbus, Georgia

I. BIBB MILL

There are ten Negroes in the opening room, four women and six men. Three of the women feed hoppers, one sweeps. Five men open cotton, one is an oiler.

In the picker room, there are seven Negroes, three men on the picker machine, three women on hoppers, one woman sweeps.

Both of those mentioned have been on the job all the time during three shifts, making a total of 51 Negroes in both departments, salary 47½¢ per hour.

In the card room, Negroes have this job for the first time during the war. They lay laps, rack laps, turn cans, and run the card frames. There are about three hundred down stairs and four hundred up stairs.

In the twister department there are three creelers and three doffers on each shift, each of which has twenty-four machines. In the coat room there are twenty-nine women, twenty-one run twister machines, two run spooler machines, one sweeps, four quill and one checks. This is done only on the first and second shifts. There are fifty-four spinners on each side of the twister machine and forty-nine on each side of the spooler.

In #3 spooler room there are six automatic spoolers operated by six white women. On the two day shifts, but six Negroes quill. Too, the winders are operated by whites in the day, while Negroes doff. All these machines, the automatic spooler, the automatic warpers are operated by Negroes during the grave yard shift.

In the spinning department, the Negroes only sweep and push yarn. They pay on all these jobs 47½¢ per hour.

Note: When the Negroes were first put on these jobs, the whites grumbled, but the Superintendent assured both groups that it was to be done the way he planned, and now they work side by side. Two Negroes run the supply room on the first shift, whites have this job on the second and third shift.

II. EAGLE AND PHENIX MILL

There are twelve Negroes in the dye house on one shift, one acts as oiler and one as fixer, who have been on the job before the war.

There are ten Negro men in the picker department on each of the three shifts, three run machines, one oils, one is a stripper, one lays racks, one is a fixer, and three drawing frame hands.

In the #1 card room all machines are operated by Negroes, except one, and that is operated by a white woman.

There are ten men and women on each of three shifts who haul cloth and sweep. No new jobs were opened in this mill because of the war.

III. LITTLE SWIFT MILL

In the waste house there are two shifts with two Negroes each, who run baling presses at 50¢ per hour.

In the opening room there are two shifts of two Negroes each, who run hoppers at 50¢ per hour.

There are twenty Negro men on one shift who truck cotton to the opening room and do general labor at 50¢ per hour.

Note: There are no new jobs because of the war, and even the sweepers are white.

IV. JORDON MILL

There are about twelve men who do all the work in the dye department on two shifts, and their production schedule. This is not a new job.

There are three Negro men who run three pickers at 47½¢ per hour. In the opening room about twelve Negroes truck cotton.

In the card room, Negro women and white women run drawing frames side by side on two shifts, but white women run the card machines on the first and second shifts and Negroes run all the third shift. The card hands receive 55¢ per hour and those on the first shift make forty-eight hours per week, and those on the third shift make forty hours per week.

Note: All workers to receive salary must make production.

V. MUSCOGEE MILL

Negroes are in the weaving department. Three women sweep and pull quills on the third shift at 47¢ per hour. Negroes are also working in the card room and dye room, but we do not have numbers.

Note: There was a strike in this mill when Negroes were placed on the job as machine operators where they ran all machines and did the work. We do not have the numbers.

VI. BIG SWIFT MILL

In the dye house there is one full shift of about thirty Negroes, at 47 and 49¢ per hour.

In the card room, since the war, men and women run the machines, doff, quill, lay laps, rack laps, etc., but we do not have the numbers.

Negroes also work in the picker room.

Note: We have not completed the survey to the extent that it is complete, because of lack of time. We will complete this information on the mills needed if necessary.

Signed
W. M. THOMAS

Sworn to and Subscribed before
me, this March 5, 1945
Jno. F. Saennis, Notary Public, Muscogee County, Georgia

CONFIDENTIAL

NEGROES IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Augusta, Georgia

Being asked by the Southern Regional Council to make a rough survey of colored people working in the cotton mills of this city, we have done so with the results set out as follows:

SIBLEY MILLS

Since the war they have added Negro fixers (straw bosses) in the opening room and in the picker room. All colored help is employed in these rooms as before the war.

Three Negro elevator operators each shift have been added since the war. Colored completely man the shipping department.

In addition, colored workers by the score have been added all through the mill as cleaners and sweepers. Previously white had done this work. Colored now do all the roping yarn and cloth transfer hauling and this was done by white before the war. There has been no trouble in any respect incident to adding colored workers in this mill.

The dye house is completely manned by Negroes, all except one overseer, This work is as intricate as any work in any other part of the mill. About 100 Negroes work each shift.

KING MILLS

Negroes man both the opening and picker rooms, but they still have white fixers. White lap layers were used before the war where now they use Negro lap layers in the card room. Negro roping, yarn and cloth transfer hauling is done by Negroes now where this work was done before the war by whites.

Negro women now work at gathering up bobbins in the weave shop, and Negro men and women haul cloth from the looms, after taking it off the looms. This was formerly done by whites. About 50 to 75 Negroes per shift.

ENTERPRISE MILLS

In this mill Negroes are employed in the opening and picker rooms. And Negroes are beginning to be put on Drawing framers as operators.

In the card room there is a white foreman but all colored help.

30 to 40 Negroes are employed each shift in the spinning work and other general work in the spinning room.

In the assorting room white and colored work together.

RIVERSIDE MILL

In the Riverside Mill, a breakdown of workers which is attached, Negroes work at all work throughout the mill, spinning, doffing, weaving, with fixers and head doffers being Negroes.

The superintendent says that Negroes are doing excellent work throughout the mill where they work 150 to 200 per shift, 3 shifts. Management says further that as long as Negro workers' performance is as satisfactory as it is at present that they will not be thrown out of work and replaced by whites.

Signed:

H. H. Carter
R. C. Calhoun
M. J. Whitaker

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

DATE:

FROM : Ken Worthy

SUBJECT:

Good luck to you.

CONFIDENTIAL

A. C. Robinson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

A Statement on the Textile Labor Situation

The textile industry is one of the most important peace time industries of the South. A vast majority of all textile mills in the nation are located in the South. Before the war the industry in the South represented some half million workers working in nearly two thousand plants.

The textile industry is one of the most important war-goods industries of the Nation. Duck goods ranks highest of all textiles as war-goods. Practically all the nation's duck mills are located in the South.

Duck ranks with steel in criticalness in our pressing military needs. Lack of sufficient duck with which to protect our war supplies from inclement weather ~~in all war theaters~~ has already been felt. The progress of the war has been hampered, and military operation has been hindered to the extent of loss of lives of military personnel involved. The Pacific area has been in dire need of cotton duck.

Attesting to the criticalness of these textile goods is the fact that hundreds of needed soldiers have been released from the Army ~~from the age of 26 up~~ on ninety day furloughs simply on condition that they go into these Southern cotton mills and work in order to ~~partly~~ offset this so-called shortage of Southern textile workers. Soldiers have been and still are being used in cotton mills in ~~practically every~~ many town in the South having cotton mills.

This lag in textile production during the trying war days, when men of all races, colors, and creeds are laying down their lives in defense of Democracy, constitutes one of the worst blights ever chalked up against the honor of the South. The responsibility for this war production deficiency rests squarely in the South and on Southern people. It is a challenge to the contention made by Southerners that the solutions to Southern problems be left to Southern people.

Ordinarily employment, runs about 55 per cent men and 45 per cent women, but women could man the mills up to 75 per cent. Very little training time and effort is required in making a man or woman into a proficient textile worker on almost any assignment anywhere in the mill. Education prerequisites for efficiency as a textile worker are so low as to be almost nil. ~~In fact, down through time, Southern white cotton mill workers have been preponderantly illiterate.~~ Moreover, physical requirements customary in the average war plant are not used in selecting textile workers. Traditionally, there have no physical requirements for textile workers. People with missing limbs and other physical limitations have been used in cotton mills.

The war is real. A majority of American families, in the South, North, East and West can testify to this. White families of all kinds and Negro families of all kinds have sons in the war, sons they are anxious about. And second to the war front reality of the war to American families, homefront conditions,

where a majority of these families are partially or wholly dislocated from their pre-war stability, press an every-minute reality of war upon us. These cotton mills located in the South are real. They were real before the war, and the historical patterns of employment and employment conditions are real to the Southern People. The present output of these mills is real, and the lag in their war production schedule, the worst in any war industry, is real to the government officials whose responsibility it is to plan and expedite production and transportation of war goods and material to the war front.

Yet the problems of textile production have been treated in a most unrealistic manner by government officials and by mill management alike, and even the Army officialdom has been beguiled. For mill management, generally, to lull the government, the army, and the American people to a state of lethargy with simple statements that there is a shortage of potential labor for the mills, that you can't get people to work in the mills, and to get these statements taken at face value by the authorities, exhibits an exercise in rationalization below schoolboy caliber.

A few newspapers have ventured timid editorials on this unrealism of things Southern in nature. A few people have pondered the problem seriously. We decided to make a cursory inquiry into the situation, and we are presenting our findings in the form of this statement, with attached substantiating evidence.

There are women in the South in numbers far in excess of labor shortages reported by all Southern war industries, particularly Negro women who have been denied employment because of minimum physical and educational requirements and because of unmitigated race prejudice, who could man every cotton mill in the South. Lacking better employment, these women would be glad to go into the mills even at the present low pay in the textile industry.

Mill management is prone to say that it is impractical and undesirable to allow Negroes to come into the cotton mills to work, that the white workers would strike, and that there would be trouble, but actual experience invalidates such statements and reasoning. A few mill managements have been openminded and realistic about the situation, and while objectors have been prognosticating, Negroes have gone quietly by the hundreds into the cotton mills in Columbus, Macon, and Augusta, Georgia, where they are doing yeoman service for the nation at war and for themselves. Reliable statements delineating the experience and performance of these Negroes at work are attached and make up a part of this statement. In addition to these three Southern cities Negroes work in cotton mills at Porterdale, Georgia.

Altercations arising from racial difference between workers, where these Negroes have gone into the mill, have been mild or absent for the most part. In the mills involved in this new approach, management took full responsibility initially for the introduction of Negro workers. White workers in the mills acquiesced with good manners about the problem to the extent that white and colored men and women are now working side by side at the same and closely related occupations throughout these mills. The Negroes have responded as good Americans, by going into the mills and becoming efficient and agreeable workers.

I would temper the criticism in this and also indicate a little more sympathy with employers

The performance of white and colored people working together in these mills in these medium sized cities located in the heart of the South forever discredits the contention that always has been made in the South, and is still being advanced, that white people will not work side by side with Negro workers at the same job and at the same pay.

The steps taken to employ Negroes in the cotton mills in Augusta, Macon, Columbus, and Porterdale, Georgia are very laudable. But of the some half million total textile workers employed, as operators, in the South, less than 5,000, or 1%, are Negroes. (This can be accused of being misleading - the % of total employment is better. Some mills use no negros at all) We feel that it is time to protest the underuse of available manpower in Southern textile mills. We urge our National Government, through its authorized agencies, to put this responsibility squarely up to the textile industry, in the light of actual performance and accomplishment made by the mills in these three Southern cities. We do this not in the hope of repairing the damage already done to the war effort, but in the hope that even last-minute corrections can be made that will help in the remaining part of the war.

The concepts of Democracy are vitally concerned in this situation. Democracy prescribes that all citizens of our country shall not only have equal rights to serve our common country in all capacities in time of war, but also that all citizens shall have equal rights, regardless of race, color, or creed, to earn a living in the days of peace to come.

May I also suggest:

(1) A statement on the presence or absence of discernible efforts on part of WMC either to increase negro employment or analyse and make known proper techniques to be used, be included.

(2) The following information be ~~free~~ briefed (perhaps in addition to the longer ~~statement~~) so that, a. by mill total employment. b. total non-white employment c. jobs filled by negros, can be easily seen.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
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CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A STATEMENT ON

THE TEXTILE WAR GOODS SHORTAGE

We know that in peace time the textile industry is one of the most important basic Southern industries. It affects nearly a quarter of a million mill workers. Of the 151,661 mill workers of the lower Southern states (not including mills in North Carolina or Virginia) employed in the 437 mills having government contracts for war goods, 145,354, or 95%, are women, and only 17,890, or 11%, are Negroes. Of the 437 mills in war production, not more than 6 or 8 mills use Negro mill employees except for custodial and cleaning work, and not more than 3,000, or 1 1/2%, Negroes are used as regular mill workers. In spite of the fact that the industry is 95% a women's industry, of 14,000 Negroes employed as custodial workers, very few are women.

We know that the output of most of the Southern cotton mills has been turned to war goods production. We hear, through the press, that the Southern mills are further behind in their war goods schedules as set by War Production Board's quotas than any other industry. And we hear that the shortage, particularly in ducks, is impeding the war effort considerable, so much infact, that this shortage is receiving national attention at the present time.

We can assume that one factor in this shortage of duck (as well as shortages in other textiles) is the fact that the workers in the textile industry receive the lowest scale of wages of all large Southern or national industries. This has resulted in (1) loss of large portions of the normal textile labor force to other better-paid war industries, and (2) inability to compete in attracting new rural workers called forth by WMC to work in the war industries.

We can also assume that another factor in the shortage is the failure, because of certain historical labor patterns in the industry, to use a vast untapped reservoir of potential labor that could be made available to the textile industry almost immediately.

It is with this last factor that we are particularly concerned. We can use our patriotic efforts to:

1. Explore the attitudes of the government agencies involved, namely, the War Production Board and the War Manpower Commission, towards this textile war good shortage, the textile industry's attitude toward its problems in meeting production schedules, and the attitude at present of organized labor toward certain historical patterns of employment that probably obstruct the industry from using untapped reservoirs of labor.

2. Explore qualitatively the present setting of the industry and the reservoirs of labor that could be made available to the textile industry.

3. Use our good offices to get the government agencies involved to treat with the textile industry and organized labor on the premises of these untapped sources of labor, and, if possible, to get definite and official reactions from both the textile industry and organized labor on why this labor is not utilized.

4. Use our good offices further to aid the textile industry and organized labor, especially to aid textile workers themselves in places where these workers are not unionized, in working out techniques, and publicity, to facilitate a full utilization of all potential textile labor now available, up to the amount needed for full utilization of plants and machinery to meet war production schedules.

We can assume that all textile machines, and a big part of the other work in the cotton mills, up to approximately 95%, can be manned by women.

We can assume that there are thousands of women, particularly Negro women, who do not now have war jobs open to them, and we can assume that these women are not now working anywhere, or are working at low-paid domestic and preparation work.

We can assume that textile labor is classified largely as common and semi-skilled labor, and that the employee training period, while being one of the critical problems to be encountered in introducing Negro women to the textile industry, could be short, a matter of a week at the most in all departments, with the exception of the weaving department.

We can assume, since certain mills, particularly mills located in Columbus, Georgia, are successfully using Negro labor inside the mills, that other mills could do so with equal success.

Any efforts made to bring to all people involved a full realization of the situation existing in the industry as it affects the welfare of our nation would be a patriotic service. We are being asked to go "all out" to win the war as quickly as possible. According to McArthur many lives are being lost purely because of an insuffiency in the supply of textile goods, particularly duck. This is a sad commentary on both our white and Negro Southerners.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Confidential

A Statement on the Textile Labor Situation

The textile industry is one of the most important peace time industries of the South. A vast majority of all textile mills in the nation are located in the South. Before the war the industry in the South represented some half million workers working in nearly two thousand plants.

The textile industry is one of the most important war-goods industries of the Nation. Duck goods ranks highest of all textiles as war-goods. Practically all the Nation's duck mills are located in the South.

Duck ranks with steel in criticalness in our pressing military needs. Lack of sufficient duck with which to protect our war supplies from inclement weather in all war theaters has already been felt. The progress of the war has been hampered, and military operation has been hindered to the extent of loss of lives of military personnel involved. The Pacific area has been in dire need of cotton duck.

Attesting to the criticalness of these textile goods is the fact that hundreds of needed soldiers have been released from the Army from the age of 26 up on ninety day furloughs simply on condition that they go into these Southern cotton mills and work in order to partly offset this so- called shortage of Southern textile workers. Soldiers have been and still are being used in cotton mills in practically every town in the South having cotton mills.

This lag in textile production during the trying war days, when men of all races, colors, and creeds are laying down their lives in defense of Democracy, constitutes one of the worst blights ever chalked up against the honor of the South. The responsibility for this war production deficiency rests squarely in the South and on Southern people. It is a challenge to the contention made by Southerners that the solutions to Southern problems be left to Southern people.

Cotton mills can be manned largely by women, and they are being so manned at the present time. Figures reveal that in the Southern mills making goods on war orders 96% of the employees are women. Very little training time and effort is required in making a man or woman into a proficient textile worker on almost any assignment anywhere in the mill. Educational prerequisites for efficiency as a textile worker are so low as to be almost nil. In fact, down through time, Southern white cotton mill workers have been preponderantly illiterate. Moreover, physical requirements customary in the average war plant are not used in selecting textile workers. Traditionally, there have no physical requirements for textile workers. People with missing limbs and other physical limitations have been used in cotton mills.

The war is real. A majority of American families, in the South, North, East and West can testify to this. White families of all kinds and Negro families of all kinds have sons in the war, sons they are anxious about. And second to the war front reality of the war to American families, homefront conditions,

where a majority of these families are partially or wholly dislocated from their pre-war stability, press oan every-minute reality of war upon us. These cotton mills located in the South are real. They were real before the war, and the historical patterns of employment and employment conditions are real to the Southern people. The present output of these mills is real, and the lag in their war production schedule, the worst in any war industry, is real to the government officials whose responsibility it is to plan and expedite production and transportation of war goods and material to the war front.

Yet the problems of textile production have been treated in a most unrealistic manner by government officials and by mill management alike, and even the Army officialdom has been beguiled. For mill management, generally, to lull the government, the army, and the American people to a state of lethargy with simple statements that there is a shortage of potential labor for the mills, that you can't get people to work in the mills, and to get these statements taken at face value by the authorities, exhibits an exercise in rationalization below schoolboy caliber.

A few newspapers have ventured timid editorials on this unrealism of things Southern in nature. A few people have pondered the problem seriously. We decided to make a cursory inquiry into the situation, and we are presenting our findings in the form of this statement, with attached substantiating evidence.

There are women in the South in numbers far in excess of labor shortages reported by all Southern war industries, particularly Negro women who have been denied employment because of minimum physical and educational requirements and because of unmitigated race prejudice, who could man every cotton mill in the South. Lacking better employment, these women would be glad to go into the mills even at the present low pay in the textile industry.

Mill management is prone to say that it is impractical and undesirable to allow Negroes to come into the cotton mills to work, that the white workers would strike, and that there would be trouble, but actual experience invalidates such statements and reasoning. A few mill managements have been openminded and realistic about the situation, and while objectors have been prognosticating, Negroes have gone quietly by the hundreds into the cotton mills in Columbus, Macon, and Augusta, Georgia, where they are doing yoeman service for the nation at war and for themselves. Reliable statements delineating the experience and performance of these Negroes at work are attached and make up a part of this statement. In addition to these three Southern cities Negroes work in cotton mills at Porterdale, Georgia, Danville, Virginia, and Cumberland, Maryland.

Altercations arising from racial difference between workers, where these Negroes have gone into the mill, have been mild or absent for the most part. In the mills involved in this new approach, management took full responsibility initially for the introduction of Negro workers. White workers in the mills acquiesced with good manners about the problem to the extent that white and colored men and women are now working side by side at the same and closely related occupations throughout these mills. The Negroes have responded as good Americans, by going into the mills and becoming efficient and agreeable workers.

The performance of white and colored people working together in these mills in these medium sized cities located in the heart of the South forever discredits the contention that always has been made in the South, and is still being advanced, that white people will not work side by side with Negro workers at the same job and at the same pay.

The steps taken to employ Negroes in the cotton mills in Augusta, Macon, Columbus, and Porterdale, Georgia, in Danville, Virginia, and in Cuberland, Maryland are very laudable. But of the some half million total textile workers employed in the South, less than 5,000, or 1%, are Negroes.

We feel that it is time to protest the underuse of available manpower in Southern textile mills. We urge our National Government, through its authorized agencies, to put this responsibility squarely up to the textile industry, in the light of actual performance and accomplishment made by the mills in these three Southern cities. We do this not in the hope of repairing the damage already done to the war effort, but in the hope that even last-minute corrections can be made that will help in the remaining part of the war.

The concepts of Democracy are vitally concerned in this situation. Democracy prescribes that all citizens of our country shall not only have equal rights to serve our common country in all capacities in time of war, but also that all citizens shall have equal rights, regardless of race, color, or creed, to earn a living in the days of peace to come.

Make folder for "TH"

December 16, 1963

Mr. Jesse O. Thomas — Jesse
212 Griffin Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thomas:

I can't tell you how sorry I was to have to respond that I could not be at your birthday party this year. As I mentioned, my daughter will be coming home at the same time. We have seen less than usual of her during the past year, because in addition to being away at school she worked last summer in New York, and we had her home for only a day or so.

I do, as always, wish you a very happy birthday, and many more of them. I also hope that I can celebrate them with you in the future.

Best wishes for the Season.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

DOOR OF HOPE SERVICE, INCORPORATED

Office 212 Griffin Street, Northwest
ATLANTA 14, GEORGIA
TELEPHONE 524-1825

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Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Custom has made it a tradition for Mrs. Thomas to invite a small number of my personal friends to join her in the observance of my birthday which falls on the 21st day of December.

At her request, this letter comes as a cordial invitation to be her dinner guest Saturday, December 21st at 7:00 P.M., 212 Griffin Street, N.W. It is sincerely hoped that no previous commitment or subsequent engagement will render you unavailable to spend a few brief moments with us on this Anniversary occasion.

Mrs. Thomas hopes that she may receive acknowledgement of this communication on or before December 15, 1963.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse O. Thomas

See the gen.

January 16, 1967

Rev. D. A. Thompson
1575 Tremont, A1103
Roxbury, Mass. 02120

Dear Don:

Thank you so much for your Holiday newsletter. It's good to hear from you and to know of your work.

Every good wish from all of us here to you and Mrs. Thompson.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

REV. D. A. THOMPSON
1575 Tremont, A1103
Roxbury, Mass. 02120

Greetings to our Friends and Relatives everywhere:

When we recently passed the anniversary of our departure from Mississippi (November 18-19, 1965) we could not help remembering the kindness of all of you at the time of the shooting. We know that many messages may have been left unacknowledged, not from indifference but from the circumstances. Since it is now so near Christmas we want this letter to be the means of letting you know where and how we are, and of wishing you a joyful holiday season.

We left Jackson suddenly because of renewed threats of an immediate attack on my life, because our fearful landlord insisted that we move within 24 hours, and because several of my parishioners from the outlying churches felt that my visits might provoke shootings and bombings. It was sad for us to have to leave Mississippi and all the good people of my congregations, whose loyalty and faith were our constant encouragement. We miss equally the many friends we had made across religious and racial lines, all of whom were devoted to strengthening human relations in Mississippi.

We are both well. Three of the buckshot which entered my back on August 22, 1965, passed through my chest; three were removed surgically later; the remaining six are still imbedded. Physiotherapy seems to have arrested all ill effects.

In Boston, my position is that of a minister-at-large of the Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches, with the title of Minister for Social Responsibility. My duties include coordinating Unitarian Universalist educational and social-action efforts, cooperating with Negro organizations, and strengthening community relations in the ghetto area of Roxbury-North Dorchester formerly served by the Rev. James Reeb.

Leila started her work as catalog librarian at Northeastern University on August 29. The University is conveniently near our home. We live in the city of Boston, in the Roxbury area, very near the Harvard Medical School. From our eleventh floor balcony we look over the hills of Brookline and Boston's Back Bay. If the balcony faced the other direction we could see the golden spire of the First Church in Roxbury (Unitarian). This famous church, which we attend, was gathered in 1631; its first Teacher was the Rev. John Eliot, Apostle to the Indians and tutor of Roxbury Negroes. The church now sponsors an art center and cultural enrichment program for children aged 6-12.

Roxbury has deteriorated from a once progressive and beautiful residential area to a crowded and neglected community. Negro initiative and the "New Boston" dream of the redevelopers are beginning to improve it physically. I am one among msny working to overcome tensions and to develop better human relations.

It seems to me that in this holiday season Americans might well renew their allegiance to the ideals of liberty and the good life. In spite of extremism on the one hand, and an unfortunate choice of provocative words and concepts on the other, the issue is still individual freedom and opportunity under law for every American. We must continually seek a deeper understanding of the problem; we must not allow surface irritations to divert us from the heart of the issue. In this spirit we send you warm greetings on this warmest of holidays.

Donald and Leila Thompson

September 18, 1969

A N O P E N L E T T E R

To The Editor
The Times and Democrat
Orangeburg, South Carolina 29115

Dear Editor:

I wish to offer an alternative School Desegregation Plan to the three (3) plans listed and discussed in the Times and Democrat Friday, September 12, 1969. I am well qualified to submit this plan and believe it merits studying. Among my qualifications are the following:

1. I have teaching experience of more than thirteen (13) years in Elementary and Secondary schools of South Carolina; more than ten (10) years teaching experience in college; hold an earned Ed. D. degree with a major in Educational Administration and supporting fields in Elementary and Secondary Education; a full professor at one of the leading colleges of this state and teach "Public School Administration Courses".

2. I am a parent of a child in our elementary public schools; the father of a child who was a plaintiff in the original School Desegretation suit against district #5, and

3. I am a tax-paying citizen of this school district #5.

My suggested plan is as follows:

ELEMENTARY

1. Bus P - K
2. Pair Whittaker Elementary with Mellichamp Elementary.
3. Pair either Sheridan Elementary or Marshall Elementary with Nix Elementary.
4. Zone the following elementary schools: Ellis Avenue, Rivelon Elementary (formerly Edisto Drive), and either Sheridan or Marshall Elementary (whichever was not paired with Nix.)

JUNIOR HIGH

5. Pair Brookdale Junior High with Thackston Junior High. (7th grade at Brookdale and 8th grade at Thackston if enrollment of 7th is the larger).

    a. Have only one choir
    b. Have only one band
    c. Have only one junior high varsity team of each team activity.

SENIOR HIGH

6. Pair Orangeburg High with Wilkinson High (9th and 10th at Wilkinson and 11th and 12th at Orangeburg High.) This organizational plan would place 9th and 10th at Wilkinson based on normal expectancy that this would be the larger enrollment as well as for psychological reasons.

   a. Have only one choir
   b. Have only one band
   c. Have only one varsity team of each team activity.

ADMINISTRATIVE, TEACHING AND NON-TEACHING PERSONNEL

7. Completely desegregate the administrative, teaching, and non-teaching personnel (the staff). Begin with the central office.

FREEDOM OF CHOICE

8. Finally, to be perfectly honest, I must suggest that my plan would allow limited "freedom of choice" which would include:

   a. Urging restraint
   b. Limited to available space to those making the request in writing. Limited to hardship cases, the unreasonables, and the few remaining "die cards".
   c. There would be no extensive public announcements, and there would be no forms sent to parents regarding "freedom of choice". They would have to make the request in writing and receive forms in person.

SOME ADVANTAGES OF THIS PLAN

If this plan or a reasonable modified version of it is adopted, among other advantages, we have the following:

1. This plan is educationally sound; will produce keen competition, thereby improving the quality of education. It is uniquely organized and can be administered economically and effectively.

2. This plan is workable now. To put it in effect will require only minor inexpensive surveys and studies.

3. This plan will save the tax payers more than two and one-half million dollars ($2,500,000); that is, this plan vs the "Unitary Plan". The unitary building needs, including the plants, cites and facilities, (technically the plant), would cost three million dollars. This is to say nothing about the administrative headaches connected with raising these funds which no doubt would require a constitutional amendment and bond elections, etc.

I see no reason why this plan would not be an effective and acceptable school desegregation plan. I could have copyrighted and sold this plan, but here it is all free. It is hoped that Orangeburg will use it first. I enjoyed submitting it.

Yours very truly,

C. H. Thomas, Jr.
Professor of Education

CHT/ws

HOME OF THE INDIANS

ORANGEBURG HIGH SCHOOL

OFFICE OF THE PRINCIPAL
ORANGEBURG, SOUTH CAROLINA 29115

October 23, 1969

Dear Parents:

The enclosed petition was signed by 117 Negro students at Orangeburg High School and presented to me on Monday, October 20th. I would like for you to meet with me and the parents of the other students who signed the petition on Sunday afternoon, October 26th, at 4:00 P.M., in the Orangeburg High School cafeteria.

The purpose of this meeting is to clear up any misunderstandings that now exist.

Sincerely,

John H. Hudgens

John H. Hudgens
Principal

JHH:lr

10/29/69

In the course of civil events it becomes necessary for a minority faction to protest the racist practices of a majority faction, therefore, in the protection of our inalienable right of respect and self dignity, we protest by petition, the following issues which are concerned with Black and White relations at Orangeburg High.

I. Confederate flag and the singing of Dixie.
The Confederate flag and the singing of Dixie represent to the Black man the following.

a) a desire for slavery
b) discrimination and segregation
c) white supremacy
d) degradation of a society of people who were treated inhumanly and indecently
e) an un-American activity representing anarchy and revolution, racism, bigotry and oppression

II. National Honor Society
This organization has proven discriminatory practices toward black students in the following ways:

a) Advisor (Mrs. Rhames) who exhibits discrimination for Blacks through speech and actions.
b) Unfair selection basis and general exclusion of Blacks

III. Club memberships and organizations
Insufficient representation in the following:

a) Student Council
b) Pep Club
c) Girl's basketball team

IV. Faculty Discrimination towards Blacks

a) Mr. John Hudgens deliberately exhibits dislike for certain Black students
b) Teachers mock formal education and parental training of Black students

V. Student Dress and Grooming

a) Rules were made for the all-white student body at Orangeburg High. They should be revised to meet both white and black grooming standards.
b) Discrimination towards Willie Gidron and Jimmy Frinks pertaining to grooming is apparent. Many white males with sideburns below the ear, have never been punished for this.

VI. The curriculum at Orangeburg High omits a Black History course which would be of great value in general education and the betterment of black and white relations.

Therefore, in respect to these points which are valid and serve for the betterment of this school, the following students have signed in protest in order that these issues are considered and immediately acted upon:

P.S. If school plan had been announced, desegregation would have been incl- 10/29/69

The Plan:

Can you imagine the board presenting a zoning plan such as this after so many years of fighting? We put up a good fight for racial balance but could not win. I am still trying through legal defense.

See my plan. C.H.A. 10/29/69

IN THE
UNITED STATES DISTRICT
COURT FOR THE
DISTRICT OF SOUTH
CAROLINA
ORANGEBURG DIVISION
CIVIL ACTION NO. 8301

DESEGREGATION PLAN
RUDOLPH W. ADAMS, et al.,
Plaintiffs,
-versus-
SCHOOL DISTRICT NUMBER
5, ORANGEBURG, et al.,
Defendants.

The Board of Trustees of Orangeburg County School District Number 5 has heretofore operated under a freedom of choice plan in accordance with a former order of this court and has in good faith and conscience felt that such plan has best served the equal educational opportunities of every child and the best interest of the community; nevertheless, this court has declared that such freedom of choice plan has not served to effectively desegregate the public school system as required by the mandate of recent Supreme Court decisions and has ordered this board to submit further plans within the requirements of such decisions. Notwithstanding its continued belief in the soundness of its freedom of choice plan, this board in compliance with the court's order of August 8, 1969 respectfully submits to the court a terminal plan which it believes will effectively eliminate the dual school system by the year 1970-71 and subsequent years and proposes a modification of the "Desegregation Plan 1969-70" as directed in the aforementioned order.

DESEGREGATION PLAN
1969-70

The phase-in program of desegregation for the year 1969-70, as prepared and presented to the court by officials of the United States Office of Education as "Addendum A - Alternate Plan" dated May 26, 1969, was adopted by the court in its order of August 8, 1969, on pages 3 and 4 of said order. To implement the order fully will require substantial funding beyond the financial ability of the district. At the suggestion of officials from the Office of Education, a project proposal was developed seeking funds under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act to implement the three phases of the program. The district has only recently been informed by the Office of Education that funds under this authorization are exhausted. District officials have since contacted the University of South Carolina Desegregation Center for assistance and have received a commitment for the center to assist the district in developing and implementing a plan that will effectively carry out the court's order "to prepare educational personnel and students to function successfully in desegregated schools." Officials from the center and the district have developed the following proposed plan for the 1969-70 school term. It is respectfully requested that the "Desegregation Plan 1969-70" as proposed in the court's order

(Please Turn To Page 2)

ultimately have a total of 1,263 students, or a gain of 107 over the present enrollment. This will necessitate building a minimum of five new classrooms. The school may also lose accreditation unless an enlarged library and administrative unit is built.

The district has borrowed money to the full extent of its debt limitation. The total amount of $874,000 in capital outlay funds are available to the district. Of this, all is committed except $93,000, hardly enough to construct the needed buildings.

And the proposed plan also notes that the two junior and two senior high schools are comparable in quality but have been developed over the years reflecting the needs and desires of pupils in each school and their parents.

Members of the Board of Trustees of District 5 are hopeful that its proposal will meet with Judge Simons' approval, a spokesman said. But he was just as quick to say that another hearing may be ordered, followed by further judicial orders, if the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, or the plaintiffs, do not also give the plan their approval.

Would 'Effectively Eliminate' Dual School System Here

By FRANK K. MYERS
Of The Times and Democrat

A proposed desegregation plan for Orangeburg School District 5, one that reaffirms the desirability of a freedom-of-choice plan without its incorporation, as ordered by the court, has been submitted to Circuit Judge Charles E. Simons for his approval, it was announced Friday.

At the same time, copies of the plan, which appears on another page of Friday's Times and Democrat, have been sent to the secretary of Health, Education and Welfare and to attorneys for plaintiffs seeking total integration of the schools.

The plan, as submitted, says that "notwithstanding its continued belief in the soundness of its freedom-of-choice plan, this board in compliance with the court's order of August 8, 1969, respectfully submits to the court a terminal plan which it believes will effectively eliminate the dual school system by the year 1970-71 and subsequent years and proposes a modification of the 'Desegregation Plan 1969-70' as directed in the aforementioned order.

All of the schools, elementary, junior high and senior high, with the exception of the Riverside Elementary School which will be closed and abandoned, will be geographically zoned for the 1970-71 school year.

Maps of the proposed attendance lines and racial percentages for each of the schools are shown elsewhere in this issue of The Times and Democrat.

All students who will be in grades 8, 10, 11, and 12 will be permitted to complete their eduction in the junior or senior high school in which they are presently enrolled, or will be allowed to transfer to the school in the geographical zone in which they reside, according to the proposed plan.

All students who will be in grades 7 and 9 for the first time 1970-71 and thereafter will attend the school in the geographical zone in which he or she resides, the plan proposes.

New students, regardless of grade, entering the district from other school districts in 1970-71 will attend the school located in the zone in which he or she resides.

Justification for the secondary school plan is that to implement the court's order fully would require substantial fund raising beyond the financial ability of the district.

The proposed plan notes that Orangeburg High School, with a student population of 1,156 pupils during the current year, is filled to capacity.

Wilkinson High School, with a student population of 1,235 pupils, is also filled to capacity.

Under the proposed plan, Orangeburg High School will

★★ ★★

A CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

of August 8, 1969 be modified in the following manner:

1. The twenty-eight hour workshop for school principals and administrators conducted in August, 1969, to develop leadership in meeting the problems of desegregation will have monthly follow-up meetings for the rest of the school year. The general purposes of these meetings will be to keep the principals advised of desegregation related activities in the district, to solicit their opinions and advice on desegregation matters, to facilitate exchange of promising practices and practices to be avoided in desegregation, and to continue to promote cohesiveness among the black and white administrators in the district.

2. Periodic meetings will be conducted for the student human relations advisory committees. The center will provide the district with a consultant skilled in working with student groups. Also the faculty advisors appointed to work with these groups will be able to avail themselves of the services of the center consultant. Two such committees will be formed. Orangeburg High School will continue to utilize its newly formed advisory group. Also, a new advisory group will be formed in order to facilitate the smooth transfer of students between both of the district's high schools when the desegregation plan is effected. This committee will be composed of students from both Wilkinson and Orangeburg High Schools.

3. The district will continue to be active in the area of enlisting community support for the court approved desegregation plan. The center will provide the superintendent, school board, and individual school principals with consulting help and advice in conducting community meetings, handling news media, and organizing citizens groups to facilitate desegregation.

4. An active program of staff preparation for desegregation will be conducted by the district and the SCSDCC. A series of five leadership planning institutes will be conducted during the current school year. Approximately 150 teachers will be involved in these institutes. In addition, a series of four cirriculum workshops will be attended by the same 150 teachers. These teachers will serve as a leadership team to prepare their faculties for teacher exchange programs and other teacher preparation activities related to the court approved desegregation plan.

5. During the summer of 1970 the center will provide field courses to be conducted in Orangeburg for both teachers and administrators. These courses may cover such topics as interracial counseling, human relations, communications skills, and curriculum for the desegregated school. The exact number and title of these courses will be determined in the curriculum workshops. These courses should meet teacher and administrator expressed needs.

6. The center will assume the cost of providing instructors for the proposed field courses and for any student fees and tuition normally incurred by students when taking college or university level courses. The district will seek graduate or undergraduate credit for participants satisfactorily completing course requirements from the University of South Carolina and South Carolina State College. The district will seek funds from the U. S. Office of Education to provide stipends for participating teachers.

BOARD ACTION TO DATE

In meeting the court's order "to prepare the community for accepting school desegregation with a more positive attitude," the following actions have been taken to date:

1. The board of trustees has met with representatives from all of the local news media, explaining the concerns and challenges facing the district relative to desegregation, and has solicited their support for developing a positive attitude in the community.

2. The administration and-or board members will have met with every parent - teacher organization in the district by October 14, 1969, explaining desegregation plans and attempting to develop positive attitudes among the membership.

3. The board has met with selected members from all of the parent-teacher groups, and a bi-racial advisory group has been formed as a result of this meeting.

4. The superintendent has met with the bi-racial ministerial conference and has received its promise of support of the district in its effort to desegregate.

5. The superintendent and individual board members have met with individuals and groups of individuals representating neighborhoods. No audience has been denied any individual or groups of individuals who wished to convey their opinions to the board.

TERMINAL DESEGREGATION PLAN 1970-71

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

All elementary schools in the district, with the exception of the Riverside Elementary School, will be geographically zoned for the 1970-71 school year. The Riverside Elementary School will be closed and abandoned. The schools, their proposed attendance lines, student populations, and racial percentages are as follows and as shown on map, Annex 1:

Marshall Elementary School Zone

Proposed attendance lines: West boundary beginning at the Calhoun District line on the Kennerly Road, southwest to the North Road (Highway 178) - Chestnut, continuing southeast on the North Road (Highway 178) - Chestnut to Columbia Road (Highway 21), thence south on Boulevard to the Southern Railroad, thence north on the Southern Railroad to the Calhoun District line

Student population:
Black 149 (28 per cent)
White 379 (72 per cent)
Total 528

Ellis Avenue Elementary

Proposed attendance lines: Bounded on the north beginning at the junction of Columbia Road and Boulevard, thence south on Columbia Road, continuing to the intersection of Middleton and Broughton, thence south on Columbia Road, continuing to the intersection of Middleton and Broughton, thence south on Broughton to Highway 301 (John C. Calhoun Drive), thence east to Boulevard and bearing north on Boulevard, continuing northwest to intersection of Boulevard and Columbia Road

Student population:
Black 183 (52 per cent)
White 168 (48 per cent)
Total 351

Nix Elementary

Proposed attendance lines: Beginning at the Southern Railroad at the Calhoun District line, south on the Southern Railroad line to Chestnut, thence southeast on Chestnut to Russell, thence northeast on Russell and Cameron Road ~~(Highway 33) to the Calhoun~~ District line

Student population:
Black 704 (96 per cent)
White 27 (4 per cent)
Total 731

Will be all Blacks will whites move or attend Private School

Whittaker Elementary

Proposed attendance lines: Beginning at the Calhoun District line on Cameron Road (Highway 33), thence southwest to Russell, thence northwest on Chestnut to the Southern Railroad, thence south on Southern Railroad to Sprinkle, thence northeast on Sprinkle to Five Chop Road, continuing southeast on Highway 301 to the district line

Student population:
Black 620 (79 per cent)
White 165 (21 per cent)
Total 785

will be all Blacks whites are moving

Rivelon Elementary

Proposed attendance lines: All of the district area that lies west of the Edisto River

Student population:
Black 170 (40 per cent)
White 251 (60 per cent)
Total 421

Sheridan Elementary

Proposed attendance lines: Bounded on the west by the Edisto River beginning at the district line, continuing south to Highway 301 (John C. Calhoun Drive), thence northwest on Highway 301 to Broughton, thence north on Broughton continuing northeast on Columbia Road to Chestnut, thence northwest on Chestnut - North Road (Highway 178) continuing to Kennerly Road, thence northeast on Kennerly Road to the Calhoun District line

Student population:
Black 139 (27 per cent)
White 375 (73 per cent)
Total 514

Mellichamp Elementary

Proposed attendance lines: East boundary beginning on Highway 301 at district line, thence northwest on Highway 301 - Five Chop Road to Sprinkle, thence southwest on Sprinkle to the Southern Railroad, continuing north on the Southern Railroad to Highway 301 (John C. Calhoun Drive), thence southwest on

DILLARD UNIVERSITY
NEW ORLEANS 22, LOUISIANA

DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

November 10, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

Thank you very much for writing to Mr. Kermit C. Morrissey of Brandeis University concerning me. Under ordinary circumstances I should like very much to attend the seminar on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. I cannot get a leave to do so this academic year.

As you may know I have been corresponding with Senator Talmadge regarding a statement made in "The Case For Integration," page 6. I received a transcription of the television interview in question and am enclosing a copy of it. Please check particularly pages 11 and 13 (page 11, last two paragraphs and page 13 the last statement).

We need at least 500 copies of "The Case For Integration" for our students. Let me know how much the cost will be and I will request the funds from the University.

Very sincerely yours,

Dan

Daniel C. Thompson
Professor of Sociology
Chairman, Division of Social Sciences

DCT:js

Enclosure

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

MEET THE PRESS

June 6, 1954

NBC Television
6:00 PM

GUEST: Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia

PANEL: Edgar Allen Poe, New Orleans Times Picayune
Robert Riggs, Louisville Courier Journal
Mae Craig, Portland Maine Press Herald
Lawrence Spivak, Mercury Publications
Ned Brooks, Moderator

ANNOR: Now Ladies and Gentlemen, Meet the Press, the Peabody Award winner. Ready for this evening's spontaneous, unrehearsed press conference are four of America's top reporters. Their questions, please remember, do not necessarily reflect their point of view. It's their way of getting a story for you. Here now is the moderator of Meet the Press, Mr. Ned Brooks.

BROOKS: Good evening and welcome once again to Meet the Press. The recent Supreme Court decision directing an end to racial segregation in the public schools has touched off a new controversy in the south. The ruling has some far-reaching implications affecting as it does the school systems in 17 states, having a total enrollment of about 11 million pupils. For nearly 60 years the states have been permitted under a previous Supreme Court decision to main tain separate schools for white and negro pupils as long as the facilities were equal. The Court now says that under that doctrine, negro pupils are barred from equal opportunity for education. Our guest tonight is Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia, who is leading the fight to retain separate school systems. In spite of the Court ruling, Governor Talmadge says he will continue segregation in Georgia as long as he holds his present office. Now, Governor Talmadge, if you're ready, I think we'll let Mr. Spivak have the first question.

SPIVAK: Governor, in a message to the state of Georgia in January

of '53, you had this to say, and I'd like to quote it. "Provisions of separate but adequate and equal school facilities is a requirement of our Georgia constitution for the children of both races. For the first time in its history, our state is making an honest all-out effort to live up to this section of our constitution." Now isn't that confirmation of what the Supreme Court said, that the doctrine of separate but equal does not work?

TALMADGE: My statement is correct, Mr. Spivak, but the Supreme Court said lots of things to my mind it shouldn't have said. It overruled all existing precedent that this nation has ever seen and uprooted the Constitution of the United States, repealed the 10th Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and occupied the field of public education. Georgia today with the resources that she possesses, is doing more for education, both white and colored, than any state in the Union.

SPIVAK: Governor, may I come back to my original question.

TALMADGE: Sure.

SPIVAK: Didn't what you said in '53 confirm what the Supreme Court said on the question of the doctrine of separate but equal? You had 58 years in the State of Georgia since the Plethy v. Ferguson decision about separate but equal schools. Yet you yourself said for the first time in our history an hones t effort is being made to live up to this section of our constitution.

TALMADGE: I wasn't Governor for the 58 years preceding. I'm carrying out the Constitution of Georgia.

SPIVAK: You will admit though that the separate but equal doctrine has not worked up until that time.

TALMADGE: We haven't had adequate educational facilities in 58 years for white people nor colored people. We do have for both now.

POE: I'd like to ask you if the Supreme Court should say

specifically that Georgia must comply with this decree, what would you do then?

TALMADGE: Well I might have to go into a little detail to answer your question. Number one, the Constitution of the State of Georgia empowers the state to levy taxes only for segregated schools. The minute we have non-segregated schools, our state and local governments would be without authority to levy taxes. Number two, the appropriations to the general assembly made by the general assembly of Georgia for school purposes contain a provision that those appropriations cease the minute we have mixed schools in our state. Number 3, as Governor of the State of Georgia, I am director of the State's Budget, and as Budget Director, I am going to enforce the law. We will not have mixed schools in Georgia as long as I am Governor of the state.

POE: Governor, I presume you concur then with Justice Jackson that there will be about a generation of litigation going on in this country.

TALMADGE: I would say at least a generation, probably more.

CRAIG: Governor, the Supreme Court is set up by the Constitution to interpret law. Do you set yourself above the Supreme Court?

TALMADGE: I might give you some better authority than myself, Mr. Craig. The preceding Supreme Courts held that separate but equal facilities were violate under our constitution. On these courts sat such Justices as Fuller, Field, Gray, Brewer, Brown, Sharris, White, Peckham, Taft, Holmes, Vandevandever, McReynolds, Brandeis, Sutherland, Butler, Sanford, Stone and Rawls, all of whom upheld the separate but equal doctrine.

CRAIG: What's that got to do with it? They're dead and gone now. You're dealing with the present Supreme Court and present decision. Can you set yourself above it?½

TALMADGE: I might quote you another outstanding authority. Here is what former Supreme Court Justice Cardoza had to say, and he's

recognized by everyone as one of the most able jurists the nation ever had. I quote from his book: "Judges have of course the power though not the right to ignore the mandate of a statute, and render judgment in despite of it. They have the power, though not the right, to travel beyond the bounds set to judicial enervation by precedent and custom. Nonetheless, by that abusive power they violate the law."

CRAIG: I feel you're evading me. Justice Cardoza did not participate in this decision. This was a unanimous decision of all the nine justices, only two of them appointed by a Republican, and they have said segregation must go. Now I ask you how you set yourself above the Supreme Court.

TALMADGE: Let me answer that question in this way. I admit the Supreme Court has ruled and under the Constitution of our United States, having made that decision, it becomes the supreme law of our land. But I must recite to you that there are many precedents in history where tyranny has been resisted by the people an when you just by simple judicial decree try to wash away the customs of the centuries, the people will not accept it.

CRAIG: You have said that you would fight for your way of life. You don't mean armed rebellion against the United States, do you.?

TALMADGE: I hope it will not come to that.

CRAIG: Are you prepared to do that?

TALMADGE: No, we're not going to call out any troops in Georgia except enforce our law as long asit remains law, and I'm going to uphold my law. No federal court can make me spend money contrary to the laws of Georgia.

RIGGS: You said there would be no mixed classesheld. Your term expires next January.

TALMADGE: Expires next January. Under the constitution of Georgia, I am eneligible to seek reelection.

RIGGS: Is it true the court has set a time -- this couldn't come to a head during your administration.

TALMADGE: They're calling for us to come up to visit them in October. We're not coming.

RIGGS: By the time you got there, you'd be out of office.

TALMADGE: I'd be out of office next January.

RIGGS: I judge from your reply you're faced with a situation where there would be no schools at all in Georgia.

TALMADGE: It's entirely possible. The people of Georgia are going to maintain separate schools inour state, come what may.

RIGGS: It's your opinion that the people of Georgia, if they choose between non-segregated schools and no schools at all, will take no public schools at all.

TALMADGE: They would take no public schools at all and subsidize the children to go to private schools. If we have no public school system, we wouldn't have any law requiring any schools. But the thinking of all of us in Georgia is that we should certainly continue education. In order to continue it under that method, we would grant a subsidy to all school children, white and colored, who went to private schools.

RIGGS: Suppose you had a private school using public money and not allowing --

TALMADGE: Private school wouldn't use public money. The tuition fees would be granted by the state to pay admission to private school.

RIGGS: If you spent state money to a private school, you are --

TALMADGE: You are using it to support tuition fees in going to private schools. The state of Georgia pays tuition fees to many private

schools now. We pay them to Harvard and other schools all over the country.

RIGGS: Supposing you were paying this tuition only for white children and a colored parent sued you?

TALMADGE: If Georgia money is spent for tuition fees; it will be spent for white and colored children.

RIGGS: But not in the same school.

TALMADGE: No sir.

RIGGS: Suppose a test case did come from your state, a certain person brought the test case and the Supreme Court ordered your state to put this person in school?

TALMADGE: We wouldn't have any school to put him in.

BROOKS: Did I understand you to say Georgia is not going to avail itself of the opportunity to present to the Supreme Court any new material or new ideas on this decision?

TALMADGE: I don't know of any reason why we should. Georgia is a party to the suit. I don't see why we should become a party to the suit by invitation, particularly after the suit has been lost. I have never believed in accepting invitations to my own execution.

SPIVAK: Governor, one of the arguments you raise is that this decision is unconstitutional or illegal. Isn't it true that the Supreme Court has many times reversed itself? Can you rightfully say that you will obey one decision and not another?

TALMADGE: I'll say this, Mr. Spivak. In rendering this decision, they reversed five previous decisions of their own Supreme Court.

SPIVAK: Haven't they often done that?

TALMADGE: They've reversed 13 decisions of their own federal courts, 59 decisions of state and territorial courts. Now if our court has degenerated to a body that no lawyer can anticipate and dtermine what

law will be, but can only say what the law was the last time the Supreme Court ruled, then we are in a serious predicament in this country.

SPIVAK: Isn't it true that the last rule is the one that applies?

TALMADGE: Yes, that's the rule.

SPIVAK: You said you don't think the Supreme Court decision is legal. If you don't think it is legal, why do you plan to make legalistic moves in your state to get around the decision?

TALMADGE: We are not of course going to secede from the union. If the Supreme Court says something is the law, of course right or wrong, it's the law until corrected. But the people themselves are the cout of last resort and they have contitutional and judicial and legislative remedies and we're going to pursue that.

SPIVAK: Youre accepting this decision then as the legal decision of the Supreme Court.

TALMADGE: We do not recognize it as a legal decision. We know that it is a decree of the United States Supreme Court, yes.

SPIVAK: And as such you're accepting it.

TALMADGE: We are not accepting it.

SPIVAK: Why do you go about then making legalistic moves to evade it if you're not accepting it?

TALMADGE: Because Mr. Spivak, we realize that it's the Supreme Court of the United States and we cannot openly defy a decision of the United States Supreme Court, so it will be necessary for us to get our house in order to meet any future decisions of that court.

SPIVAK: Suppose the court after you supposedly have gotten your house in order and the court says to you this is an evasion, this is a lot of paper stuff, this is illegal. What are you going to do then?

TALMADGE: Of course, Mr. Spivak, reading the decision of this court, when it gets into sociological theories and proceeds to legislate

for the people of our country, andwhen it says it's going to exercise executive power to enforce that decree, they could do anything. But I am convinced that as long as the people of my state, and at least 90% of the white and colored people want their schools left alone just like they are, and as long as that sentiment continues in our state, no amount of any judicial brain washing will ever change it.

SPIVAK: The Supreme Court hasn't said you have to have non-segregated schools. The Supreme Court has simply said that it is illegal, that you must hot have a law about it. If the white people and the colored people of your state want to go to separate schools, why don't you repeal your laws and let them do it?

TALMADGE: We are going to let them do it. In fact, we're going to insist on it.

SPIVAK: Insisting and letting, Governor, is quite a different thing. Are you going to do it voluntarily? Are you going to allow them to go to their school voluntarily, or are you going to insist that they go?

TALMADGE: We are going to exercise every sovereign authority that the state possesses to see that they do go to separate schools.

POE: Governor, the state of Mississippi a few weeks ago passed, the legislature passed a 1954 law providing for the individual assignment of pupils on the basis of health and welfare; it didn't mention color. Could this be a legal answer?

TALMADGE: It's been recommended by some in the state of Georgia. But the decision of the same Supreme Court stated that you cannot classify students by color in schools. That was their ruling, in public schools. Ultimately our state might have to choose between a segregated public school system and private schools, and if we have to make that choice, we're going to retain segregated system of schools.

POE: From a political standpoint, I might ask, which, the Republicans or the Democrats, are getting credit for this decision?

TALMADGE: Well, I don't think either one of them are escaping entirely. Of course, we know the United States Supreme Court bench is composed of 7 Democrats and 2 Republicans, 8 appointed by a Democratic President, one appointed by a Republican President. But the Chief Justice who wrote the decision was appointed by a Republican President, and then, surprisingly enough, some way he managed to get the Court to give a unanimous verdict. So I think the Republicans will carry the burden of the criticism in the southern states.

CRAIG: Governor, we've been talking about the legal aspect. But isn't it true that your real objection is to the social mixture of races?

TALMADGE: Well, Mrs. Craig, there are a number of reasons. First, we think that each state certainly has the right to operate its public school system as it sees fit. Also in our state we have three and a half million people, 2/3 of them white, 1/3 of them colored. All of them want to retain their civilization and their culture. The white people want to retain their civilization; so do the colored people. They want to retain their respective churches. They want to retain their respective schools. And for centuries our two peoples have not associated with each other socially, nor do we expect to do so at the present time.

CRAIG: Governor, I'm a South Carolinian by birth and I have some way of judging. I have never met any colored person that preferred segregation. However, I will not dispute your opinion. I want to ask you this. Don't you think that segregation, whether you like it or not, is un-American and un-christian, and undemocratic?

TALMADGE: First let me say that the colored people of Gloster

County, Georgia two weeks ago voted 600 to nothing to retain their present segregated school system. Second, when it comes to christianity, as I read my bible, the Good Lord made all of us. He made some of us white, he made some of us black, he made some of us red, he made some of us yellow. He put the white people in Europe, he put the black people in Africa, he put the red people in the Americas, he put the yellow people in Asia. And I believe if he had wanted one race and one color, he would have created one race and one color. And I think when he segregated them, that that's good enough for me.

CRAIG: How can we seek allies around the world among the black, brown and yellow peoples to fight for freedom against Communism if we ourselves do not practice it in this country?

TALMADGE: Mrs. Craig, we had allies before we started tampering with our constitution and trying to bribe people all over the world and since that time, why we have lost our allies. One reason we have lost them is because the yellow people are running the white people out of Asia. They're segregating us.

CRAIG: Are you willing to let all of Asia go to the Communists?

TALMADGE: Mrs. Craig, I don't think it's a question of whether I'm willing or not. It looks like to me our government has well determined that policy already. Unless I'm surprised, the whole of Asia is going Communist at an early date.

CRAIG: Don't you think we owe a debt to the colored people? They have no other home but this country.

TALMADGE: The colored people in the south get along better than the colored people anywhere on the face of the earth. I'm not interested in trying to please Communists at home or abroad.

RIGGS: Governor, the week after the school ruling by the Supreme Court, it took another action in a San Francisco case that seemed to say

there could not be segregation in public housing. The case isn't quite clear, and there's some argument about it. But if it means no segregation in public housing, would you be opposed to further public housing?

TALMADGE: I have been reading with interest lots about that in the City of Chicago. It seems a colored family moved in a white housing project out there some months ago. Since that time, it has taken 4,000 policemen in the city of Chicago to protect one colored family. Imagine what it would be with all of the millions of white and colored people in the south if you had a similar situation.

SPIVAK: Governor, a thing I find it hard to understand is this. So many southerners I know have no objection to having colored people as servants cook your food, colored nurses, to live in really close intimacy with the colored people, and yet when it comes to having little children in the same school with the white children, you suddenly say this is bad, this is wrong.

TALMADGE: Mr. Spivak, that's something for everyone to determine himself. In my state the laws and the customs and habits and thinking of the citizens will prohibit any sort of forced mixing of the races in the schools. We are not going to have it, come what may.

SPIVAK: Is it that the southerners of Georgia believe that integration is good on a master-servant basis, but bad on a basis of equality of opportunity? If you can associate with them in a relationship of servant and master, why can't little children sit in the same schools and be taught by the same teachers?

TALMADGE: Well, I answer that question again. The people of Georgia don't want it and won't have it, and won't permit it under any conditions. Of course we've had a master-servant relationship with the colored people in our state for many years. On the other hand, we have some very fine colored citizens. We have inferior white citizens. We

have inferior colored citizens. We have inferior yellow citizens. We have inferior red men. I wouldn't say any one race specifically is inferior because all of them have superior and inferior individuals. But you cannot by judicial decree, Mr. Spivak, change the habits, customs, thoughts and lives of people that have developed for centuries.

SPIVAK: Governor, if that is so, if you have those habits and if you have that natural law of association, I ask you again why is it necessary for you to have laws to force people to segregate? If they want to segregate, if they will do it voluntarily, why don't you let them do itthe way you want to and not force them to?

TALMADGE: I wouldn't say 100% of the white people want segregated schools nor 100% of the colored people, but the overwhelming majority of both races do want segregated.schools.

SPIVAK: Are the people of Georgia any different fundamentally from the people of a great many other states? Isn't it true that in a great many states of the union segregation has been ended? There has been no blood, there's been no great evil, New York has no segregation, and I think some 16 or 17 other states have laws against it. What about that?

TALMADGE: You'll find different problems in the same state, let alone the 48 states. That's the reason when our foreparents drafted the constitution of the United States, they provided for local self-government. They know that the problems might be different in Maine from what they would be in Georgia. They knew they might be different in Arizona from what they might be in Oregon. They therefore very wisely framed the 10th amendment of the constitution of the United States which reads as follows: "All authority not specifically granted to federal government nor prohibited to states, is hereby reserved under the states and

the people." Now that's plain English and it means just what it says, and anybody can understand it.

SPIVAK: Isn't it true the 14th Amendment came after the 10th Amendment and it said that you cannot deny to any person within your jurisdiction the equal protection of your laws.

TALMADGE: The 14th Amendment was adopted at a time when we had 37 states in the Union. The majority of them had segregated schools at that time; when my own state adopted the 14th Amendment, it setup a public school segregated system at the same time. That's no indication as to the intent of the framers of our constitution. The Supreme Court so held until two weeks ago.

RIGGS: Are there any schools in your state, private or public, high or low, which do not have segregation?

TALMADGE: No, there are no schools in Georgia which have non-segregation.

RIGGS: Your people have never tried it, have they?

TALMADGE: Our people have never tried it.

RIGGS: They don't know whether they'd like it or not.

TALMADGE: They certainly do know they don't want it. They would not accept it.

CRAIG: When you use the phrase "white supremacy", do you not thereby say all colored people are inferior?

TALMADGE: I have never used the term "white supremacy" in my life.

CRAIG: Do you believe in it?

TALMADGE: I believe that the white civilization is much older than the colored civilization. It has accomplished much more.

BROOKS: I'm afraid we're going to have to leave it there. I'm sorry to interrupt, but our time is up. Thank you very much, Governor Talmadge, for being with us.

IM
PR
MBB-file

November 30, 1961

Dr. Daniel C. Thompson
Professor of Sociology
Chairman, Division of Social Sciences
Dillard University
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

Dear Dan:

I would love to know what Senator Talmadge has been writing you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

October 22, 1962

Professor Daniel Thompson
Department of Sociology
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dan:

I am awfully sorry that you have left the South and New Orleans; you were a great strength.

Best wishes to you in your new position, and I hope you will stay in touch with us.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

8:00 p.m.

May 2, 1955

Mrs. William Van Til
900 East Tower Place
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Van Til:

This confirms my telephone conversation just now.

Happy to acknowledge coming up for the evening meeting on Wednesday, May 25th. I can only make it under two conditions: that the planes fly up in the afternoon and the trains run back home that night. If the trains are running you can expect me there. If the planes are not running on the 25th, I will be sunk but I will telephone you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

900 East Tower Place
Nashville, Tennessee
April 29, 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
65 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MAY 2 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Due to circumstances beyond our control, we have had to change the dates of our Workshop on the Supreme Court decision and its meaning for our community. We sincerely hope that Wednesday evening, the 25th, will fit into your plans. (8 P.M.)

free

Dr. Johnson of Fisk and Mr. Whitworth Stokes have already accepted our invitation.

I look forward to an early response from you.

Sincerely yours,

Beatrice B. Van Til

(Mrs. William Van Til)

26th Exec Com. meeting

900 East Tower Place
Nashville, Tennessee
April 24, 1955

APR 26 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
65 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Under the leadership of the United Church Women and the Council of Jewish Women, ten organizations of Nashville including the Y.W.C.A., the A.A.U.W., the League of Women Voters, the B'nai Brith, the P.T.A. Councils, the Citizen's Committee for the Public Schools, are sponsoring the first community wide workshop on the Supreme Court Decision and its meaning for our community.

The Workshop will start off with a panel presentation on the evening of May 24th and will continue the next day, culminating at 2:30 P.M. after an intensive day's study. The Workshop is to be held at the Jewish Community Center at 3500 West End Avenue.

The committee is very eager to present a stimulating panel discussion which will start the Workshop off with enthusiasm. Dr. William Van Til has agreed to serve as moderator. We are asking Dr. Charles Johnson, president of Fisk University, and Mr. Whitworth Stokes, a prominent Nashville lawyer. We hope that Mr. Stokes will trace the legal history of segregation and brief us on the present situation in respect to the Supreme Court decision. I believe you are familiar with Dr. Johnson's approach. The committee feels that your point of view, as well as your broad knowledge of how other communities have approached this problem, would be of great value to the panel presentation.

We hope that the Southern Regional Council, in accordance with its policy of providing consultative services to projects in the area of human relations, would be able to help us in this important pioneer undertaking by enabling you to attend. We know your work and would much prefer your personal participation to that of a representative.

I would appreciate hearing from you by Thursday of this week, if that is at all possible.

Dr. Van Til sends along his best personal regards and joins me in the hope that we shall see you on Tuesday evening, the 24th of May.

Sincerely yours,

Beatrice B. Van Til

(Mrs. William Van Til)

MAY 19 1955

May 18, 1955

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Whitworth Stokes, Attorney
Third National Bank Building
Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

From all I can learn, arrangements are going well for the community workshop to be held on May 25 and 26. The sponsoring organizations are strong and respected; the acceptances of resource leadership responsibility by outstanding community leaders has exceeded expectations. I will go into no further detail because I imagine the organizers will have a program in your hands in the not too distant future.

As you know, our session, for which I serve as moderator, takes place on Wednesday, May 25, at 8:00 P.M. in the Jewish Community Center, 3500 West End Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee. The topic for the panel is the over-all topic of the group "Let's Study the Supreme Court Decision and Its Meaning for Our Community". We ask you to limit your presentation to twenty minutes each so that we might have a full hour for discussion. Each of you should speak from his own background with respect to the topic. We might reasonably expect Mr. Stokes to stress the legal history and aspects of the Decision. We might expect Dr. Johnson to stress the relationship of the Decision to our democratic way of life, international relationships, and to our society in general. We might expect Dr. Mitchell to stress what other communities have done and how problems are overcome. None of the above should limit any of you in any way.

Following the three twenty minute presentations the floor will be open for questions to you and short comments. I would guess that the audience will be predominantly liberal in its approach to the problem. The audience may also include some militants at each extreme.

You might wish to bear in mind that the commitment of the sponsoring organizations is to a session for education and not for action resolutions by the conference as a whole. Some organizations and resource people have joined on this commitment, which will be expressed by the general chairman, Mrs. Werthan, in her introduction.

Sincerely yours,

William Van Til

William Van Til, Chairman
Division of Curriculum and Teaching

JUN 10 1955

900 E. Tower Place
Nashville, Tenn.
June 8, 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

I would like to express my personal thanks, as well as that of the entire Committee, to you for your very gracious acceptance of our invitation several weeks ago.

There were over five hundred people at the evening session at which you spoke and one hundred eighty registered for the 4 1/2 hour workshop the next day.

We are currently duplicating the recorders' reports and shall send along a copy to you as soon as feasible.

Sincerely,

Beatrice R. Van Til
(Mrs. William Van Til)

August 6, 1956

Mr. James H. Tipton
Willimantic State Teachers College
Willimantic, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Tipton:

We will gladly send a copy of the pamphlet to your brother. We did that printing of it for the Southern Historical group, and didn't charge for it; next printing we will. We are pleased that it has been popular.

I will remember your kind offer to pull me up from New York sometime to be at the College for a day. I have poked around a bit with matters textile and matters concerning migrant labor, and I know where Willimantic is.

Shall be driving, about September 10th, from Port Jervis to Putney, Vermont, which ought to haul me past your College. But I assume by then the College will not have taken in. Undoubtedly there will be an occasion later in the Fall when I will be in New York for begging purposes. My secretary has a memory like a vacuum tube machine, and she will tell me to write you ahead of time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

WILLIMANTIC STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
WILLIMANTIC, CONNECTICUT

STATE OF CONNECTICUT
BOARD OF EDUCATION

RECEIVED AUG 4 1956

July 31, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I have just read with great interest the three views on segregation and desegregation as presented at the recent Southern Historical Association meetings in Memphis. I am always glad to find evidence of what I consider sensible thinking about the current problems of the South in these matters.

At this distance, it seems to me that you and your associates in the Southern Regional Council have been and are doing a great and needed work.

There are two things I wish to ask of you. First, will you send a copy of the Faulkner, Mays, Sims pamphlet to my brother in Madison, Georgia. Mr. Kay Tipton, Attorney at Law, Madison. Tell him it is with my compliments and let me know the charge.

Second, I have been wondering for some time if you might have any plans for being in New York City during the coming academic year. If so, could we here at Willimantic State Teachers College prevail on you to spend a day with us? We are 130 miles from New York. We could meet you in Hartford and return you there. The New York, New Haven and Hartford R.R. has through service to Hartford from Grand Central Station. We could arrange to pay you a moderate amount for expenses from New York to Willimantic and back, but are not able to make it worth your while to come from Atlanta just for us.

Each year recently, we have managed to have someone speak to our faculty and student body on the South and desegregation. We would be glad to have you do this for us during this year if possible. Will you let me know if you think there is some possibility?

Meanwhile, best wishes for continuing success if an extremely difficult task.

Cordially,

Jim

James H. Tipton

3321 Myrtle St.

Hapeville, Ga.

RECEIVED SEP 13 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Would you please see that my name is removed from the membership list of the Southern Regional Council and the Georgia Interracial Council. I would like to be listed as a "subscriber" to the New South and your other publications.

O.K.
mha
9/13/56

Thanks ever so much for attending to this for me.

Sincerely yours,

Inez B. Tillison

(Mrs. C. W. Tillison)
3321 Myrtle St.
Hapeville, Ga.

KAY TIPTON
W.J. TIPTON

TIPTON & TIPTON
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
MADISON, GEORGIA

RECEIVED SEP 19 1956

September 18, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Please accept my belated but most sincere thanks for your letter of August 6th enclosing a copy of "Three Views of the Segregation Decisions," which I have read with interest.

With every kind wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Kay Tipton

KT:b

August 6, 1956

Mr. Kay Tipton
Attorney-at-Law
Madison, Georgia

Dear Mr. Tipton:

Your brother at Willimantic laid fingers on the enclosed pamphlet, and liked it, and wrote us and asked us to send a copy to you. Which we do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl: Three Views of the Segregation Decisions

cc: FBR
JH

February 1, 1957

Mr. James H. Tipton
Associate Professor
Willimantic State Teachers College
Willimantic, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Tipton:

Thanks for your letter. A copy of Integration North and South has been sent.

We strongly share your view that Southern school leaders ought to have consultative services available to them, and, within our limitations, we are undertaking to provide some assistance of this kind. The parallel with the work of the BIE has occurred to us; Fred Routh here is a great admirer of what he saw of it, and I know of it by reputation.

I am passing your letter along to Fred and to John Hope, who has the main responsibility for our consultant effort. You will probably be hearing from one or both of them.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

August 1, 1957

Mr. George B. Tindall
Department of History
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge 3, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Tindall:

Since Mr. Fleming is on vacation, your letter of July 31, has been referred to me. We are mailing you, under separate cover, the information you requested with the exception of the pamphlet on the Durham, Atlanta, Richmond statements. I am sending you a mimeograph copy of the statements however, which I hope will serve your purpose.

The only charge for the material is forty cents for the booklet INTEGRATION NORTH AND SOUTH for which I am enclosing an invoice.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl. (Invoice)

RECEIVED AUG 1 1957

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
BATON ROUGE 3, LA.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

401 Laurel Hill Road
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
July 31, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am writing to ask you to send me some materials on the origins of the Southern Regional Council. I am now engaged in research for volume ten of A History of the South, being published by the L. S. U. Press. My volume will cover the period 1913-1946.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson let me borrow the other day a couple of items that will be useful to me. I should appreciate it very much if you would send me copies for my own personal use--if there are still extra copies available. They are:

A pamphlet giving the text and signers of the Durham, Atlanta, and Richmond statements, published by the Interracial Commission.

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ITS ORIGIN AND PURPOSE, published by the Council.

Any other pertinent material you may have will be appreciated, including material on the origins and activities of the Interracial Commission.

I should also like to have a copy of the recent report that you put out on the progress of desegregation in the South.

You will, of course, bill me for these items. I expect to be in Chapel Hill until about the 23rd of August.

Sincerely,

George B. Tindall

George B. Tindall

40¢ Paid 8/1/57
7¢

Dear friends of the New South!

Congratulations on your journal and Guide reprint. An adventure... I enclose my check for ten copies and postage. I'm sending my copy with the original of this letter to Senator Talmadge. Here's praying and hoping we gain "integration" between North and South Whites and Colored!

Esther Watson Tipple

file

Mercator Music Foundation
P.O.Box 324, Rome Georgia
16 August 1958

Hon. Herman Talmadge
United State Senate
Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Talmadge:

COPY

If you could have had all of my experience as well as your own I feel sure that you would agree with me in regard to the forced resignation of Secretary of Labor's Negro assistant Mr. Wilkins. I believe that at 64 he would be glad to retire if assured that what he stands for as a member of the Executive Department of the U.S.A. and leader of the best in his race's desire to make effective contribution to our democracy could carry on.

$2.00 CR
8/19/58

As a member of the Georgia Council for Human Relations, affiliate of the Southern Regional Council, who has done her best to educate misguided New York ministers who have, in the NAACP, done us a great deal of damage to us, and to our best Negroes, I find, I am forwarding to you the enclosed document.

From my observations and music research here in Rome I am convinced that our Georgia policy of equal and separate schools has protected our good Negro citizens from the prejudice of White Race "snobs", and ignorance and violent prejudice of our "trash". But all this is not for publication, as you know.

Thus it is only when our President is being unduly influenced by those short-sighted politicians in Yankeedom who have feathered their own nests with high tariffs until the World Wars showed to them the necessity of changing their policy and who are now doing the same to all of us anywhere in the world who do not belong to their social and economic specially-favored group, that I feel that I must write to you.

Senator Russell, fortunately for us, knows Senator Leverett Saltonstall whom I knew to belong to that fine type of Yankee family who works for the best interests of the man who is a self-respecting workman. I have corresponded with him on vital issues since the early 1940s, while I was still in Cambridge and Boston, Senator Russell

As I wrote to Gov. Griffin last year, my father, Thomas A. Watson, after making the first telephones for Prof. Bell and staying with him and the telephone pioneers until the Bell patent was proven valid and the company began to succeed, was a candidate from Massachusetts for Senator on the People's Party. This definitely ties me in with Georgia's Tom Watson and the rebuilding of the South. My father's telephone fortune he sunk in the Fore River Shipbuilding Company, Quincy, Massachusetts, where it did great service against the "Huns" in World War I. My husband, disabled in World War I, was a farm superintendent and forest ranger from New Hampshire who went overseas with the Dixie Division. I knew therefore from them how agriculture and shipbuilding were both unprotected until Pres. F.D.Roosevelt, practically too late,

Letter to Senator Talmadge re Asst. Secretary of Labor Wilkins

made the taxpayers see their national hazard on these scores.

Is it too late for us of Georgia to outwit President Eisenhower's political supports who are now pushing out of office a Negro who has, according to Drew Pearson, been devotedly serving the interests of the whole country, not just his own race? We of Dixie have already taken a stand against being pushed around by money-powered bureaucrats.

So you suppose you and Senator Jack Kennedy, who being a Boston Roman Catholic knows the money-powered Republicans as well as our Dixie Negroes know our Southern wealthy snobs, could get together with such men as Dr. Rufus Clement and these Georgia Council for Human Relations men and work up the idea for presentation to President Eisenhower that it might be possible and advisable for Secretary of Labor Mitchell to try to find a congenial assistant from a list of candidates who would be more accepable to us. Remember that the Southern Regional Council and its affiliate of which I am a member is a non-political organization. This idea is merely a bit of evidence that here in Georgia we understand what integration means rather better than has been evidenced elsewhere. Supt. Crudup of the Rome City Schools knows that we have integration at top levels here and that the Negro citizens are very happy to have their new Anna K. Davies School as their own educational and community center.

It is possible that President Eisenhower might be able to see a relationship between a call for military help from Lebanon, which was being pushed around by Moscow strategists, and this curious reversal of the NAACP's call for his help in Little Rock, Arkansas. If he cannot, maybe his good wife, Mamie, would be able to understand.

Sincerely yours,

signed: Esther Watson Tipple

Esther Watson Tipple (Mrs. Albert N.)

Founder and Executive Director, Mercator Music Foundation,

the name under which I carry on my scientific research in the mathematics and physics of music intervals as shown by fifty-three-to-the octave tuning forks. Dr. Hugh Hodgson has the model of the Mercator music slide rule which was checked by Bell Telephone Laboratories in 1951 as correct acoustically. Not until this summer when Alan Hovhaness used a set at Eastman School of Music, Rochester, N.Y. has anyone of our race understood what they mean enough to want to use them in music. Yet, curiously enough the Atlanta University teacher of Music Theory (c) wanted a set in 1956 before I had any other than the ones I had tuned at Boston University under the direction of the nuclear physicist, Dr. R.M. Frye, who went to the Marshall Islands in 1944 as a govt. scientist and has been too busy ever since to help me any more, except on an S.O.S. call

I'm now working on the Mercator tuning forks for Atlanta University.

EWT.

COPY

February 17, 1961

Mr. Gordon Tiffany
3117 - 35th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Gordon:

I was delighted to receive your letter of February 11 and appreciate warmly your kind words about my recent notoriety.

Your letter was all the more welcome, since I have wanted to write you and to send you a copy of our report, The Federal Executive and Civil Rights. This gives me a chance to do so, and to tell you how much I have enjoyed and appreciated our association over these past few years. I hope your new undertakings will be as satisfying as the last one must have been.

We recently wrote for, and just received, a copy of your parting statement. I hope it fell on receptive ears.

As far as I know now, my March 3 visit to Washington will be a one-day stand (no White House invitation!), so I won't be able to take you up on your hospitable offer. I do hope that on later occasions, if not this one, we will be seeing one another. Meanwhile, my very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1.

3117 - 35TH STREET N. W.
WASHINGTON 16, D. C.

FEB. 11 1961

Dear Harold:

I have just received the notice about your award from the A. V. C. I know of none more deserving than yourself to receive recognition in the area of the 'Bill of Rights'. Congratulations!

While in the Carribbean I read in the Times about your report and I was pleased with your profile as the Man in the News. If you have another copy of your Report I would be delighted to have it.

Ellie and I would be very pleased to have you and yours visit us while you are in Washington. We have moved since those hectic days when I was "batching" it in the summer of '58 -- oh, horrible thought-- and our new house is large enough for all. If you would like to spend the week-end of March 3 with us, please let us know.

Once again, with every good wish, and as your townsman Mills Lane would say, It's a Wonderful World!

Sincerely

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Georgia.

June 5, 1961

Mr. Harry Tiddell
South Church Street
Morrestown, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Tiddell:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, a copy of "This I Believe." There is no charge.

If we can be of additional help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director of Information

/lec

Moorestown N. J.

Dear Sir

I was given this address of a friend of mine to write to you to see if you would kindly send to me the article that you wrote entitled "This I Believe" If there is any charge I will send it to you.

Harry Liddell
51 Bard St Moorestown N. J.

August 13, 1963

File

Miss Joan Titus
329 East 55th Street
New York, New York

Dear Joan:

I have just read the excellent reporting in Time of Bob and his pamphlet. I am pretty sure that we all owe a lot to you for getting Schnayerson interested in this. What Bob is doing is so worthwhile, and he is such a rare man that I can be only grateful that you think so too.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

March 17, 1965

Professor James H. Tipton
Professor of Social Science
State of Connecticut
Willmantic State College
Willimantic, Connecticut

Dear Professor Tipton:

Thank you for your letter of March 7. I shall be glad to meet with you and the Willimantic students on the afternoon of April 8, if I am in town; there is a strong possibility that I shall not be here that day. If I am not, I hope you will come in any how, and I shall arrange to have one of the other staff members meet with you.

With best wishes; I am hoping to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Rec'd 3/11/65

STATE OF CONNECTICUT

WILLIMANTIC STATE COLLEGE

WILLIMANTIC, CONNECTICUT 06226

Telephone
423-4581

March 7, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

During the first week in April, I will be in Atlanta with a small group of our Willimantic State College students. I wonder if you might be able to take an hour of your time on Thursday afternoon, April 8, to talk with us and let us raise some questions on progress and prospects of civil rights in the South?

There will be ten of us in the group. We have read your article on the changing mind of the South in The American South in the 1960's, as well as many other books and articles on Georgia and the South.

While we are there, we anticipate visits to Morehouse College, Emory University, Georgia Tech, various Atlanta Schools, West Georgia College at Carrollton, Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School and Miss Lillian Smith at Clayton, among others. We feel it will help us greatly if we can meet with you before we leave Atlanta.

I will appreciate a note letting us know if you can see us.

Sincerely yours,

James H. Tipton

James H. Tipton
Professor of Social Science

Till case

December 29, 1955

Mr. Rufus Terral
ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
1111 Olive Street
St. Louis 1, Mo.

Dear Mr. Terral:

Our president, Mr. Marion Wright has passed on to us your request for foreign newspaper comment on the Till case. Enclosed is a release from the American Jewish Committee summarizing such comment. Our articles in New South quoted merely one or two of the best ones.

We appreciate your kind comment on New South. Please let me know any time that we may be able to supply information that may be helpful to you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Enc.

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

TELEPHONE, MAIN 1111

EDITORIAL PAGE

1111 OLIVE STREET
ST. LOUIS 1, MO.

December 21, 1955

Dear Miss Wright:

I always read "New South" with interest and pleasant recollections of the generous and stimulating help you gave me when I was rounding up some material in Atlanta rather a few years ago now.

The article entitled "Aspects of Till Case Still Haunt Us," in your current issue, impressed me particularly because of the excellent quotes from Franc-Tireur and La Giustizia. Do you have any other comments from newspapers abroad on the Till case? We have an idea it might make a still more impressive reprint with a few more countries represented.

Don't go to any trouble about this, but if you have any more readily at hand we'd be happy to have them.

With best regards,

Rufus Terral

Rufus Terral

A. S. W.
Please reply
for me
W

RECEIVED FEB 28 1956

S. C. COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
1508 LADY STREET - COLUMBIA, S. C.

IS IT NOT PERMISSIBLE TO DEBATE CONTROVERSY?

The announcement by Dr. Chester Travelstead that he was dismissed as dean of the school of education following a speech in which he called for an end to public school segregation was a hard and definite blow to the University.

In a statement to THE GAMECOCK, Dr. Travelstead said he was under the impression "that the Executive Committee (of the board of trustees) was of the opinion that persons employed by the University should not engage in discussions of controversial issue".

If the board of trustees is of such an opinion, we may as well all pack up and go home, for Webster calls a university "an institution for teaching and study in the higher branches of learning," and learning certainly includes examination and testing of ideas and thoughts. If University officials take it upon themselves to squelch people with ideas not coinciding with their own, then it is no place for students with intellectual curiosity.

However, the board of trustees, as far as we can determine, has never issued such a statement, but it is evident that integration is one subject which should not be discussed by a University employee.

And why not? It was permissible to discuss the question of admitting Red China to the United Nations--the topic was used as a national debate subject last year. It is permissible to speculate on who will run for president next year. It is permissible to discuss any number of world and national affairs, some of which directly affect South Carolina. All are controversial subjects, as is desegregation. Few controversies are ever settled without open discussion.

Dr. Travelstead said in his speech, "It is my firm conviction that enforced segregation of the races in our public schools can no longer be justified on any basis--and should, therefore, be abolished as soon as practicable", He did not say today and he did not say tomorrow. He said "as soon as practicable" which is what is going to happen anyway. He said a lot of other things in his praise of the Supreme Court's decision and they made a great deal of sense.

Because of the University's action in dismissing Dr. Travelstead because he expressed a viewpoint, will open discussion on any controversy go underground with students and faculty alike afraid to express an opinion on anything more serious than the outcome of the soybean situation in China? And will the University in the midst of becoming a great university turn into an academic assembly line? Perhaps.--C.M.

--The Gamecock
University of South Carolina
December 2, 1955

March 24, 1944

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Acting Director
Emergency Committee for Food Production
1707 H Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thanks very much for your letter and the enclosures on the Cooley Bill. This material is very interesting and I hope that we can find room to make use of some of it in the SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

The March issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER is now being prepared. We have held it up so that we could announce the officers of the Council. Our Executive Committee met Wednesday and settled a number of the details which have been bothering us. You will be interested to know that after considerable discussion the Committee voted to ask Dr. Odum to serve as president at least until the October meeting. I called him on the telephone and he said that he was willing to do it.

I wonder if you have seen the articles by J. Saunders Redding and Lillian Smith in the spring issue of Common Ground? They are pretty bad, but I believe that they will have the effect of solidifying the friends of the Council in the South. I have wired the editor of Common Ground and she has agreed to consider a reply for the summer issue.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ/j

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR FOOD PRODUCTION

1707 H STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Telephone
EXecutive 6759

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ELIZABETH HERRING, Chairman
PAUL SIFTON, Treasurer

MRS. M. E. TILLY, Acting Director

March 21,1944.

Dr. Guy Johnson, Director Southern Regional Council
710 Stanton Building
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Knowing you are concerned about the Farm Security Administration I am writing to give you some facts about the bill introduced by Mr. Cooley,and to enclose an analysis of the bill made by Mr. Paul Sifton of the Farmers Union. The Cooley bill sets up the Farm Home Corporation to take over the work of the Farm Security Administration and in many respects is a good bill and the thing in its favor to us is that the Farmers Bureau is fighting it.

One concern to us about the bill is there is an ambiguity of language ~~that it~~ and it can be interpreted to eliminate the rehabilitation program of the Farm Security Administration and it is on this that we are going to bat.

There are some other objections to the bill. It abolishes regional offices and provides for state offices that may endanger it coming under the State Extension Department.

I am not sure just when the SOUTHERN FRONTIER will go out for this month, but I hope this analysis reaches you in time for you to write your editorial on it.

I trust you are much better now and the work of the Council is well under way.

With every good wish to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Acting Director

MET/ec

C
O
P
Y

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR FOOD PRODUCTION

225 Kellogg Building

Washington, D. C.

April 30, 1944

Dr. Ira De Reid
Atlanta University, Ga.

Dear Dr. Reid:-

I never did tell you what we did about we did at our Jurisdiction Meeting at Raleigh about social security for domestic service, so I am enclosing a copy of the action taken.

I have some rather good replies from these government agencies but you may know that we will not stop until we have definite action.

I am in Washington serving as chairman of the Emergency Committee for Production that has for its aim the preservation of the program of the Farm Security Administration. We have been having hearings for several weeks on the Cooley Bill and know definitely that strong self-interested groups are determined to defeat this type of social legislation.

I was more than glad to get the minutes of the executive meeting of the SRC and regretted deeply that I could not be at the Board meeting. There is unfavorable comment here against the SRC, perhaps reflecting the articles in Common Ground. Many of my Negro friends here frankly say the Durham statemen t was a series of compromises that so called liberal Southern whites were glad to back. They also say it will never be anything more than the Interracial Commission, etc.

As you can see I am not a good typist but my secretary is too busy to do my private correspondence.

Thanking you for your help in outlining to me the action to take in securing social security servants and assuring you of my good wishes in the work you are doing for our South, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

C
O
P
Y

WHEREAS, one of the most pressing problems of labor and employment in the United States is that of domestic service and there being reason to believe that following the war this will be a specific and acute problem facing every community, and

WHEREAS, the Federal Government has indicated interest in providing social insurance for domestic workers and,

WHEREAS, the problems in this field of work opportunities are so significant for employer and employee,

WE, the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the Methodist Church, in session at Raleigh, North Carolina, February 23:

I, Do hereby request the agencies of the Federal Government interested in t is problem to offer guidance, leads and suggestions for improving work relationships in the field of domestic service.

2. We call upon the War Manpower Commission, the Women's Bureau, of the Department of Labor, and the Social Security Board to initiate this action and planning, if possible, through the 1500 local offices of the United States Employment Service that this action and planning may be ex tended to local communities.

Mrs. E. L. Hilman
President

Mrs. J. Roy Jones
Secretary

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Secretary of Christian Social Relations

MEMORANDUM

From: Dr. Guy B. Johnson

To: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Date: December 15, 1944

I had a very interesting conversation with Mrs. Atwood Martin in Louisville Kentucky on December 13. Mrs. Martin is eager to see the ASWPL revived and she realizes that in view of her poor health and inability to travel she should not attempt to remain at the head of the organization. I suggested that she be Honorary Chairman, and she seemed pleased with this.

Let's go ahead and line up the small meeting of leaders as soon as possible. If you will draft a letter and make up a list of invitees we will get the list out. I think we can also help with the travel expenses of one person from each state.

GBJ

COPY

October 9, 1946

Dr. Albert E. Barnett
Garrett Biblical Institute
Northwestern University Campus
Evanston, Illinois

Dear Albert:

I am interested in but not surprised by the contents of your letter of October 7th. Jimmy Stahlman seems to be reacting true to form. I am not surprised to find Dr. Garis playing ball with Stahlman.

Dr. Garis never seemed to me to really belong to Collegeside Church even though the memberships of himself and Mrs. Garis were in Collegeside. In 1935 when the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches set up the Council for Social Acting and passed some rather strong resolutions on the social and economic order, Dr. Garis threatened to withdraw his membership. Unfortunately he did not do so.

I believe Dr. Garis has no Congregational background. I think you are right that his background is Lutheran. He had a limited, theological idea of religion with no interest in its social application or content.

I was not aware that he had left Vanderbilt for California. I saw Garis in Nashville the summer of 1945 when I was attending one week of the Fisk Race Relations Institute. I stopped at Collegeside House and he and another man were working in the basement of the house. He asked me what kind of seditious assembly I was attending at Fisk University and I proceeded to tell him with all the exaggeration I was sure he deserved.

In addition to his work at Vanderbilt University Dr. Garis has been in the employ of the N. C. and St. L. railroad, I believe, for some time. He has been writing for or editing some kind of periodical through which the attitude of the company was mediated to the workers.

. . .

With kind regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

A. D. Beittel

Note: The late Fitzgerald Hall was president of the N. C. and St. L. railroad. You may recall his published address entitled Democracy, the final statement of which reads: "I conclude this phase of this paper by stating the obvious -- This is a white man's country -- it is going to continue to be a white man's country. We hope peacefully, but it is going to stay a white man's country." Hon. Wm. H. Swiggart, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Methodist Board of Publication is, I believe, Counsel for the N. C. and St. L. road!

36 - Tilly, Mrs. M. E

COPY

October 7, 1946

Dr. A. D. Beittel, President
Talladega College,
Talladega, Alabama.

Dear Dan:

The Hon. James Geddes Stahlman, Publisher of the Nashville Banner is currently publishing a series of articles whose general purport is to question whether Negroes are an asset or liability in American society. I read the Tennessean, not the Banner, and I also get the Nashville Globe, the Negro weekly in Nashville. From the Globe of October 4, I gather that your erstwhile parishoner at Collegeside, Dr. Roy L. Garis, is a principal contributor to the series and has written an article showing, without any reference to accurately arrived at figures, that Negroes pay only 5% of the taxes and so are proven to be a liability.

Apparently Garis is no longer at Vanderbilt. He is described as now professor of Economics at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles. This happens to be at least nominally a Methodist institution, which gives me additional interest in this resurgence of Fascism in Nashville. It comes interestingly on the heels of the closing of the Columbia Case in which the Banner had denounced everyone seeking fair treatment for twenty-five Negro defendants as "Communists." At least the all-white rural jury at Lawrenceburg acquitted twenty-three of the twenty-five! It comes interestingly also on the heels of Stahlman's denunciation of the Editorial Division of the Methodist Board of Education, Bishops Kern and Oxnam, the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Womans Division et cetera as communistic. It looks like part and parcel of the attacks in which Thurman Sensing's recently published and widely circulated pamphlet is a chapter. Sensing's pamphlet is entitled, "A Layman Views the Church!" It retails Stahlman's charges of "Communism" against all socially minded leadership. Sensing is "Research Director" of Southern States Industrial Council with office in the Stahlman Building, as well as "Chairman of the Finance Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Board of Stewards of the West End Methodist Church" in Nashville where the members of the Executive Committee of the Board of Publications of the Methodist Church are members. Sensing and Stahlman, more nearly than I like to think, represent the social ideals of these Nashville Methodists who keep a hand on the life of Methodism through control of its literature.

I want you to tell me a little bit about Garis. He was a member of Collegeside, heavily responsible, I believe, for your difficulties there. Didn't he originate in German Lutheran circles? Was he always a Congregationalist? What was his conception of religion? On what grounds did he fight you? Why did he leave Vanderbilt?

Perhaps the Nashville Globe ought to run a series of articles raising the question whether or not Americans of German descent are an asset or liability. That would get Stahlman and Garis. If that appeared too un-American, they might get permission to publish serially Ch. 20 of George Seldes' Lords of the Press, where James Geddes Stahlman is described as "Speaker in the House of Lords." They might even publish pp. 189-196 of Vol. II of Bishop H. M. DuBose's History of Methodism (Nashville: Methodist Publishing House, 1916), which tells the story of how Stahlman's grandfather took 35% of the

$288,000 (a neat fee of $100,800.00) indemnification of the Methodist Church for war damage to the publishing plant, a transaction denounced as "scandalous" in the United States Senate and which seems to have been sufficiently near the scandalous for the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South in 1902 to pass a resolution repudiating "all the acts of concealment, misstatement, or unfairness on the part of any or all persons representing the Church" in the prosecution of this claim. More than one Senator doubted the claim would have been paid had Stahlman's fee been honestly reported. The Church felt sufficiently badly to offer to repay to the United States treasury the gross amount, should the Senate think that necessary to clear the Church officially of connivance in scandle.

The time has come for Christian leadership to decline to be browbeaten by people like the Stahlman's and their tools, like Sensing and Garis. They smear the socially minded leadership of the churches as though Christianity had no social message. I believe there is enough vitality in the united Methodist Church to put these gentlemen in their places and to break the shackles they have cunningly forged for the control of the institutions and literature of the church.

Give me all the information you have about Roy L. Garis. If he is teaching in a Methodist institution in Los Angeles, I at least want Methodist leaders out there to know his Nashville record and what he is now doing through these Nashville Banner articles. Write me as fully and as promptly as possible.

Very cordially yours,

Albert E. Barnett.

PH. D. TRIES TO PROVE NEGRO IS "LIABILITY"

NASHVILLE GLOBE

★PROGRESSIVE★ ★JOURNAL★ INDEPENDENT AND OF THE ★NEW★ ★SOUTH★

VOLUME XLIII. No. 37 NASHVILLE, TENN., OCTOBER 4, 1946 PRICE FIVE CENTS

California "Prof" Has Unfair Report On Taxpaying Here

Writer, Rated Authority on Economics, Ignores Teachings of Roosevelt that "Taxes Are paid in Sweat of Those Who Labor;" Shows Bias in Writings

There was considerable speculation in Nashville this week, among both Negro and white citizens regarding the motive behind the series of articles the Nashville Banner has begun with a Dr. Roy L. Garis, professor of economics in the University of SOUTHERN California as the author. The articles, it appears, will be an unfavorable report on the worth of the Negroes of Nashville and Davidson County as contributors to the economic progress of the city and will attempt to picture them as the "White Man's Burden" in the manner that Great Britain has for so long propagandized against the millions of people she has enslaved in her vast empire.

However, there are not a few who have read the articles who see in them a repetition of the foul campaign that Hitler waged against the Jews of Germany, succeeding thereby in rounding up a brutal political party, called Nazis whose members became so inflamed against a minority group as to overlook the fact that they, themselves, were being exploited and deprived of a just share of the things their labor had produced.

There are some, however, who would dismiss the Banner articles as mere "circulation builders" for the newspaper. They are written in excellent English but the conclusions drawn from the figures purporting to show what taxes Negroes of this city pay and the contributions they make to fund-gathering agencies, are to say the least, wholly "phony" and evidently known to be phony both by the eminent teacher of economics and the publishers of the Banner.

In his first article, published in the Banner on Monday, under the caption "The Negro in Nashville—An Asset or a Liability", Dr. Garis shows that he has gathered some figures here and there from bookkeepers showing taxes paid by whites and Negroes. When he gets through with manipulating the figures he comes up with one apparently unchallengeable conclusion, which is that Negroes constitute 28.3 percent of the city's population, while the white people constitute 71.7 percent. He figured that out from the 1940 census report, which was no very difficult feat of mathematics. But when the professor got down to making something out of figures showing the taxes paid by Negroes here, he winds up with three different answers for the percent Negroes pay.

He says 8.5 percent, or maybe 9.2 and then winds up with the following astounding revelation:

"If all taxes,—federal, state and local, are taken into consideration, it would seem doubtful if the Negro pays in excess of a total of 5 percent of the taxes."

Having said that, the worst en-

(Continued on page 8, Col. 5)

John Frank Holt Dies Suddenly At His Home Here

Greater St. John Baptist church was completely filled Tuesday afternoon of this week to pay tribute to one of the faithful members of that church who had "passed away in the twinkling of an eye," so to speak. He was John Frank Holt, husband of Mrs. Annie Mae Holt, of the Nashville GLOBE office staff and also clerk of Greater St. John.

Mr. Holt died on the porch of his home 1123 Jo Johnston Ave., suddenly Friday night of last week as his wife was making preparation for him to retire. The husband and wife had been talking only a few minutes before Mrs. Holt had gone into the house to turn down his bed. Failing to arouse him when she called for him to come into the house, she went to investigate why he did not answer. She found he had died, presumably, from a sudden heart attack.

Mr. Holt was a trustee of St. John church, of which he had been a member for fifteen years. He was a fine and faithful mem

(Continued On Page 4 Col. 7)

Roy Milton Once Sang In Group With Orlando Robeson

Hollywood, (Pacific Press Syndicate)—Roy Milton, whose amazing six-piece combo is smashing box office records right and left in its current sweep through Dixie and the Midwest, is noted for his blues singing and skin-beating, but few people know that Milton is a great sentimentalist and for years was a member of a quartet in which was featured the one and only Orlando Robeson, the tenor who made "Trees" a household byword.

At the Booker T. Washington high school in Tulsa, Okla., back in the late 20s, Milton sang second tenor in the school quartet.

In addition to Milton, other memmers were: first tenor, Orlando Robeson, who later was to rise to fame as Claude Hopkin's vocalist and for his immortal rendition of Joyce Kilmer's "Trees"; David Cooper, now a prominent minister

(Continued On Page 4 Col. 7)

Moses J. Davie Gets Appointment As Secretary Colored Y. M. C. A.

Staff Sergeant in World War II. Is Taking "On the Job Training" and Making Progress

Promoted

An appointment announced this week will be of great interest to service men and other G. I.'s who are studying under the G. I. Bill of Rights on the job training. The announcement that former S. Sgt. Moses Jeptha Davie has been promoted in the Colored Young Men's Christian Association set up was said to be encouraging because young Mr. Davie is just winding up his first year with the institution. He saw service in the Pacific Theatre of war and was in the Army a little over three years. While there he "Went over the hump," a term used by army men for those veterans who were in the Pacific War and who covered the Pacific Islands, went to Japan, China and then came back by way of Europe.

S.Sgt. Davie is a graduate of the city grammar schools and of Pearl High School. He was a stu[illegible]nt at A. & I. State College when [illegible]ed and only liked two semes[illegible] finishing his college work. [illegible]ked his way not only [illegible] grammar school, high [illegible] through college. He [illegible]as a buck private [illegible] way up, received [illegible]romotion until he [illegible]t is understood [illegible] a commission [illegible]shville he [illegible]was ap[illegible]ry A. [illegible]. M. [illegible]re

B. P. B. Reports [illegible]e Circulation of [illegible]iterature

[illegible]nding there is a short[illegible]rint paper, scarcity of [illegible]s and labor, the Na[illegible] Publishing Board's [illegible]le, through its ex[illegible] and foresight, [illegible]nd thousands [illegible]ches, B. Y. [illegible]ries with [illegible]s for [illegible]mber [illegible]Ja-

Rev. J. O. Clark Accepts Pastorate At Clarksville Church

St. John Baptist Church in Clarksville, Tenn., one of the oldest Missionary Baptist organizations in the middle part of the state, called as their pastor, Rev. J. O. Clark, A. M., D. D., who has for the past few years pastored the First Baptist Church in Jeffersonville, Ind. Rev. Mr. Clark is a native of Clarksville, but has been away from that city for many years. He came to Nashville in his early youth and attended Pearl High School of this city, from which he was graduated. Later on he attended College of Religion, Butler University, Indianapolis, and then the Franklin College at Franklin, Ind., which is a white institution. He also attended the University of Louisville and pursued his graduate work in Indiana University. He holds his A. B., and D. D., degrees, and has had eighteen years of experience in the pastorate in Indianapolis, where he is the director of Christian Education for the Indiana General Association, having served in that capacity for the past fifteen years.

Rev. Mr. Clark accepted the call of St. John Baptist Church on Sept. 9th of this year. He is a strong supporter and a member of the National Baptist Convention of America for the past twenty-five years. He led the First Trinity

(Continued On Page 4 Col. 5)

More Than Thousand Students Enroll At Lincoln University

Jefferson City, Mo., Sept. 28, 1946—With only one day left before deadline for enrolling for study at [illegible]incoln University (Mo.) 1,011 had [illegible]istered by Thursday, Sept. 26.

[illegible] this number 827, including [illegible]n and 414 women, are en[illegible] the College of Arts and [illegible] 146—71 girls and 75 boys [illegible]ed for courses in the [illegible]gh school; 36, School of [illegible] and 1 man and 1 [illegible]ng courses in the [illegible]duate Study, ac[illegible] recorded in the [illegible]souri, Louis[illegible] Alabama, [illegible] Indiana, [illegible]h Caro[illegible]rolina [illegible]chool [illegible]e

California "Prof"

(Continued from page 1)

emy of Prof. Garis could not wish him any worse fate than that he be compelled to debate his conclusions with a competent Negro student of economics, who is at the same time acquainted with the way of life in Nashville and Davidson County.

What destroys the logic of the professor's conclusions about th amount and percent of taxes, federal, state, city and county, paid by the Negro population, is that he apparently has made no attemp whatever to get any figures or do any guess work about the most IMPORTANT source of taxes. H follows the ancient and explode theory that only the persons wh are on the tax books of the city and go down to see the taxgatherers annually are they who pay ALL of the taxes of the community.

Could the professor just imagine a city of any size in which all of the homes and all of the taxable business concerns were owned by one rich man, with all of the other citizens living in houses this one rich man owned, and buying all of their necessities from the stores he owned. Dr. Garis would have an ideal picture of a taxpayer who fits the plans and specifications for getting up a phony report on taxpayers.

The above listed "imaginary" taxpayer undoubtedly would be glorified as the most worthy, deserving and INDISPENSABLE citizen of his city. But it is likely, should he die suddenly, all of the business enterprises he owned would go on functioning, go on taking in money and paying tax bills as regularly as he paid them. Who, then, would enjoy the accolade of being the city's INDISPENSABLE taxpayer?

Skips Consumer Taxes

To make a long story short, nearly all of the taxes that go to support government, federal, state, city and county, are paid by that unappreciated citizen known as the "ultimate consumer."

The ultimate consumer pays taxes. When he pays the rent on his house or shack; he pays taxes when he buys his clothes; he pays plenty taxes when he buys his food. And Negroes, "pay a gang of taxes" when they buy their liquor and the "chasers" thereof.

Nobody has any business engaging in an effort of estimating the taxes paid by Negroes in Nashville or any other cities unless he is fair enough to attempt finding out how much the Negro spends for the necessities and the luxuries of life. After finding out the Negroe's SPENDING bill for house rent, for bus rides, for clothes, food and drink, the next thing to find out would be what percent of the payments for these things represented taxes, federal, state, city and county. That amount could be added to that of the fortunate few whose names are on the tex books of the city, state, and county and who pay federal income taxes.

It is only fair that the Banner and Professor Garis be reminded of SOME OTHER taxes that Negroes pay, and for which they get no credit whatever. A fairminded teacher of economics ought to take these OTHER taxes into consideration.

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Try i
That'
quick
Cola -

NOT 1 BUT 2 FULL GLASSES 5¢

IN THE BIG RED AND YELLOW BOTTLE

said that even though a working man may not go down to see the tax gatherer and pay taxes, he nevertheless, in the things he buys and consumes, already had contributed the taxes which the man who

serving and INDISPENSABLE citizen of his city. But it is likely, should he die suddenly, all of the business enterprises he owned would go on functioning, go on taking in money and paying tax bills as regularly as he paid them. Who, then, would enjoy the accolade of being the city's INDISPENSABLE taxpayer?

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The Wage Differential

For example, there are two servants in a rich man's home. His home is valued for taxing purposes, city, state and county, at $10,000. At a combined tax rate of say $2.00 on the hundred, the rich man's city, state and county tax bill is $200. The two colored servants in the home get for their combined weekly wages $20.00 or a total of $1,040 a year. It is fair to assume that if the rich man had white servants in his home they would cost him AT LEAST a weekly wage of $35.00 or a total of $1,820 a year. The difference between the wages of the colored servants and what would have to be paid white servants amounts to $780.00 a year. Out of this $780.00 the employer is able to pay the tax on his home, amounting to $200.00 and have left $580.00 which he can use as a contribution to the Community Chest.

In other words, two colored servants in the rich man's home worked for wages that enabled him to save over and above what he would have to pay white servants, enough to pay his taxes and also make a large donation to the Community Chest.

That being so, is it not fair to say THEY, and not the employer of these two colored servants, paid the taxes on his home and paid the contribution he made to the Community Chest? At least that is the argument of those who contend that Negroes of Nashville very definitely are an ASSET to the community and not a liability. And can it be contended that their theory of economics is not sounder than that of the professor from the California University?

If Prof. Garis would be fair enough to discuss economics from the theory advanced by the eminent leaders of labor, he would balance the arguments he is making about Negroes not paying but 5 per cent of local taxes against a labor leader's argument, that, to the extent that Negroes are consumers and work for wages that enable their employers to make higher profits, they carry as large a share of the tax-burden as any other group of 60,000 people in Davidson County.

And, unless the professor is a "Roosevelt hater" he will occasionally make reference to the sage observation that Franklin D. Roosevelt made back in 1932. The exact words can be found by the professor with even less research than that he engaged in to get figures with which, to bolster his claim that Negroes are not paying their fair share of taxes nor contributing their fair share to the Community Chest.

It was Mr. Roosevelt's contention that "taxes are paid in the SWEAT of those who labor." He said that even though a working man may not go down to see the tax gatherer and pay taxes, he nevertheless, in the things he buys and consumes, already had contributed the taxes which the man who does go to the tax office and pay. Of course it didn't enhance Roosevelt's prestige with the Liberty League or the Southern States Industrial Council or the various "Taxpayers" leagues that so regularly engage in trying to reduce the services that governments render the masses of the people of both races. But it takes only a little reflection and a good conscience to reach the conclusion that the consuming masses of any community are the biggest taxpayers in the community, and that when it comes to consuming, and keeping the wheels of industry rolling, the Negro masses have a record they can point to with pride, in every community in which they live. They do not voluntarily send any of it to foreign countries to bolster the economy of foreign nations.

It Was Settled Long Ago

The answer to the question are Negroes an asset or liability to Nashville or any other part of (the United States) is seen in the fact that, the first white men who came to this country saw right away that in order to become wealthy they had to do or get done some very hard, backbreaking toil. That is why they "extended" an invitation to numerous colored folk in Africa to "come over into Macedonia and help us." The unrequited labor of the Negro slaves for a stretch of 250 years is EXACTLY what produced most of the wealth of this county that has, in the process of time, "snowballed" into the billions that make America the wealthiest nation in the world. It is a pity that the greatest beneficiaries of this wealth—the rich and powerfl minority—are forever trying to euchre the workers out of a fair share of the fruits of their labor. And still worse, in this enlightened age, is for them to palm off on the people the phony version of taxes being paraded before the public by the Nashville Banner and Prof. Garis from California.

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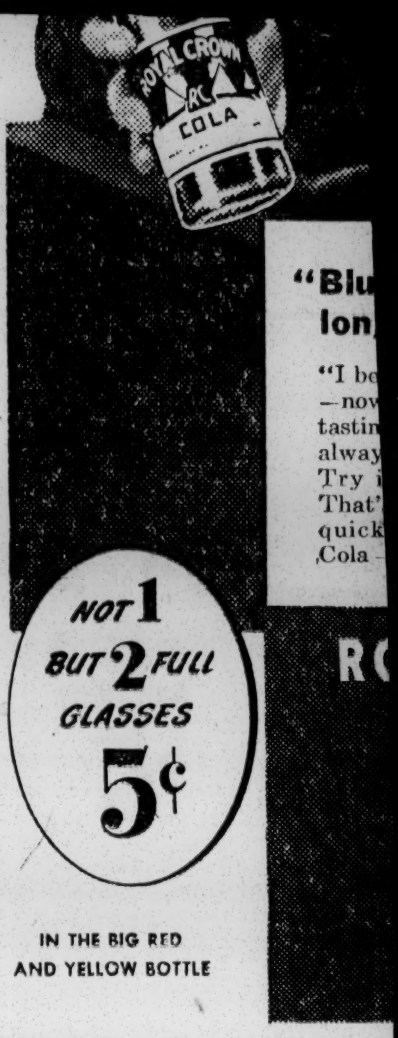
week.

Mrs. Tempie Cleveland and Mrs. Rosa Hodge were in Nashville Friday



Everybody's Happy

(Continued from page 1)

regions outside the "smoke zone" and the squires, (which includes citizen gets nicked for city taxes, to pave the streets and other things.

Those citizens outside the city limits do not vote in the first place, and in the second, when they do, they don't vote for Mayor Cummings. And that, they say, is one reason why Mayor Cummings could work out a formula for letting the bus company save face and at the same time keep those citizens who always vote right in the right frame of mind to "keep on keeping on."

And so the compromise retains for Nashville citizens their precious Five Cent bus fare, with no extra charge for transfers; it retains the 3 Cent tokens for school children.

For those who live outside the

Tilly file

2059 North Decatur Road, N.E.,
Atlanta, 6, Ga.
April 2, 1947

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
1013 Highland View, N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

At the March 24 meeting of the Atlanta Civil Liberties Committee, you were elected to membership on the General Committee.

For the purpose of electing officers and taking other action, a meeting of the General Committee will be held on Thursday April 10, at 8 p.m. in the Membership Office(2nd floor) of the Y. W.C.A. at 37 Auburn Ave. N.E.

I sincerely hope that it will be possible for you to attend this meeting.

Sincerely,

Wm. V. George

Wm. V. George,
Interim Chairman.

I invited him to
come to Conf.

Tilly

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL
OF THE
CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA
297 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CHARLES P. TAFT, PRESIDENT
BISHOP JOHN S. STAMM, VICE-PRESIDENT
HARPER SIBLEY, TREASURER

REV. SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT, GENERAL SECRETARY
REV. ROSWELL P. BARNES,
REV. J. QUINTER MILLER,
ASSOCIATE GENERAL SECRETARIES

April 16, 1947

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, held on March 25th, you were elected a member of the Department of Race Relations for the biennium 1947-48.

I am sure you will want to take a real part in this important aspect of the Council's work by agreeing to serve.

Sincerely yours,

Charles P. Taft

President

MERCER UNIVERSITY
MACON, GEORGIA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

November 13, 1947

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

On next Tuesday, November 18th, I am bringing a class in Race Relations to Atlanta for the day. The trip is really being arranged through the cooperation of Dr. Reid and Dr. Hill at Atlanta University and we are coming on that day in order to be able to take in the seminar and public address by Dr. Robert Weaver.

However, Dr. Reid is arranging, so I am informed, to have Mr. Robert Thompson of the Urban League to conduct us on a tour of some of the Negro businesses of Atlanta; and we have especially requested that a visit to the Southern Regional Council also be included in that morning portion of the visit. Also, we expressed the strong hope that - if you are in the city - ~~that~~ we have the opportunity of meeting you and hearing from you about your experiences on the Civil Rights Committee, together with a fairer appraisal of the final report than the newspapers gave. ~~it.~~

This class of "born-and-bred" Geogian students have come along very encouragingly in their work and experiences in this class so far and we are confident that this trip to Atlanta will not only be enjoyable but will be an experience they will never be able to get away from. I know the privilege of knowing and talking with you - if you are able to be around - will be an important part of the trip.

Very sincerely yours,

Howard G. McClain

Howard G. McClain

The Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College

WILLIAM H. GRAY JR., PRESIDENT

Tallahassee, Florida

PERSONNEL DIVISION

November 18, 1947

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
Field Secretary,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

Please accept this note as an expression of my appreciation of the stand taken by the President's Committee on Human Rights. My personal thanks go to you as a leader among southern women.

It is to be hoped that the people of America will support this courageous group of true Americans who have taken their stand in the interest of justice for all.

Sincerely yours,

J. T. Taylor
Director of Personnel

JTT/f

SOUTHERN FARMER

VOL. 108. NO. 11. November, 1947

American Freedom Being Stomped On

By AUBREY WILLIAMS

Senator Claude Pepper spoke the mind of millions of Americans when he cut loose and blasted the Un-American House Committee. There was a truly American ring in what he had to say.

He advised movie witnesses to refuse to answer if asked questions which "censor" thinking or free speech.

"I told them they should tell the House Committee, 'I'm an American and it is none of your business what I say, think or write.'" Pepper said.

Anybody who goes to the movies knows there's nothing in them except "boy meets girl" love affairs. Sometimes they're in big city apartments, sometimes they're in the Wild West, sometimes they're from past ages—but American movies don't have a thimbleful of any kind of politics.

This movie investigation is all part of the picture of the Un-American House Committee getting some publicity and being able to call some people names.

This kind of circus is also supposed to frighten people who are fighting to make America a better place in which to live. The promoters claim they are fighting Communism. The truth is they are fighting anybody and everybody who is not willing to have our country take over by Big Brass and Big Business.

In the name of Americanism we are seeing American freedom pushed around and spit on.

Two newspapermen from the Republican Washington Star were hailed before the committee. Congressman Clare E. Hoffman, Michigan Republican, asked them what they meant by a piece on "Disloyal Congressmen." The fact is that Hoffman was friendly with many Hitler agents before the war. Yet, today he can summon a citizen and demand to know why a member of Congress is being criticized!

Another blow at the "Bill of Rights" is the new "code" of the State Department. Under this new "code," employees suspected of being disloyal are not allowed:

To see the witnesses who have made charges against them.

To find out what charges against them are based on.

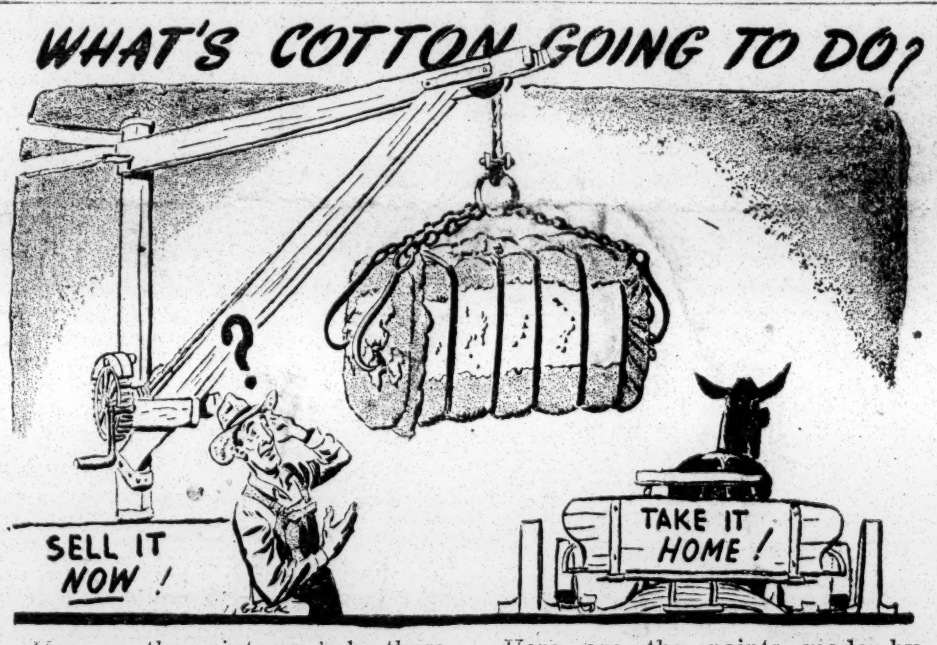
Or, to see the evidence against them.

A man or woman who is accused can say something in his own behalf. But what good does that do when he doesn't know who, or what, he's answering?

When you read about these things you have to pinch yourself. Isn't this the same United States which 170 years ago began the system under which a man had a right to a hearing before a jury in open court? What are we coming to when our State Department and Congress are doing these things. Has our country gone slap-crazy?

Congressional Committee Hears Farmers

J. D. Mott, farmer from near Red Level, Ala., gives the Congressional Agricultural Committee his ideas on what farmers need. Listening to Mott, who is at speakers stand, are Rep. Watt Arnold, Pennsylvania; Senator Hill, Alabama; Rep. George Grant, Alabama; Rep. Chester Gross, Pennsylvania; and Rep. Clarence Hope, Kansas. Rep. Steve Pace, Georgia, and Rep. Abernethy, Mississippi, were also with the committee, but are not shown in the picture. Mott told the committee farmers have three main problems: Not enough fertilizer, and poor quality fertilizer at high cost. Down payments and interests are too high for small farmer to buy tractors. And the farmer does not control his own market.



Here are the points made by those who say it will pay to go ahead and sell cotton at present prices:

The price of cotton depends on a world market. As long as things are unsettled in the world, there will not be much foreign market for cotton. There is little hope for peaceful conditions soon.

The United States has been selling more to other countries than they have been selling to us. Foreign countries have reached the end of their rope.

Rayon and nylon factories are turning out more and more synthetic fibres.

Cotton will drop after World War II just like it did after World War I. Cotton is one of the first crops to drop after a boom.

We had a much bigger crop this year than we had last year.

Many dress manufacturers had trouble this year selling their production. They are afraid to load up with cotton for the coming year.

Wage-earners are the biggest market for cotton clothing.

Low-income wage-earners in town are being hit hard by high food prices. They cannot buy the clothes they need because they must spend all they get for food and rent.

The present price may not be high enough, but the farmer cannot afford to gamble.

Here are the points made by those who say it will pay to hold cotton for a while longer:

Cotton is the one crop which is lower this year than last. Prices on many other things are still going up, and cotton should go up, too.

If Congress approves the Marshall Plan for loans to Europe, it will mean more buying of cotton in Europe. Right now, European countries can't spend any more money in the United States for anything except food.

Japan is just beginning to sell stuff in this country. The Japanese, who used to be a good customer for cotton, should increase their purchases of cotton now that her factories are getting back into production.

Cotton speculators will wait until the farmer sells his cotton before they begin to bid up the price.

We have had the biggest consumption of cotton in this country during the past year of any year in our history. About 10 million bales were consumed.

We have the smallest carry-over of cotton we have had in many years.

The parity price of cotton is 28.6¢ per pound. This means that the farmer who holds his cotton now is protected against as big a drop as we had after World War I.

Congress Holds Key To Peace And Prosperity

President Truman has called Congress back to Washington. Our nation faces a crisis—

A crisis at home because we are going through the same old boom and bust cycle which will bring misery to millions;

A crisis in our relations with the rest of the world because we havn't had moral courage and faith in democracy to assume our responsibility.

Why should this be? We have all the resources and the know-how to produce the highest standard of living the world has ever known—for all our people. We have the means to become the leaders of the world if we did it on a basis of Christian principles and faith in mankind.

But instead of prosperity at home, prices and profits are breaking all records. At the same time the average wage-earner is worse off than he was before the war. And most family-size farmers won't have any cash left over after they pay the bills for making this year's crops.

We have become so afraid of Russia we are getting in bed with the worst sort of kings and dictators—to stop communism.

Worst of all—there are 1,000,000 men, women and children in filthy concentration camps in Europe. These are men, women and children who were friends in the fight against the Nazis. Yet today they are in barbed wire cages. Protestants, Catholics and Jews—with no place to go. And millions of other innocent people face starvation.

It is just as well that Congress is meeting. If they behave like they did last year, the American people may yet become so sick of it that we will throw most of them out at the polls next year and elect [illegible] who truly will represent all Americans.—G.B.

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MRS M E TILLY
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RECEIVED
DEC 12 1947
Southern Regional Council

December 11, 1947

Bishop Arthur J. Moore
Wesley Memorial Church Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bishop Moore:

An Associated Press item in yesterday afternoon's Atlanta Journal quotes you as saying, when the Women's Division of Christian Service for the Methodist Church submitted a recommendation for the abolition of racial segregation, "There is no greater danger confronting us today than the hasty adoption of immature and ill-considered plans for remaking the world. We must somehow protect ourselves from those who are in a hurry."

I wanted to write you at once of the terrific shock which your ill-considered words caused in my inmost being. I can scarcely recall an occasion when I have been so deeply jarred. I wondered what reverberations they must have brought about in your supposedly white heaven where God's will is done, which you thoughtlessly pray may also be done on earth. I seriously doubted a concurrence among the Trinity with your opinion.

I have waited thirty-six hours to write you. But there is no change in the thumping of my heart, and I must write you for personal relief at least. Maybe my distress is caused only by the devil. If so, I am perfectly willing to accord him his full dues for as pure an impulse as stirs me.

The caution and complacency of your attitude is so completely at variance with the urgency of Christ and the apostles that I find myself as mentally amazed as I am spiritually distressed. You are speaking nearly two thousand years after they proclaimed a gospel of divine equality and unity, and yet state that the proposal of the good women of your church for the common worship of their brothers and yours - God's universal children for whose person He has no particular respect - is "hasty," "immature," "ill-considered," and "in a hurry." Christ and the apostles said, "Straightway," "The time is short," "Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation." Two thousand years later you say, "Let's go slow. Don't be hasty. Don't be in a hurry."

Listen, brother. The apocalyptic visions of the apostles, by which they measured the shortness of time, were an illusion. But the atomic bomb is no illusion. The time is indeed short today. Only a united Christian world can save the world. "There is no greater danger confronting us today than" blind bishops and ecclesiastics whose conformity to the world's social ethics keeps them from seeing and putting to the proof "the good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God."

Sincerely, Your brother,

Witherspoon Dodge

Witherspoon Dodge

Tilly, Mrs. M. E.

January 6, 1948

Mr. Richard L. Simon
Simon and Schuster, Inc.
1230 Sixth Avenue
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Simon:

The days passed and somehow I failed to write you the thanks that I owe you for publishing the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. I am deeply grateful to you for the copy you sent me.

I do regret, however, that you did not get my title right. I am not Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Relations, but merely of Christian Social Relations, Southeastern Jurisdiction.

I assure you the whole Committee is grateful to you for making it possible for people to secure copies of the Report.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Field Secretary

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.
publishers
ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *1230 Sixth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

November 24, 1947

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

It is with great pleasure that we have sent you ten copies of the Simon and Schuster edition of TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS.

As publishers, we are very proud to have been able to make your excellent report available in book form, and, as citizens, we are all grateful to you and the other members of the committee for the magnificent work you have done.

Sincerely yours,

Richard L. Simon

Richard L. Simon

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Tilly, Mrs. M.E.

40 EAST 49 STREET NEW YORK 17 N Y

Bruce Bliven, EDITORIAL DIRECTOR

January 9, 1948

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you very much for your letter of January 6. I shall follow your suggestions, and I appreciate the trouble you took in the matter.

Faithfully,

Bruce Bliven

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

BB:R

Tilly, Mrs. M. E.

January 6, 1948

Mr. Bruce Bliven
Editorial Director
New Republic
40 East 49th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Bliven:

Your letter of November 25 followed me about over the nation and finally reached me just after New Year's Day.

Mr. Ernst has the newspaper articles I had relating to the Negro doctor who practises medicine in Putnam County, Georgia. The hospital story comes from Royston, Georgia. If you have a reporter down this way, you could find two stories and they are worth reporting.

I do not know of the trade union in New Orleans which has white and Negro members, but the plasterers' union here in Atlanta does have both. This, too, might be a story which you would find worthwhile.

I suggest that you ask Mr. Ernst to look through his files and get you the newspaper clippings I gave to him as they will give you the information and direction you will need.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Field Secretary

New Republic

40 EAST 49 STREET NEW YORK 17 N Y

Bruce Bliven, EDITORIAL DIRECTOR

November 25, 1947

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am writing you at the suggestion of my friend Morris Ernst. He said you could tell me specific instances of successful interracial cooperation in the South. Morris mentioned, for example:

A hospital in Georgia which has white and Negro doctors and patients with no trouble about race prejudice.

A Negro doctor in Georgia who is the only doctor in a large area, and treats Negro and white patients.

A trade union in New Orleans which has white and Negro members and of which the officers are mostly Negroes.

I do not mean this request to be a burden to you. If you could give me half a dozen such instances, with the names and addresses in all cases, it would suit my purposes. I shall not mention the source of my information publicly in any way, if you prefer that I should not do so.

Faithfully,

Bruce Bliven

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

BB:R

Tilly, Mrs. M E

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MILTON DIAMOND
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DAVID MACKAY
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598 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

TELEPHONE
MURRAY HILL 8-3200

CABLES - POLMOND

January 15, 1948.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am enclosing copy of a recent letter from President Harold Taylor of Sarah Lawrence College to President Adams of Hofstra College, and a copy of a recent statement by Mr. Shad Polier which I am sure will be of interest to you in view of the discussions we had at meetings of the President's Civil Rights Committee.

May I take this opportunity to wish you a very happy New Year and to express my warm personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

F
D
R
jr-irs

SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE
Bronxville, New York

Dear President Adams:

The statement of the Association of Colleges and Universities of the State of New York, made at a hearing before the Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University, came to me last week. It contains some things that bother me.

I believe that the opinion of the members of the Association should be discovered in advance of a statement representing our policies. For my own part, I object strongly to the pious, self-congratulatory tone of the statement, the discontinuity of the line of reasoning it contained, and the moral doctrine implied by the conclusions reached. I feel that there may be others in the Association who do not accept the conclusions, yet are no doubt in the same position as myself, - that is, have been included as voting members in support of this doctrine without any consultation or chance to express dissent.

It seems to me that there is a clear moral principle involved in the issue of proposed legislation against discrimination in New York State. I believe that we, as educators, cannot oppose legislation which is designed to correct a social evil. Any denial that the social evil exists is contrary to the facts and we cannot, on the one hand, protest that college admission policies in the State of New York are free from discriminatory attitudes and, at the same time, object to legislation about these policies since, if the policies are already morally sound and liberally effective, the legislation would have no effect at all on the actions of the colleges. Nor do I accept the argument that private institutions can, or should, remain unlegislated if legislation in the public interest expresses the will of the majority of people to change the policies of their operation. The private institution of any kind belongs to the society which supports it and makes it possible. To use the argument contained in the Association statement is to repeat the logical error of private business institutions which opposed labor legislation as an infringement of individual rights.

If there are objections to the various forms in which legislation has been proposed, and objection to methods suggested for solving the problem, then it is the responsibility of the members of our Association to meet with those who are engaged in the difficult business of producing fair and adequate legislation. I therefore suggest that the Executive Committee of the Association of Colleges and Universities of the State of New York meet with the New York State Committee for Equality in Education, to construct legislation adequate for all the purposes for which it is being designed. I believe we have the responsibility for proposing positive alternatives to any current proposals. Otherwise we are abdicating our duties as intellectual and moral leaders of the country's life.

I imagine that the Committee on Cooperation with the Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University will be dealing with these matters. Perhaps through their work something can be done to coordinate affairs. In any case, I wanted to put these views before the Executive Committee for their consideration.

With best regards.

Harold Taylor
President

HT/M

President John C. Adams
Hofstra College
Hempstead, New York

Tilly, Mrs M. E.

Atlanta, Georgia
February 9, 1948

Mr. Clarence E. Mallory
1256 Floyd Street SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mallory:

Thank you so much for your letter of January 30.

I do not quite see its point or connection. I have never advocated almagamation of the races. I am for equality of opportunity for all people.

I am concerned about all of the poor and oppressed and minority groups of the world. You say you are from Oakland City community. Therefore you may have some connection with either the Fisher Body or Chevrolet plants. If so, you will know that during the strike against General Motors, I raised and administered from two to four thousand dollars per week for those who were out on strike. I assure you I had a few letters from people who were opposed to my finding relief for these workers similar to the letter I have from you opposing my interest in the equality of opportunity for the Negro race.

I have an office at Wesley Memorial Church and would be glad to have you come in and talk to me, or you may write to me, as you wish. If you have a sister in Cuba, surely you are interested in the welfare of every human being, and I am sure we can find a common ground for discussion.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Atlanta Ga.
Jan 30. 1948

Mrs M. E. Tally.

You may now say you have letter #13 opposing your work. You also may like to know the good people of our Methodist Church here in Oakland City were assured by our pastor that you have no right to represent all Methodist. Our pastor went to the bishop about you and he was not pleased with your work.

Now about segregation, and since I am a good Methodist and my sister being a Methodist Missionary working in Havana Cuba I think I know from first hand what would happen if segregation were to end here in the South at the present time. I was in Cuba about six months and you may be sure it is almost impossible to say which person has Negro blood. All this came about because they have no segregation laws and

the people were poor with little education very much like our south. ~~[illegible]~~. When we have solved the education problem for both Negroes & whites then will be time to think about ending segregation.

History shows that where any Nation has not practiced segregation of races but allowed amalgamation of races the custom has always resulted in distruction of the Nation that permitted this Crime against nature. We of the south know this and ask the aid of all decent white people to help stem this concerted effort on the part of misguided people to foster a scheme advocated by outside interference and meddlers to destroy our Negroes & the South.

The opposition to social segregation comes from such men as Henry Wallace who

would come to Georgia and stage a meeting with white and blacks occupying the same pews for the good impression which he thinks it will make on colored voters in other parts of the country. Mr. Wallace and his sponsors are doing the colored people great harm by scoring many voters into the political camp that represents the opposite extreme.

Yours Truly

Clarence H. Malloy

Tilly, Mrs. M. E.

DEXTER AVENUE METHODIST CHURCH

301 Dexter Avenue Phone 2-3961

Montgomery 4, Alabama

A. S. TURNIPSEED
Pastor

March 8, 1948

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Field Secretary
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Thank you for your fine speech at the Southern Regional Council meeting in Montgomery Fegruary 18. Enclosed is an editorial I have written on it. I trust the editorial will do good.

Sincerely yours,

A. S. Turnipseed

A. S. Turnipseed

Enc-
AST/ewv

The Montgomery Examiner
Feb. 26, 1948

Pulpit Echoes

By The Rev. A. S. Turnipseed

MRS. TILLY ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, of Atlanta, Georgia, is one of the fifteen who served on President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. She is an official in the Methodist Church and a personal friend of ours.

Last Wednesday (February 18) Mrs. Tilly was in Montgomery. She reported that the attitude of the Committee was one of restraint throughout its deliberations. A study of the Committee's report bears this out. The language of the report is factual and carefully measured.

Dealing with lynching the Committee said: "It is still possible for a mob to abduct and murder a person in some sections of the country with almost certain assurance of escaping punishment for the crime. The decade from 1936 through 1946 saw at least 48 lynchings. No person who took part received the death penalty, and the majority of the guilty persons were not even brought to trial."

Such cases as those "tried" recently in Greenville, South Carolina justify this statement.

Regarding the poll tax the Committee made this factual statement: "The poll tax—which limits white as well as Negro suffrage—is still in effect in seven Southern states. Both the poll tax and qualifications standards are usually applied in such a way as to discriminate against Negroes."

Certainly the Boswell Amendment in Alabama set "qualifications standards" with discrimination intentions.

Opportunity Not Equal

With respect to education in the South this observation is made: ". . . the Committee believes that the 'separate but equal' rule has not been obeyed in practice. Whatever test is used—expenditure per pupil, teachers' salaries, number of pupils per teacher, transportation of students, adequacy of school buildings and equipment, length of school term, extent of curriculum—Negro students are invariably at a disadvantage. Opportunities for Negroes in public institutions of higher education in the South—particularly at the professional graduate school level—are also severely limited."

The South could well answer this criticism by insisting that Federal Aid be given to education and that the revenue from Federal Aid be applied exclusively to Negro schools until those schools are on a parity with white schools.. After that the revenue from Federal Aid could be spent so that both school systems would be advanced equally.

As to health service the Committee states: "Many hospitals . . will not admit Negro patients, nor will they allow Negro doctors and internes to make use of their facilities."

The Southern states could meet this objection by passing laws forcing all hospitals to admit colored patients and forcing all publicly owned hospitals to allow colored doctors to attend colored patients.

Legisaltion and Education

On the relationship between legislation and education for the support of civil rights the Committee states itself: "We must also have education designed to dispel ignorance about our heritage; education to teach the principle that it is stupid to condemn whole groups of people and that each man must be judged by himself on his own merits and faults. There is no need to choose between legislation and education. Neither one is adequate for the complete securing of our rights; both are indispensable to it."

The Committee would rest upon an eternal foundation. It concludes its report with these words: "Democracy, brotherhood, human rights—these are practical expressions of the eternal worth of every child of God. With His guidance and help we can move forward toward a nobler social order in which there will be equal opportunity for all!"

36 Tilly, Mrs. M. E.

March 23, 1948

Mr. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.
Poletti, Diamond, Freidin and Mackay
598 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Franklin Roosevelt:

As I feel sure you want to know something about your family history, I am sending you one of Georgia's prize papers which gives you a story I am sure will be new to you.

As to the Farmer's Market Bulletin, I will say that, as a promulgator of hate, it ranks only after Talmadge's Statesman and Westbrook Pegler's column.

This market bulletin, paid for out of State funds, is perhaps the mostly widely distributed paper in our State and, of course, goes into many homes that receive no other mail.

I shall be in New York the week of May 2 and I hope I shall be able to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Enclosure: copy Georgia Farmers' Market Bulletin, week of March 15, 1948

DT:eb

March 30, 1948

Miss Dorothy Weber
Woman's Division of Christian Service
The Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Miss Weber:

Mrs. Tilly asked me to send you the discrimination pictures which you requested.

The only ones we have in this office are those on segregated transportation in Atlanta, Georgia. I picked out four or five of the best and am sending them to you today by airmail. They were made in 1945, but I think the same general conditions would hold today.

The Atlanta Urban League made comparative pictures of white and colored schools in Atlanta, and made a leaflet from the pictures. They are sending one or two copies of the leaflet to you, with the idea that you may be able to make "blow ups" of the pictures.

I am afraid that these are the sum total of the discrimination pictures which we have or know about. I hope that you will be able to use at least some of them. Your idea of the exhibit sounds quite good.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

Tilly, Mrs. M. E.

WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

150 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS AND LOCAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES

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434 EAST 88TH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

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219 CHESTNUT STREET
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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD PEACE
MRS. R. E. JONES
BOX 103
WAVELAND, MISS.

ECONOMIC RELATIONS
MRS. J. G. LAW
310 LAFAYETTE AVENUE
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INTERRACIAL AND INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS
MRS. DAVID D. JONES
BENNETT COLLEGE
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP
MRS. JOY ELMER MORGAN
4109—17TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

ALCOHOL AND OTHER NARCOTICS
MRS. WILTZ LEDBETTER
1134 DALZELL STREET
SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA

THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY
MRS. L. M. AWTREY
ACWORTH, GEORGIA

March 24, 1948

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
1013 Highland View N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I need some help! We are in the process of getting an exhibit ready for General Conference, and we are wondering if it would be possible to borrow four or five pictures from the number taken by Dr. Ira Reid on transportation discriminations, schools, housing, public rest room facilities, and any other that might point out such things. We would have them " blown up" here and would use them for a couple of days at the exhibit. We couldnt use more than 6. Could you get them for me and send them air mail we must get the exhibit completed within a very few days.

Hope you are feeling fine, Thelma said you looked so much better than you did at the annual meeting. Do take care of yourself.

Love you,

Dorothy

March 30, 1948

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Director
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Your letter of March 23 arrived only today.

Dr. Galen Weaver came by to see me yesterday and I was glad to find that I have the dates of July 6 and 7 open. So I immediately marked the Fisk Race Relations ~~Depart-ment~~ Institute on my calendar. It will be a great privilege to be with you.

I do not know what to say about Mr. Wilson. He has accepted one engagement to come South for me, but later broke it. Some way I have the feeling he is not any too anxious to come to us. He certainly would help with our industrialists if he would consent to do some speaking down here, however.

I see from the last issue of the Monthly Summary of Race Relations that it is one of the manufacturing groups of North Carolina that has started that report about my being "a parasite on the Methodist Church." The fact of the business is that I have never drawn a cent of salary from the Methodist Church in my life and I have for years given the best there is in me to the Church I love.

Thanking you for the invitation and the privilege of being with you at Fisk this Summer, I am

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

DT:eb

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

HERMAN H. LONG, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

March 23, 1948

Mrs. M. E. Tilley
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilley:

We are beginning to set up the schedule of lecturers for the Fifth Annual Institute of Race Relations which is scheduled for June 28-July 16, and are hoping very earnestly that you will be able to visit us again.

We are very anxious this year to have two or three persons whose interest and experience have been in the field of human relations to discuss this whole question of civil rights. This is a matter that is of most importance to the South and to the Nation at this time. Your interest in racial problems and your constructive approach to them encourage me to ask if you will participate during the second week of our Institute, on July 6 and 7, as a lecturer and consultant on civil rights. We should, of course, be glad to have you for as long as your schedule will permit.

Although the Institute is not too richly endowed, we can take care of your travel expenses and hospitality and provide a modest honorarium.

I shall appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

csj/h

Do you think it worth while enough to have Mr. Wilson who is respected as a great industrialist, appear in such a discussion, to drop him a supporting letter for my invitation

Tilly, Mrs. M. E.

June 23, 1948

Miss M. W. Blake
Office of The Editor
The Methodist Woman
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Blake:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 16, advising me of the illness of Miss Brittingham. Please assure her of my best wishes for her speedy recovery.

Also, will you please tell her that I did not send her the copy of the Atlanta Constitution, with the news of the award. My husband was so pleased with the invitation from Miss Brittingham to the Chautauqua

with her that he looked upon her as an old friend and wanted to share with her the joy of this award. My husband and my grandmother have always magnified what I did, and while it is a lovely experience for me, it sometimes proves embarrassing.

Please tell Miss Brittingham that Mr. Tilly will thrill over the notice in The Methodist Woman and that he is apt to embarrass me again by telling everyone he sees about it.

With best wishes to you and to Miss Brittingham,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

DT:eb

THE METHODIST WOMAN
AND
LITERATURE PUBLICATIONS

OFFICE OF EDITOR AND SECRETARY
OF LITERATURE
MISS BETTIE S. BRITTINGHAM
150 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
OF THE
BOARD OF MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION
OF THE METHODIST CHURCH

June 16, 1948.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Miss Brittingham has asked me to acknowledge your thoughtfulness in sending her The Atlanta Constitution account of the recent honor that has come to you. She sends her congratulations and is very happy to put this item in the September issue of The Methodist Woman. She wants all of our subscribers to know of your work and its recognition in Atlanta.

Miss Brittingham has not been at all well. In fact she has been in the hospital for a complete physical checkup. At the present time she is feeling better, and begins to look like herself again.

She sends her very best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

M. W. Blake
Office Secretary

mb

P.S - The September issue has gone to press.

Woman's Society of Christian Service
Florida Conference
The Methodist Church

President
MRS. WALTER H. BECKHAM
461 S. W. 22nd Road
Miami, Florida

Aug. 27, 1948.

My dear Mrs. Tilly:

Your letter in regard to the recent story in newspapers telling of burning crosses in the city of Miami was received. Neither Mr. Beckham nor I have seen the stories and would like further information and copies of the stories. My husband has been in Miami all summer and he knows nothing of the reports. They evidently did not appear in our papers.

We work closely with the Sheriff's office and cooperate with the Chief of Police. I can assure you that as citizens and Church Women we will stand firmly for the right in our Community. We have always

been willing to fight for justice and are glad to stand up and be counted as law abiding citizens.

The Florida Conference will be on the alert and use our influence when ever possible. We are grateful and conscious of the work and study you are giving our problems.

With love & best wishes.

Sincerely
Clara M. Beckham.

HUMAN AND CIVIL RIGHTS MEETINGS

The Southern Regional Council wants to follow through on getting an understanding in the South of the issues involved in human and civil rights.

One way to do this is to keep a record of discussion meetings held on the subject.

If you take part in, or hear of such a meeting, won't you please be good enough to give us, in so far as you can, the following information?

1. The number present_____ Date:_____ Place:_____

2. Who organized, or was responsible for the meeting?
(Names of persons, groups, or organizations)

RECEIVED
OCT 10 8
Southern Regional Council

3. Kind of meeting: (check)

- [x] Round table discussion by leaders?
- [ ] Speakers, covering various phases of the subject, with question period at the end?
- [ ] Meeting divided into workshops to cover various aspects of the subject?

4. Brief summary of discussion, and conclusions, if any:
as you perhaps know, the W.S.C.S. of the Methodist Church has for one of its study courses this year - The Bible & Human Rights. Co presentation of this material for the study & suggested means of presenting it locally was given at the Seminar in each of the eight districts. I was present at only 2. It was not the type of meeting at which action would be taken. It is hoped that action will take place on the local level.

(If additional space is needed, use other side of sheet)

5. Your own comments -- any aspect of the meeting which particularly interested you:

Signed: (Name) Mrs. Herbert Weaver

Address: Statesboro, Georgia.

Meetings held -
Springfield - Sept. 28 - app. 125 attendance (OVER)
Columbus - Sept. 29 " 150 "
Macon - Oct. 7 " 200 "
Wadley - Oct. 8 " 125 "
Douglas - Oct. 6. ? "

I have had no reports on the other 3.

The Council can supply for meetings of this kind either or both of two pamphlets:

"The Condition of Our Rights -- From the Files on Human and Civil Rights in the South" 20¢

"To Secure these Rights," -- a digest of the full Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. 10¢

These pamphlets were planned to fit together and they do. They cost ten and twenty cents respectively, singly or in quantity. We shall be glad to send them quickly anywhere on order.

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MRS. F. M. MULLINO
MONTEZUMA, GA.

VICE-PRESIDENT
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CAIRO, GA.

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ADVISORY COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN
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Woman's Society of Christian Service

South Georgia Conference

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MRS. L. R. BARBER
602 THIRD ST., S. W.
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WAYCROSS DISTRICT
MRS. W. H. MORSE
BROXTON, GA.

RURAL WORKER
MISS ARMINE DAVIS
BAXLEY, GA.

OPEN DOOR COMMUNITY HOUSE
211 TWENTY-SEVENTH ST.
COLUMBUS, GA.

October 14, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia. -

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1948
Southern Regional Council

My dear Mr. Mitchell,

Am I right in thinking that the WSCS of the South Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church makes an annual contribution to the Southern Regional Council?

Would you please send and bill to me the packet of materials on conditions in Georgia — regarding health, education, etc.?

Very truly yours

Blanche Henry Weaver
(Mrs. Herbert Weaver

The Story
of the
President's Committee
on
Civil Rights

RECEIVED
OCT 25 1948
Southern Regional Council

Told by

MRS. M. E. TILLY

The Story of the President's Committee on Civil Rights

By MRS. M. E. TILLY

How the Committee Came to Be

REGARDLESS of the fact that civil rights of our people have now become the football of political factions, it was no political maneuver that brought about the study made this past year by the President's Committee on Civil Rights. I am of the deep conviction that it came about in an orderly course of events in history. Civil rights have never been static and man has ever been in search of peace and security.

Twice before in our history our nation has found it necessary to review the state of the civil rights and to measure the progress that has been made toward its founding dreams and ideals. The first time was during the years between 1776-1791 from the drafting of the Declaration of Independence to the writing of the Bill of Rights. The second time was when the nation was temporarily sundered over whether it could exist half free and half slave and again amendments were added to the Constitution.

Since that time we have had wars and depressions and our population has grown to be more than 140,000,000. It was again time to take stock of our civil rights.

The civil rights statutes in our Constitution are, for the most part, rights secured against governmental interference and the government itself has little authority to

protect the rights of its citizens from other infringements.

The federally secured rights are few and these are in Title 18, U. S. Code. Of these, Section 51 is important for the sections of our country where minority groups have difficulty in participating in federal elections. Section 52, of equal importance, protects the rights of citizens from infringement "under color of law," but this section has been rendered almost useless by the reversal of a conviction under it. For instance, a sheriff, a deputy sheriff, and a town marshal beat a prisoner to death and were tried and convicted in a federal court. The Supreme Court set aside the conviction on the ground that the judge failed to charge the jury that there had to be evidence that the men on trial knew of the existence of a special federal right and had "willfully" intended to deprive the victim of that right. The reversal of this conviction virtually destroyed the usefulness of Section 52 and so weakened the authority of the government to protect the rights of citizens that this is one of the big reasons for the appointment of the President's Committee.

Other things forced the timing of the study. In the aftermath of war, things were happening in all parts of the nation that were bucking and bulging our national fabric. The G.I.s of minority groups, wherever they were, found it difficult to secure jobs and when secured, were faced with discrimination in pay and advancement. The Japanese-American G.I.s found California vigorously enforcing its amended alien land laws, putting in jeopardy the

title of land purchased for American-born children by their alien parents and denying them the right to support their alien parents with money derived from the land.

All these things and others were brought to a climax by the lynching of four people in one state. The governor of the state offered the largest reward ever offered in solving a crime in that state and the F.B.I. stayed in that section for four months, but the grand jury of the county never met to consider anything that may have been uncovered.

This seeming powerlessness of the state to act when a county government failed, caused citizens all over the nation to demand that the Federal Government find ways to strengthen its power so it could come in when a state failed.

The appointing of the Committee was an answer to the ground swell of the anguish of the oppressed and the voices of others whose sense of justice was affronted. So this is the way the President's Committee on Civil Rights came to be.

The Committee appointed was thirteen men and two women, a cross section of the clergy and laymen—Catholic, Protestant, and Jew, labor and management; business, profession, and education; Negro and white.

The Committee at Work

A strong staff of experts, directors of research, consultants, specialists in each area explored, and a secretarial staff of nine people assisted in the work. Letters were sent to 350 individuals and organizations asking for recommendations and suggestions. Lest some source of help be overlooked a call to the people of the nation was given through the press. The 200 answers received aided the work.

When the President issued his executive order—he also issued it to all departments of government—and agencies to co-operate with us in this work and to furnish us with such information or the services of such persons as we required in the performance of the duties. We had valuable assistance from twenty-five departments.

We worked at the task for ten months and for months we met each alternate week for two days in Washington. On the second day we had witnesses before us representing all the minority groups of the nation —the Jew, the Negro, the Mexican-American, the Indian, the Japanese, Panama Canal Zone, Hawaii, Alaska, Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa.

The two basic principles under which we worked were (1) the supreme value, the infinite worth of the individual. From the earliest moment of our history we have believed every human being has an essential dignity and integrity that must be respected and safeguarded. We recognized no aristocracy but the aristocracy of talent and achievement. (2) We interpreted "life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness" to mean all that it implies—security, health, housing, education, the right to work, etc. —and explored these fields with their present limitation and future opportunities.

The Report Issued

The report issued is *NOT A SECTIONAL* report—not aimed at any one

section of our country—for every section was found guilty sometime of disgraceful interference of the rights of people.

There are in our population throughout our land over thirteen million Negroes, five and a half million Jews, one and a half million Mexican-Americans who claim citizenship, and a million more who will not because they cannot get justice in our courts and when trouble arises can appeal to their consul and get protection; there are the Indians and the Orientals—and about twenty-two million people who, because of the color of their skin, national origin, or the faith of their fathers, are limited as to where they can live, go to school, enjoy recreational facilities; who many times receive neither justice nor protection in our courts, are denied work opportunities; a large percentage have little voice in their government.

No, it is *NOT A SECTIONAL* report —much of the report calls attention to discrimination practices in government agencies and departments themselves. Washington, our nation's capital, whose one main business is government, is a synthesis of many of the failings found throughout the country. Washington is the show window of our nation and the report calls on the Capital City to clean house that it might be to all the world a pattern and symbol of democracy.

It is not a *RACE REPORT*—I cannot say emphatically enough, however tragic and serious is the invasion of the rights of minorities in our nation—far more serious is the fact that the infringement of the rights of one group of citizens is but a step

to the destruction of the security and freedom of all of us.

Legislation

As we worked and listened to testimony from every minority group of our nation and studied records made available by twenty-five government departments, we found much that shocked us and made us ashamed, but nothing to shake our conviction that the civil rights of our people cannot be strengthened quickly by the normal process of democratic government, so we recommended legislation. The legislation recommended has brought opposition.

We closed the report resting our hopes upon the character, the vision, the high principle of our people—upon their sense of fairness, justice, and mercy.

Now, What Can We Do?

1. Cleanse our own thinking—the citadel of our thoughts. Let no prejudice, no hatred, no idea of a superior race or nation remain. 'Tis not consistent in a democracy or fitting in a Christian to hold to any idea of superiority. Put the same value on human personality that Jesus did.

2. Be sure we ourselves are not in any way—through fear, lack of courage, or any queer excuse of "expediency," hindering the onward march of democracy. Stand up and be counted.

3. Keep ever watch on our own actions and attitudes lest at any time we fail to measure up. Know that limitations are in the titles of the property we own.

4. Strengthen the school and church—especially the education programs in the

rural church. Increase our missionary giving and work for Federal Aid to Education.

5. Extend the cultural, religious, and educational influence so that it reaches the center of the town (the government) and to its edges. (The edges of the town give me concern—'twas here we found the Columbians. 'Tis here you'll find the "holy-roller" tent or store-front church because our church forgets the outer rim of the town.)

6. Work to make the "climate" of the community such that it will not condone corrupt election practices, brutality of officers of the law, lynchings or riots, travesties of justice, or intimidation.

7. Form study groups on the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Use a measuring line on the practices of our own community. Make public the facts uncovered.

8. Send letters to congressmen urging the passage of legislation.

9. Help our church to face its areas of discriminations and segregations.

10. Work and work and work. It will take the combined effort of the 140 million of us. Believe, believe, believe in the dream of our founding fathers. Sell the dream and the ideal to all we meet until there is an answering response from all of us—and then our nation will be "one nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all."

Woman's Division of Christian Service
Board of Missions and Church Extension
The Methodist Church
Literature Headquarters: 420 Plum Street, Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Free for postage

8-48

36 - Tilly, Mrs. M. E.

MEMORANDUM

February 11, 1949

To: Harold Fleming
From: George S. Mitchell

Mrs. Tilly has been asked to make a broadcast on April 15 in New York City over NBC for a program styled "The Mary Margaret Program."

She is asked to talk about southern problems, and it is understood in advance that her talk will be in good measure in the interest of the Southern Regional Council. The Mary Margaret people assure her that past experience indicates that after such broadcasts gratifying showers of checks arrive upon the organizations described.

Mrs. Tilly wishes to emphasize that in former days, when money was more plentiful, the Council could cheerfully and frequently assemble in the South sociology professors or meetings of editors or other especially effective groups. Also that in lusher days money could be used to assist the struggling little state committees and state divisions.

She will be concerned to explain how difficult it is to obtain money in the South for our causes.

You will see at once that the job is not one of flatly appealing for dough, but is one of putting so skillfully the opportunities of work of our kind in the problems of the South that persons would be moved to assist.

Mrs. Tilly asked me to send a stack of our pamphlets to a certain Miss Janice Devine, 49 West 45th Street, New York. Miss Devine is secretary to Mrs. E. H. Karn, and Mrs. Karn is secretary to the Mary Margaret program (or is it possible that Mrs. Karn <u>is</u> the Mary Margaret program?) Anyway, I have sent the pamphlets.

The broadcast is at 12:45.

Mrs. Tilly, through me, seeks you to assist her in preparing speech. Mrs. Tilly: "We must all work on it."

Unrelated to the Mary Margaret effort will be an appearance by Mrs. Tilly at a luncheon being organized by friends and associates of hers in New York, which luncheon will be attended by numerous people with heavy purses.

36 – Tilly, Miss. M.E.

JONES, KIMBALL & EVERETT
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
LAKE CHARLES, LA.

SAM H. JONES
G. ALLEN KIMBALL
EDWARD EVERETT, JR.

J. NORWELL HARPER

P. O. BOX 1322
PHONE 5796

March 24, 1949

Mrs. Dorothy (M.E.) Tilly, Secretary
Social Relations, W.S.C.S.
The Methodist Churct
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Madam:

Recently I wrote an article which I titled "A Solution to the American Negro Problem" and which appeared in shortened form in LIFE magazine March 14, 1949 under the title "A Southern Solution".

As a member of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, you are undoubtedly interested in this viewpoint which I think is entitled to your study and consideration. I am therefore enclosing a copy of the original article in which no changes have been made and from which nothing has been deleted.

If anything further is needed from me, I shall at all times be glad to furnish the same.

Very truly yours,

SAM H. JONES

SHJ/f

Mrs. C. O. Cook, 810 Ratcliff St. Shreveport, La.

96 - Tilly, Mrs M.E.

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

April 7, 1949

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Attached please find 10 copies of column by the Reverend William C. Kernan which as you know is reprinted in some 1500 labor, religious and other group publications in the country.

I hope that your leading church women locally, and even those on the national scene, will receive additional stimulus from the knowledge that their work is being spread far beyond the borders of this state.

With kindest regards.

Cordially,

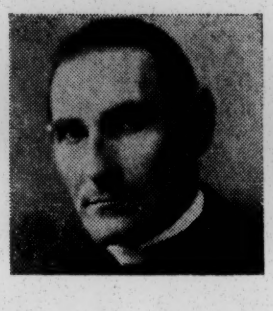
Alex

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw
encl.

CC: Harold Fleming

COPY



The COMMON DEFENSE

by Rev. William C. Kernan—

Vol 4

No. 52

Date: 4/1/49

From INSTITUTE FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, Inc.

369 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Church Women Act

On March 9 the Georgia Council of Church Women convened in Atlanta. They met, not to mouth platitudes about brotherhood, but to face the realities of racial and religious prejudice - and to act.

A report of what they resolved to do is so good that it deserves the widest possible attention - and emulation.

"The work of Christians," the Church Women said, "has its roots in spiritual foundations. The sacredness of human personality and justice in human relations are cornerstones of the Judeo-Christian ideal...This principle of our faith has stood the test of history. The sovereignty of God as the Lord of all life and of all the provinces of life - the economic, the political, the cultural, as well as the moral and spiritual - assures us of all the resources we need.

"The conscience of Georgia must find its expression through us. We cannot hide behind words alone, for faith without works is dead. Unless the church people of our State take part as citizens in their government, we will awake to find that we have lost our political rights, our human rights, and all the rights to which every person is entitled. It is our Christian duty to work for the rights of all, white and black, men and women, persons of all faiths. Each has equal value under the Constitution, which we love and cherish. Each is a child of God.

"We must oppose any and all actions which deny the rights of citizenship...

"The education which we offer our children is shockingly poor. In some schools of our State, there is only one teacher for eighty pupils, and in many cases for that reason the schools are not accredited. Many school buildings are dilapidated, overcrowded, poorly heated, and poorly equipped. Some classes must operate in double shifts, and school busses often make four or more trips a day. Our teachers' salaries, low by any standard, cannot compete with the salaries paid by neighboring States.

"Limited as opportunities are for our white children, our Negro children are even more shamefully treated. Their schools are the poorest of the poor. Their teachers have been the most underpaid. We

cannot pretend to believe in justice and allow such inequality to continue...

"It is good to respect authority when it is properly used. But, where authority trespasses against the way of God, it is our responsibility. We as citizens dictate who shall be in authority and the paths that they must follow.

"Our policemen must not be members of organizations which spread fear and terror. On this day, we have commended the actions of the young men of the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce, who have proposed that all officers of their city take oaths that they are not members of any terroristic organization; and we have resolved to work for similar measures in our own communities. There is no room in a democratic society for those who, wearing hoods and burning crosses, practice hatred and violence...

"'If the foundations be destroyed,' cried the writer of the Eleventh Psalm, 'What can the righteous do?' Are there spiritual foundations in the people of Georgia to sustain the kind of government we ought to have? We are interested in the educational and recreational facilities, the laws, the opportunities, the general structure of government, and the leaders who administer it. It is part of our task as Christians."

Action like that recommended by these Church Women is needed in every community in America. Now is the time! So let's act!

36 - Tilly, Mrs. M. E.

April, 1949
Prepared for Mrs. Tilly
by HCF
met

(for Mary Margaret McBride broadcast)

HOW THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL BEGAN

SRC is only a little more than five years old, but it has behind it the experience and good-will of twenty-five years of interracial activity. One of the parent organizations of SRC was the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, formed shortly after World War I to deal with the alarming racial tensions and Kluxism which were sweeping the South. The Commission, and its affiliate the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, are credited with many of the most important gains in race relations made between the two World Wars.

Toward the end of the 'thirties the need began to be felt for a new approach to a broader democracy. Race prejudice and discrimination in the South are symptoms of deep, underlying social and economic ills; the only real solution lies in bringing the entire population abreast of modern standards in health, education, employment, farming, and culture. Therefore, what was needed was not an exclusively "race-relations" organization, but one that would concern itself with the whole frontier of Southern progress. It was out of this philosophy that the Southern Regional Council was born.

Another completely separate series of events also contributed to the Council's birth. In 1942, a group of Southern Negro leaders came together in Durham, N. C., and drafted a statement setting forth what the Negro expected of the post-war South. The "Durham Statement" was widely hailed as an historic document and served as the basis for subsequent conferences between white and Negro leaders. The final result of these conferences was the chartering of the Southern Regional Council "to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region."

HOW SRC IS ORGANIZED

SRC is a distinctively Southern organization -- in the tradition of the region which produced Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. Its membership, which extends into each of the thirteen Southern states, includes Negroes and whites, men and woman, rural and city people, businessmen and farmers, professional and labor people. It has strong ties, through both membership and financial support, with the various raligious faiths and denominations.

This democratic pattern runs through the entire structure of the organization. The president is a leading Catholic layman. The chairman of the Executive Committee is a distinguished Negro university president. The general counsel is a Jewish lawyer and civic leader. The two field secretaries are active church women, one a Methodist, the other an Episcopalian. And the regional office staff in Atlanta includes both Negro and white employees, who work together without distinctions of any kind. Thus the Council is uniquely fitted to serve as an authentic voice of the region.

In eleven of the thirteen Southern states, there are state-wide units of SRC. Six of these are full Divisions, with local chapters in many towns and cities. The remaining five are state interracial committees which are affiliated with the Council.

SRC belongs to its members. Policy is shaped annually at a meeting of the general membership. As of February, 1949, there were slightly more than 3,000 members. This represents a steady increase over the few years of the Council's existence, but the day is not yet in sight when the organization will be self-supporting. In addition to individual dues and contributions, the Council has received financial support from the Methodist Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Committee of the South, the Julius

Rosenwald Fund, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, and the Marion R. Ascoli Fund. The present challenge is that of rallying new support to the Council from people who understand and value the organization's program. This is largely a problem of making our work widely known, for we are confident that there are hundreds of thousands of Americans who would be willing to help.

WHAT SRC DOES

1. Information program. Makes available the facts about the South through pamphlets, newspapers, speakers.
2. Negro policemen. The regional office has assembled material on the successful use of Negro policemen in the South, and members have used the material to secure their employment in such cities as Atlanta, Memphis, Nashville, Conway (S.C.), and Columbia.
3. Southwide Meeting on Human and Civil Rights. 400 church, civic, and labor leaders from all over the South came together in a white Atlanta church in 1948 and devised ways to strengthen rights at the local level. Persons attending represented eleven Southern states, 52 towns and cities, and 72 organizations. More than twenty follow-up meetings have taken place throughout the South.
4. Anti-Klan Activity. The Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation has aroused public opinion against the Klan, pressed for local ordinances to curb it, and worked diligently to get anti-Klan legislation passed by the General Assembly.
5. Community improvements. SRC groups and members have secured improved facilities for Negroes in many communities. These include parks, swimming pools, schools, paved streets, sanitary facilities, housing, and recreation centers.

6. Advisory Service. SRC serves as consultant to private and official agencies. The Florida Division and the Kentucky Division, in particular, have rendered valuable service to official state bodies.

CURRENT SRC PLANS

1. Southwide Meetings. In the past, SRC has staged highly successful regional conferences of sociologists, editors, and community leaders; these served to build up an informed, unified body of opinion within those groups. Now plans are underway for other similar meetings. The women of the South have always been a valuable resource for regional progress; under Mrs. Tilly's leadership, a Southwide meering of women leaders is being arranged. Another important resource is our young people, and within the year SRC hopes to be able to bring together the youth leaders of the region for study and planning.

2. Home Town Self-Survey. No amount of expert surveying has ever provided a substitute for informed citizen activity. The purpose of the self-survey is to get citizens themselves digging out the facts about their communities, and then setting out to get improvements. This method was highly successful in Jacksonville, Fla., where it has already yielded close to a hundred specific improvements. SRC is promoting the use of the self-survey in towns throughout the South. It offers a manual for the guidance of citizen groups and the services of a qualified advisory person.

3. Other. A manual on the handling of race in the news for Southern newspapermen....A radio forum on Southern problems....A study of ways to get

fair employment....Concentration on the task of getting Negro representation on official bodies....Continuing the regular functions of servicing state groups, issuing timely information to the public, securing additional Negro policemen, cooperating with other organizations in constructive projects.

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CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
HAROLD L. TRIGG, RALEIGH
FOURTH VICE-PRESIDENT
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, NASHVILLE
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

36 - Tilly, Mrs. M. E.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

May 12, 1949

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, field secretary of the Southern Regional Council, will be in Birmingham on ~~April~~ May 19. On that date, she hopes to meet jointly with local SRC members and several leaders of the Alabama Council of Church Women.

As you know, one of the Southern Regional Council's objectives is that of lessening violence and police brutality. I am sure that you are concerned about that continuing problem in Birmingham. Although responsible citizens and groups, such as the Ministers Association, have recently taken constructive action, you and other SRC members in the community could help greatly in devising additional ways to strengthen safety of the person. That will be one purpose of the meeting with Mrs. Tilly and leading church women.

Mrs. L. S. Evins, president of the Alabama Council of Church Women, will advise you of the time and place of the meeting. I sincerely hope you will find it possible to be present.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

hcf/t

36-Tilly, Mrs. M.E.

WALTER WHITE
441 WEST 21ST STREET
NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

December 5, 1949
Dictated Nov. 26

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Alas, I am afflicted with a series of one-night speaking engagements and am home only for Thanksgiving. On December 3rd I will be in Lincoln, Nebraska to fill an engagement at the University and won't be back in New York until the middle of December.

I regret this particularly in view of the desperation of the situation regarding the Southern Regional Council. Here is what I suggest you do. Instead of waiting until I get back to arrange an appointment with Mrs. Field, I suggest you write frankly to Dr. Channing H. Tobias who is a director of the Field Foundation to inquire about the possibility of an emergency grant from the Foundation. If this could be arranged then it would give us a little more time to arrange to get a group of interested and affluent people together to whom you could present the facts.

It is usually not wise to try to arrange such a meeting just before Christmas but on the other hand there is the fact that deductions for income tax purposes might be in our favor. Most people, however, will have already made contributions up to the legal limit for deductability before December 15.

I wish you would talk with Thurgood Marshall and Roy Wilkins when you come to New York on the 3rd about the Ingram case. As you may have heard, I am on leave and don't get into the office as frequently as I used to. On doctor's orders I am trying to avoid as much administrative work as possible during my leave. Mr. Wilkins is acting secretary and Mr. Marshall is still chief counsel.

Ever sincerely,
Walter White

Walter White

Mrs. Dorothy Tilly
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

3C - Tilly, Mrs. M.E.

RECEIVED
JAN 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

Prince George Hotel
at 14 East 28th Street — New York 16, N.Y.
Charles F. Rogers, Jr. — *Manager*

Dec. 31. 1949

Dear Family (as Dr. Mitchell calls us) -
I found my passport awaiting me here at the office of the State Dept. Getting the Visa was an interesting experience. The people at the Consulate of ~~Israel~~ Israel are all from Palestine and natives of it. They call themselves Sabra - a rather snooty title, some what like "Descendants from the Mayflower". The Hebrew jabber was incessant & gesticulating was so rapid, - I dodged several times to keep my eyes intact. I was passed from one person to another but finally got it

You should see my sky-blue zipper bag with Hebrew letters on it - this was given me as a present.

Our ship or rather plane leaves today at 3 P.M. and I spend New Year's Day in Paris.

The mission is two-fold - a view of Civil Rights - and to find the status of the sacred files - about 6 (5 at present unless the 6th finally makes it - his plane was grounded yesterday) will be the group. I'm the only woman.

Happy new year to all of you.

Dorothy Tilly

July 28, 1950

Mrs. S. Reaves Gaston
217 Poplar Circle, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Gaston:

The Southern Regional Council has material that would be of help in the study toward a Christian community. We are sending you a sample packet, attached, and will be able to send you any amount on consignment. The prices of single copies are listed. The total packet, however, ordered as listed, will be just fifty cents.

WANTED: THE SOUTH'S FUTURE FOR THE NATION	$ .20
WANTED: A HEALTHY SOUTH	.20
WANTED: AN EDUCATED SOUTH	.20
HOUSING IN THE SOUTH	.20
MACHINES IN THE COTTON FIELDS	.20
NEW SOUTH, June, THREE DECISIONS	.05
SMALL TOWN SLUMS - HOW TO GET NEW HOUSES	Free
FELLOWSHIP OF THE CONCERNED	Free

With best wishes for a good school of missions.

Yours sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:wgd

Tilly

September 11, 1950

Mrs. J. Roy Jones
5618 Colonial Drive
Columbia 3, South Carolina

Dear Dess:

When I saw that Myrtle Beach was in the front page news, I remembered that you used to spend your summers there, but believe you transferred your summer residence to Junaluska.

However, I am sure you must know a great deal about what happened, and we of the Southern Regional Council would certainly like to get more information about it. Especially would I like to know when the South Carolina Grand Dragon will go on trial. Some of us at the Southern Regional Council might find it possible to be present. If I happen to be the one who will be the spectator, I would certainly like for you to go with me.

With love and best wishes to you always,

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

MET:er

T. 1/4

September 18, 1950

Dr. William Friday
Dean of Students
The University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Friday:

In reply to your letter of September 15, I do not know just what progress can be made in collecting the information about the political campaign in North Carolina. We had hoped that the University of North Carolina might turn its research to this end.

I am sending you a pamphlet about the Southern Regional Council and THE NEW SOUTH which is self-explanatory.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

DT:er
Encl.

Mrs Tilly

October 3, 1950

Mrs. L. S. Evans
216 Princeton
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Evans:

We have a clipping from the Birmingham News which gives a story of your Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces. Of course we are very interested in this and would appreciate it if you would give us further information about it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

DT:er

Toward Better Racial Understanding

Among both white and Negro citizens of this community there are great numbers of men and women of good will and intelligence who are earnestly desirous of dealing with racial relations in constructive ways of justice and progress. But one of the great handicaps in a situation presenting serious and urgent difficulties and dangers has been a lack of adequate means for communication and discussion between representatives of both groups.

This has been one of the most difficult aspects of the problem as a whole. Negroes, especially, have felt they did not have sufficient opportunity for the presentation of their viewpoints to responsible white citizens and officials.

Now comes a development in this respect which holds high promise. For many months a group of white and Negro citizens has been working toward the establishment of an effective inter-racial organization. These efforts have, after long and devoted endeavor, produced a plan for such an organization, which, it is contemplated, will become a division of the Jefferson County Coordinating Council of Social Forces.

That council this week decided to name a committee to study how its constitution should be amended to clear the way for admittance of the inter-racial group.

This group will be under the chairmanship of a white citizen and a paid Negro secretary will be employed to aid in the direction and execution of the program.

* * *

Responsible, influential citizens of both races would cooperate in service to this very important cause.

Funds already have been raised toward the support of an inter-racial group, and it is believed that they can be made available for the proposed division of the coordinating council.

Here is a plan which can lead to service to this community of inestimable value. It is, of course, evident to all our people that racial relations present many grave and sometimes acute problems. The residential zoning controversy immediately suggests itself. It recently led to the bombing of Negro homes in a series of profoundly deplorable and alarming incidents. A functioning inter-racial organization can do much to solve the difficult and delicate questions involved.

But this is only one of the urgent problem areas. Education, suffrage, police and fire protection, health and hospital facilities are among other fields in which matters press for immediate attention.

* * *

Such problems, left to take their course without benefit of constructive and continuous consultation between representatives of both white and Negro citizens, could lead to an intensification and broadening of present tensions and perils.

Dealt with along the intelligent, helpful lines now projected, they can yield a continuation of the encouraging gains in understanding, in cooperation, in progress, in opportunity and in justice which already has been achieved—and which must move onward unless dangerous retrogression is to set in.

This paper, consequently, finds great reassurance and hope in this inter-racial undertaking and urges all our people to give it their active, wholehearted support.

Mrs Tilly has seen
— File

November 21, 1950

Mrs. William H. Hogue
5319 Cherokee
Houston 5, Texas

Dear Mrs. Hogue:

That was very kind indeed of you to send me notice of the service November 19 at the Central Presbyterian Church.

I know the meeting did a lot of good. I have passed the notice on to Mrs. Tilly in the hope that she and others in the Georgia Committee can work out something like it here.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Dr. Blake Smith, Pastor of the University Baptist Church, Austin, Texas, will make the address at the inter-faith, inter-racial, Thanksgiving Service of Worship, sponsored by the Council on Education in Race Relations, Sunday, November 19th, 3:30 p.m. at the Central Presbyterian Church, 5213 Montrose Boulevard. The title of his address will be: "I Have Promises to Keep". Dr. Donald H. Stewart, Pastor of the church will preside. Cantor George Wagner, Congregation Beth Yeshurun, will be the soloist, and Walter Jenkins, with Herbert Rohloff at the organ, will lead the congregational singing.

Dr. Smith is a speaker of great depth and rare magnetism with a background of distinguisned educational attainments and service in the Christian ministry. His appeal to young people is evidenced by the fact that he has been a featured speaker on more than fifty college campuses in the past seven years. Since the beginning of his pastorate in Austin, various activities there have flourished under his leadership, including the new Baptist Student Center. He has reached a radio audience also through his program "Religion in Life". Dr. Smith is a member of the Executive Board of the Baptist Convention of Texas.

Surely this spiritual and democratic meaning of Thanksgiving is dynamic for the citizens of our community and of the nation. We believe that an inter-faith, inter-racial service is uniquely representative of our heritage and a potent expression for the present and the future.

Will you add to its significance by your personal attendance and by telling others? If you are the President of an organization, please give it publicity among your members.

And for your efforts, we send our warm appreciation.

Members of the Council

Ministers Association of Greater Houston
Houston Rabbinical Association
Inter-denominational Ministerial Alliance
Houston Council of Church Women
Jewish Community Council
Young Women's Christian Association
Houston Commission on Inter-racial Cooperation

Info by us

January 2, 1951

Mr. Claude Purcell, Director
Division of School Administration
State Department of Education
State Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Purcell:

We are greatly interested in the press accounts of the survey report, prepared by your office, on the cost of constructing adequate school buildings for Georgia. So far as we know, Georgia is the only Southern State which has actually made such a comprehensive survey.

We would appreciate it very much if you could send us a copy of the complete report. If it is not available from your office, we would be grateful if you could tell us where we might obtain a copy.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Fleming
Research Assistant

CC: Mrs. M. E. Tilly

Tilly

February 12, 1951

Mr. James Chappell, President
Birmingham News-Age Herald
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Chappell:

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, who works closely with the Southern Regional Council, is to be in Birmingham Wednesday, February 14. She is trying to get a clearer picture of the killings by police officials and of the house bombings. She will be working with various people as to a possible course of action.

I will be most grateful for your kindness in advising her.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

BIRMINGHAM AFFAIR

March 8, 1951

Notes on long-distance telephone conversation with Mrs. L. S. Evins. (N.B.: I came in during the conversation, so don't have notes on the first few minutes.)
(filled in by Mrs. Tilly - Mrs Evins had gone to the ploice station to read the big volume on the bombing - but saw she never could read so much - & went back again to see the detective & question him)

Mrs. Evins had gone with two or three other women to see the Captain of Detectives. ...

We asked him a number of questions. He said that the man assigned to the job was not there, but would be there the next day. I couldn't go back. After that, I couldn't get the women together again.

We went down to talk to Mr. Conner. He said they were doing everything they knew and that the case was not closed. He thought that the first bombings were done by white people, but the last two by Negroes. He said he would swear under oath that he didn't know who did the bombings. He mentioned one white man who lives in the community as "being mixed up in it"; I know the man myself and know that he could not be. Mr. Connor said they brought another man they suspected into court, but the judge dismissed the case for lack of evidence. Mr. Connor said investigators had been out of town on 15 leads, but had not been able to run any of them down.

Mrs. Cowan says the police do know who has been doing the bombings.

We talked to the FBI man. He said the only thing the FBI could investigate was whether the Negroes have a right to build where they want to. In the light of Supreme Court decisions, he said they do. The FBI has done nothing on the most recent of the bombings.

Mr. Connor said if the police find who did the bombings, they will be prosecutied to the limit.

Mr. Buchanan (Baptist minister) suggested that a group of women be formed to work on zoning. A committee has already been tried, which met with Negro and white leaders, but the Negroes don't want the land which the whites are willing for them to have; they want to expand toward Birmingham Southern College.

Re the committee which Mrs. Evins had formed: Mrs. Cowan, who works with the Girl Scouts cannot be active because she says if/the Community Chest will cut her off; Mrs. Perry (?) had quit; Mrs. /she is/ Julian Adler is out of town for long periods.

Mrs. Evins said she had planned to do some telephoning today on the matter.

(Mrs. Evins said just before she hung up - "Tell me what to do next.")

REPORT OF FIELD TRIP TO BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA
FEB. 14, 1951

PURPOSE OF TRIP - To find what has been done about the bombing of Negro houses and the killing of Negroes by the police.

This was my second trip on this same errand, and as I did on the first time, I phoned Mrs. L. S. Evins, Preside nt of the Birmingham Council of Church Women and asked her to call a meeting of people interested and who could give us information. Mrs. Evins is a very courageous woman and is quite a leader in the city. She can get a group together with very little notice.

On the morning of the 14th, I had Mrs. R. M. Howell to come to the hotel and have breakfast with me. From her I knew I could get some inside information that I needed to know.

I then had a thirty minutes conversation with Mrs. Evins and she gave me these facts ;-

The Council of Church Women at their meeting just after my first trip, had a serious discussion over what was happening in the city and they called on Mr. Conner, city commissioner (who by the way is a member of Mrs. Evins' church - Mrs. Evins , in the conversation said, "He listens to me better now that he used to") and the City Council to push the investigation of the bombings as they were not satisfied with the efforts being made.

The Council of Church Women also wrote to Dr. Buchanan (pastor of First Baptist Church) president of the Ministerial Association and urged the Ministerial Association to join them in forcing a vigorous investigation.

Dr. Buchanan had replied that he had gone to the police station and read the records on the bombings and he was convinced that they had been done by outside people - Communist, he was sure , therefore the Ministerial Association would take no action.

Dr. Buchanan did suggest that a group of eomen be formed to work on zoning.

Mrs. Evins stated that the Coordinating Council of the Community Chest had set up a committee on race relatio ns , but that she and others who had always worked on these problems were not put on the committee - and she added "The Community Chest group are kind of funny".

THE MEETING -- We met at 10 o'clock in the Y. W. C. A.

Present were -

Mrs. R. C. Bryant,	Mrs. J. C. Inglis,
Rev. W. Prince Vaughn -	Rev. J. H. Coleman
Robert L. Coar,	Rev. J. L. Ware
Mrs. A. W. Plum	Pres. J. King Chandler III - Payne College
Mrs. Julian Adler	Miss Roberta Morgan
A. B. White	Mrs. M. H. Sterne
Mrs. Jordan Cowin	Mrs. L. S. Evins-

All the men were Negroes - and 3 of the women. They were members of many of the organizations in the city and you realized they could be a force in pushing action .

Mrs. Evins told them of the purpose of the meeting - most of them knew me and knew the Southern Regional Council.
She then told them what the Council of Church Women had done and the lack of response

Mrs. Evins asked if others had anything to report.

Mr. Coar reported for the Defense League . He stated his league had appealed to every source it knew - to the mayor, the council, Mr. Conner, the Governor , the FBI and had met with no success - Receiving no replies in some instances.

A general discussion followed - as it suddenly dawned on the white people present, at least that they had just accepted Dr. Buchanan's statement that it was " outside people who had done the bombing, therefore nothing was left for them to do"- Mrs. Evins said, "My goodness, if it is outside people, it is all the more reason we must do something".-- and the group was again stirred and sought ways of action. (When I left them the first trip, I thought they would do something , this time I was too encouraged even if they did seem concerned)

General discussion followed- The Negroes definitely say the police know when the bombing is going to be . One of them stated , she was in her kitchen when she heard the explosion just a block or so away , and by the time she reached her front door, the street was blocked by the police. She stated they had to know it was going to haapen or else they would have been so nearly on the spot.

A man stated that he ran out to his garage and got in his car to hurry a few blocks away to bombing and in the few minutes time lapsed, it seemed as if all the police in the city were on the scene.

THEN DISCUSSION ON THE POLICE KILLING - took sometime. Two Negroes had been killed by the police within the few days before this and I was told "one of them is not even buried yet. It happened so recently".

I suggested they get for me three items - The date of each killing, the name of the Negro killed sand the name of the policeman who killed. This to be printed as a circular and distributed over the city. Mr. Coar promised to get these facts.
Mr. Coar stated that the coroners jury always rendered a verdic of " justifiable homicide" - and 'they might just as well have mimeographed sheets ready to pull out of a drawer as every incident would receive the same verdict . ".

(I had made this suggestion before and it was enthusiasticilly received but no one really followed it up.)

The Negroes seemed to so hopeful because we had had this meeting - and over and over again, Mrs. Evins kept giving apologies for those who wanted to be present but the city was certainly full of meetings on that day.

Mrs. Evins asked Mrs. Morgan of the Coordinating Council what had been done through her organization. Mrs. Morgan said nothing so far - but they (The Chest committee) were forming a Race Relations Committee and she would have to wait until this was done .

With one accord, they told her this was not merely a question of race , it was housing, family welfare , etc . and did not belong with just one committee but should be put before her full council.
(Mrs. Morgam seemed troubled or dazed - I doubt if she is finding herself very free to do anything)

IT WAS DECIDED - that each would take these up with their own organizations -

Mrs. Evins with the church groups, Mrs. Sterne with the University Women and the Jewish Council of Women, Mrs. Cowin with the Business & Professional Women, Mrs. Plum with the Council of Negro Women, the ministers witheir groups , etc. that a concerted effort be made to force the city government to push the investigation.

They decided to go to the city files and read the record on the bombings.

The meeting closed and thanks were sent to the Southern Regional Council for help given and a request that the Council would keep on working with the group/

THE NEWSPAPERS - My interview with the editors was mist gratifying. They were so cordial and appreciative of the Southern Regional Council.

The Newspapers have done the best job of any group that has been working on it. Good editorials have been carried and good coverage to the stories of the bombings.

As to the suggestion that they print the list of the police killing - they were very enthusiastic about the plan as I was told some of the killing were justifiable.

By way of comment I might say that there is little help from the churches- yet they could be the force that the concert of the cityy so great an investigation would just have to be. The Newspaper men taked to me about this. They have some hope in two new Methodist ministers in the city , The Congregational minister has been of help at all times, but his congregation is small. The paper men regretted the loss of Mr. Marmion from the city.

(Mr. Coar told me , Mr. Buchanan, if he would just do it, could corral the churches to enter a campaign of clean-up of the police force and could force Mr. Connor to get busy about these troubles.)

Well, I left rather disturbed. I had had a sense of being in the midst of a group that would like to do something, but did not know how - and also a feeling that they were not free to work.

There is a force in the city that has its grip on every phase of life - the jobs, the institutions, the government .

This report is made on March 8 - delayed because I promised I would not make it until the group that met at 10 o'clock had time to do some further things.

Today I called Mrs. Evins again and over the phone got the attached story from her - This waxtaken down by Beth Rogers as she listened over another phone. (I think it justifies my foreboding that little would be done - and my feeling that except for Mrs. Evins and the Negroes in the group no one was free to do anything

Dorothy Tilly

Tilly - Colliers Article

March 13, 1951

Mr. W. D. Dunlap, Associate Editor
New Dawn
217 Lincoln Building
Kansas City 8, Missouri

Dear Mr. Dunlap:

Mrs. Tilly, who is our Secretary for Woman's Work, has asked me to answer your good letter of March 8. She greatly appreciates the interest of New Dawn in her work.

As to the Collier's article, it is perfectly satisfactory with Mrs. Tilly for any of that material to be used. However, it is our impression that Collier's holds the copyright to the article and that their approval would be necessary for any reproduction of it.

Enclosed is the latest copy of our monthly bulletin, New South, which carries a progress report on the Fellowship of the Concerned. As a matter of possible interest, I am also enclosing a list of the Council's publications, some of which might be useful to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:er

NEW DAWN

The People's Magazine

217 Lincoln Bldg. 1618 E. 18th St. VA 5572

KANSAS CITY 8, MO.

March 8, 1951

Mrs. Milton E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Madam:

Under seperate cover, I am mailing you a copy of New Dawn, a Negro monthly magazine circulationg in the greater Kansas City area.

In the Dec. 30, 1950 issue of Collier's Weekly, there was printed a very comprehensive article about you and the outstanding work of your organization. We feel that further publicizing of this work in the area we serve will greatly enhance the promotion of better public relations. We desire to publish a rewrite of the above-mentioned article.

Collier's referred us to your New York agent to whom we wrote two weeks ago. To date we have received no answer. A direct release from you will be more effective. We are prepared to print a full account with all accompanying pictures. We also would like a coverage story on the work of the Negro Women's Clubs or the home for delinquent women which was mentioned. Such significant public service carries a message that is needed here in Missouri and we know our publication can be effective in presenting it to the people in this area.

I further offer you congratulations for the final passage of the Anti-Klan bill in your state, which action took place since the publication in Collier's of your work. We know that action resulted from groundwork of your organization.

Trusting to hear from you soon and expressing our appreciation for your fine leadership and courage in such a worthy cause, I remain

Yours truly,

W.D. Dunlap

W.D. Dunlap
Associate Editor

Colliers Article
Fellowship of Concerned leaflet
" " " Pledge
Feb 1951 New South

Tilly

March 19, 1951

Mr. Hans Ebeling
Persbureau "Holland"
Albrecht Durerstraat 27
Amsterdam
TheNetherlands

Dear Mr. Ebeling:

Mrs. Tilly, our Secretary for Woman's Work, has asked me to answer your information request of February 12. She appreciates your interest in her work.

We are sending you separately a picture of Mrs. Tilly and literature describing her work with the church women of the South.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:er

PERSBUREAU „HOLLAND"

HOLLAND PRESS CORRESPONDENCE
CIFRA GRAFICA INTERNATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHS

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ALBRECHT DURERSTRAAT 27
TELEFOON 25267

MRS DOROTHY TILLY,
Southern Regional Council
63, Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia, USA

Dear Mrs Tilly,

For a story on you and your work we should like to have a good photograph of you and possibly of your work too, as well as some backgroundmaterial. You may be interested to know, that we are handling UNO=publicity for Holland and Belgium in the periodical press. We will gladly send you a copy of the weekly with the story in it and meanwhile remain, thanking you beforehand for anything you might be able to do,

Yours very sincerely,
PERSBUREAU "HOLLAND"
(Hans Ebeling)

Tilly article in Collier's

May 4, 1951

Circulation Department
Collier's
Crowell-Collier Publishing Company
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

Is it possible for us to get twelve copies of the issue of Collier's which carried the article on Mrs. M. E. Tilly by Helena H. Smith? I believe it was the last issue of December, 1950.

If you will let us know the cost, we will be happy to forward a check.

If as many as twelve copies are not available, we would appreciate knowing how many we might be able to get.

received 5/17/51

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Rogers
Secretary to the Executive Director

ER/s

May 2, 1951

Mrs. Thomasina W. Norford
Minority Groups Consultant
U.S.E.S., U.S. Dept. of Labor
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Norford:

I am happy to send you a copy of the Collier's article on Mrs. Tilly.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:er
Incl.

Tilly Article

IN REPLY REFER TO

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF EMPLOYMENT SECURITY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE SERVICE

April 26, 1951

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information, NEW SOUTH
63 Auburn Avenue , N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your February, 1951 issue of NEW SOUTH mentioned an article in Collier's magazine which had featured Mrs. M. E. Tilly. We would like to know if you have reprints of this article and if not could you advise us in which issue of the magazine we may find it.

Sincerely yours,

Thomasina W. Norford

(Mrs.) Thomasina W. Norford
Minority Groups Consultant

article in Collier's re Mrs. T.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

WASHINGTON

January 10, 1951

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I appreciate your sending me the article about the work of Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Georgia. I look forward to reading it.

Sincerely yours,

Anna M. Rosenberg

Anna M. Rosenberg

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 19 1951
Southern Regional Counc

Tilly article

JOHN HAY WHITNEY FOUNDATION
30 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
NEW YORK 20, N.Y.

January 9, 1951

Dear George:

Many thanks for your letter of December 28 and the attachment. It does seem that the author has gone a little overboard but I think the subject is worthy of the attention which such an article will attract to her.

With best wishes for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

Bob.

Robert C. Weaver
Director
Opportunity Fellowships

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RCW:gbl

RECEIVED
JAN 11 1951
Southern Regional Council

Tilly art.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 3, 1951

Dear George:

Many thanks for sending on to me the interesting article from Collier's about Mrs. Tilly.

Cordial New Year's greetings!

Sincerely,

Phil

PHILLEO NASH

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1951
Southern Regional Council

I hfo rey by cw

August 6, 1951

Mr. Henry Bitterman
Division of Research and Statistics
Department of the Treasury
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bitterman:

In a recent conversation with Dr. Ernst Swanson of Emory University he indicated that you might be able to direct me to information which I need.

I understand that a fairly recent study of hidden taxes has been made, possibly by some "Washington group"; if you could tell me from such vague information what work I am referring to or if you could refer me to another competent analysis in this field it would be greatly appreciated.

I am also looking for recent regional or state(for southern states specifically) breakdowns of income by classes, and for a state or regional breakdown of consumer expenditure by income group and item.

Any attention that you may be able to give these problems will be of great help.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Research Assistant

PW

RECEIVED
AUG 27 1951
Southern Regional Council

Hotel Gramercy Park
52 Gramercy Park North
New York

August 25, 1951

Dear George,

Thanks for your letters of Aug. 20 and 21.

I am very sorry that we were turned down by J. & J. I phoned Bob Dixon and asked for a reconsideration but Dixon said it would be useless — that he went to bat for us but was over-ruled by Gen. Johnson himself. The General believes we are in a depression whether we know it or not and he is curtailing all around. A friend of mine Ted Heffron was just let out and he was getting $15,000 a year. Dixon says he will try again next year.

While in N.Y. I worked on a prospect which may give us $500

(over)

but I won't know the outcome until about Sept 15. I think it is a 50-50 chance.

I told you that Stitch wrote giving a definite promise to help us - I believe around Nov. 1. - I think he will give us $1,000. I hope I'll hear something from Spellman; also Dave McDonald. Lets hope the U.A.W. will come across at their Oct. meeting. Hope you saw Starling and that he will go to bat for us.

I heartily endorse the idea of holding our meetings Dec 11 & 12. To hold them, as usual, in Nov. would be foolish. I hope we'll have now something from Ford by early Dec.

I called by to see Tobias but he was on vacation. Had a good talk with his secretary but did not tell her our story. She said that Tobias would return briefly after Labor Day and

- . . -

Hotel Gramercy Park
52 Gramercy Park North
New York

leave on the Crescent for Atlanta, arriving there Sept 5 & staying until the next day. He will be guest of Dr. Richardson of Gamma. I suggest you get in touch with Tobias thru Richardson and tell him our desperate situation.

I'll be in Boston at the Statler Hotel until next Friday (August 31) After that I'll be home until after Labor Day.

Best.

Paul

Fell w Concerned

October 8, 1951

Miss Lillian A. Windham
Board of National Missions
Presbyterian Church
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Miss Windham:

Our Fellowship of the Concerned is not organized with chairmen. Merely individual women or groups of women form local societies and agree to sit in courts. We feel that as they sit in the court room they will find a new field of service open to them.

We are enclosing a leaflet on the Fellowship of the Concerned, a signature blank, and a bulletin.

We would like very much to have some of your women in both the Jackson, Mississippi, and the Columbia, South Carolina, area to add to our list.

Our files show that we sent you a similar letter July 15.

Sincerely,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

DT:ec
Encls.

Board of National Missions
of the Presbyterian Church in the
United States of America
156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

October 4, 1951

OCT 8 1951
Southern Regional Council

New South
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Altanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This is just a note to follow up our letter of July 12 to ask whether it was received and if so, whether you can provide us with the information requested. Our letter read as follows:

"We were very much interested in noting in the article, "Church and Conscience in the South" in the February issue of NEW SOUTH, the accomplishments of the women known as "Fellowship of the Concerned."

Since we have National Missions' schools near Columbia, South Carolina, and Jackson, Mississippi, two of the cities mentioned in the article, we are wondering if you could provide us with the names of the chairmen in these places? We would like to establish contacts between the executives of these schools and the local groups of the fellowship in the hopes that they could work together in developing more interracial contacts for the schools."

Very sincerely yours,

Lillian A. Windham

Lillian A. Windham
Assistant Secretary, Department
of Educational and Medical Work

LAW:jmd

F of Rec

September 6, 1951

Mr. J. M. Tydings
The Lincoln Institute
Lincoln Ridge, Ky.

Dear Mr. Tydings:

Mrs. Tilly will be in the Louisville area from Monday, October 1, through Thursday, October 4, for some adult group conferences of Methodist people in Kentucky.

During this fall and winter we want to spread the activity of the Fellowship of the Concerned more widely. Instead of trying to call the leading churchwomen to Atlanta for a meeting, Mrs. Tilly is willing to go about, State-by-State, and try to get it moving actively in each one.

She and I have both wondered whether advantage could not be taken of her Louisville visit, both to push the Fellowship of the Concerned and to convene for its ordinary purposes either a Board meeting or an annual membership meeting of the Kentucky Division of SRC.

Her easy free day is Friday, October 5.

Her friend Mrs. Golden Davis, at Puritan Apartments in Louisville (though not yet asked) would probably be willing to take on the matter of pulling together Kentucky women who have signified an interest in the Fellowship of the Concerned. There are several hundred of these. There would be help in calling the meeting also from the YWCA and the Bonai B'rith people, both of whom are sharetakers in the effort. Mrs. Tilly's guess is that maybe one hundred churchwomen, by far the greater part of them white, could be assembled in or near Louisville.

We would send out a mailing to all the Kentucky ones from here, and Mrs. Tilly's Louisville friends would be active in shaping up the gathering of the churchwomen.

Does it seem to you and others in the Kentucky Division suitable and feasible to convene for that same day (or that evening) a gathering of the Kentucky Division which Mrs. Tilly could be present at? The two

things are different sides of the same nickel.

Mrs. Tilly is a mighty good inspirator for a divisional meeting or, of course, for a Board meeting too.

The Fellowship of the Concerned will be working on law enforcement and court and police proceedings.

What do you think?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

green copy (Tilly)

January 24, 1952.

Mrs. Wm. C. White
Methodist Parsonage
Okeechobee, Florida

Dear Inez White;

Surely it is important enough for you to go to Groveland to find out about the lady. Just send the bill to me - Southern Regional Council and we will be more than glad to reemburse you - with the sincerest of thanks.

A heart full of love to you always from.

Dorothy Tilly

Mrs. Wm. C. White
Methodist Parsonage
Okeechobee, Fla.

Jan. 15, 1951

Dear Mrs. Lilly,

It is good to be writing you again for any reason whatsoever.

At Assembly last summer I tried to get some information from the Groveland young folks but do not feel I can say it is authentic. I know the pastor there and a few Methodist folks but am sure no one would give me an opinion in a letter - it is too much like "dynamite". I am C & R for the state for Council of Church Women but their funds do not permit my going there. If you and Dr. Mitchell think it important enough I could make a side trip there at not too much expense out of Florida Division C&R funds when I go to Jax. on Feb. 5th & 6th.

Sincerely,
Mrs. White

THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF ATLANTA

ATLANTA 2, GEORGIA

March 17, 1952

In re: "Werner" Max Michael Makowski

Werner Max Michael Makowski was employed by our Bank on June 18, 1951, eight days after his arrival in this country from Germany.

Mr. Makowski came to us well recommended by the Rheinpreussen G.M.B.H., Homberg, Ndrh. Germany, and by the Rheinisch - Westfalische Bank, Duisburg, Deutsche Bank, Duisburg, Germany, his former employers, as well as by those persons given as his personal references.

Mr. Makowski was assigned to the Consumer Credit Department and was promoted to Senior Clerk in that department on September 1, 1951, as a result of the excellence of his work. On February 1, 1952, in order that his banking experience might be broadened, he was transferred to our Transit Department as a Senior Clerk. In both of these assignments, Mr. Makowski did an exceptionally fine job and was rated by his supervisors as an excellent employee. He was most cooperative and loyal, and displayed at all times a great deal of initiative in his assignments. His work was of the highest caliber. His record for attendance and punctuality was perfect. He was earnest and aggressive, and seemed eager to do and to learn. Altogether, Mr. Makowski, during his nine months of employment, was far above average in his job performance.

It was with genuine regret that on March 14, 1952, we had to ask Mr. Makowski for his resignation due to his stand as a conscientious objector insofar as the draft was concerned. It was not felt that bank policy would permit the maintenance on our payroll of one so classified when employees of long standing were being called into the Army.

This is no reflection at all on the character, the integrity, the loyalty, or the job performance of Mr. Makowski. He is a personable young man of excellent capabilities, and his character, we feel, is above reproach. Were it not for his stand as to his draft status, which was incompatible with bank policy, he would still be in our employ.

McCay C. Campbell

McCay C. Campbell, Jr.
Personnel Director

MCC:ehg

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Tilly

July 11, 1952

MEMO TO GSM

From: Mrs. Tilly

Fulton Executive Committee decided it did not want to do anything to perpetuate a segregated lunch room at Terminal Station.

Dr. Maynard Jackson said the porter had been asked by him to refer any Negroes traveling through Atlanta who wanted a meal to go to a certain tea room near by.

Mr. Tilly went to see the tea room and says it is very nice.

Attached see letter from Dr. Jackson to Mr. Siegel.

Please return this letter
D-R J -

June 30, 1952

Mr. H. B. Siegel, Manager
Atlanta Terminal Station
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Siegel:

It has been brought to the attention of the Fulton County Interracial Committee of which I am Chairman, and of several other social agencies in Atlanta that the facilities for Negro travelers at the Terminal Station are much below the average. One of the last communications comes from a government representative who had his dinner in the Terminal Lunchroom for Negroes.

All these things tend to give poor introduction to Atlanta among the traveling public and we are asking that you will grant an appointment to several representatives of Atlanta and other Georgia cities to discuss this matter with you and see what can be worked out.

Cordially yours,

Dr. Maynard H. Jackson

SRC — Staff Memos

MEMO TO MRS. TILLY May 8, 1952

Too early as yet for you to give me any report on the Terminal Station restaurant matter that Tom Campbell raised?

GSM

March 20, 1952

Mr. Tom Campbell
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Many thanks for your letter. Mrs. M. E. Tilly is secretary of the Georgia Interracial Committee, and the Fulton County Interracial Committee works as part of it. Atlanta is in Fulton County. So I have asked Mrs. Tilly to unlimber her forces on the Terminal Station.

She tells me that the restaurant problem there is an old one but that, believe it or not, some headway has been made as against what used to be.

I will let you know what her people find it possible to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Tilly

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
202 FIFTY SIXTH STREET WEST
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

October 15, 1952

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1952

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I was delighted to hear from you and delighted with the article and the work it describes.

With many thanks and all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

The Christian Science Monitor
AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER
Published by The Christian Science Publishing Society
One, Norway Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT

December 18, 1952

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Many thanks to you for your kindness in sending your photograph. I have turned the story, the pictures, and the additional material you sent me over to the American News Department, hoping that in addition to my article, they may include one or two quotes in a little box from the extra information you kindly sent.

When the story is published, we shall see that you have copies of it.

With every good wish for your splendid project and for your own happiness at Christmas and through the coming year,

Sincerely yours,

Jessie Ash Arndt

JAA:ecl

Jessie Ash Arndt
Woman's Editor

36 Tilly, Mrs A.E.

MRS. JOHN M. HANNA

3307 DREXEL DRIVE · DALLAS 5, TEXAS

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:-

With apologies for this ribbon may I answer your welcome letter of the 14th about your intended visit to S. M. U. August 2-4. We have no local Commission at this time but quite an active, but small, Texas Commission of which Mrs. Crate of Houston, a member of your Council, is President. I should hope you might come that way and have a talk with her. She attended the recent Council meeting in Atlanta and reported back to our State group. So far they have decided on an associate relationship with the Council but want to retain their present name and set-up. Mrs. Crate's address, Mrs. James S. Crate, 2410 Inwood Drive, Houston 6, Tex. You are probably already in touch with Mrs. Crate and also know our State Treas. Mrs. J. L. Brock 609 N. Washington, Bryan, Texas.

Now about your visit here; There are reasons why we are slow in reOrganization of a Dallas Commission and there are several groups at work in Dallas who keep up some interest. You may know Miss Alice McLarty who is directing several small Bethlehem centers in several Negro sections in Dallas. She is one of your Meth. deaconesses and was close to Mrs. Smith for years. Then your Council has Dr. Wesley C. Davis of the S.M.U. School of Theology who has a group of interested Methodists. Then a few keenly concerned individuals. I talked to both Miss McLarty and Dr. Davis last evening and they feel we can bring together a group, rather small perhaps on account of vacations, etc. who would be interested in having your suggestions. Dr. Davis teaches each morning except Monday and thinks an evening mtg. would not be wise. Not knowing your Dallas schedule we can make no plans until we know when you will be available, but if you can indicate any free time or give me someone in Dallas with whom we can plan. we will be happy to do what we can. Dr. Davis said the afternoons are free for him and that he felt sure we could have a meeting place at S. M. U. We are having real summer now and all things considered the mornings would be better.

I shall try to get in touch with Dean Hawks who is leaving for Amsterdam, I believe, but thought best to write now and hear further from you. It will be indeed a pleasure to see you again. Neither can lose our interest in race at this serious time.

Awaiting your further advices, As ever,

Faithfully your friend,

Sallie R. Hanna

Mrs. John M. Hanna

MRS. M. E. TILLY

SERVICE IN THE CHURCH -

Local — has served as director of children's work; Supt. of Primary, Junior and Intermediate departments; steward; teacher of Woman's Bible Class for years.
Now serving as teacher of Woman's Bible Class

Conference -- Board of Missions and Church Extension since 1935.
Delegate to General Conference - 1939 (ME Church South); Uniting Conference and Conference at Atlantic City; delegate to Jurisdiction Conference 1940 — 1944 — 1948

First Woman Trustee of Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia

Under Woman's Missionary Society - many office locally
In Conference -- Secretary of Atlanta District; Secretary of Children's Work; Secretary of Promotion and Cultivation; Member of Woman's Missionary Council;
Now Serving As - Chairman of the Finance Committee of the WSCS, N. Ga. Conf.; and Secretary of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities, S. E. Jurisdiction.
Member of Genral Board of Temperance (since 1940)
Teacher under General Board of Education.

IN THE CITY OF ATLANTA AND FULTON COUNTY -

Member of Fulton County Board of Price Control and President of Consumer Council all through the war years.
Now serving as a member of Board of Directors of Goodwill Industries; Atlanta Urban League; Industrial Committee of the YWCA; Emory University - Brazil Project; Board of Atlanta Council of Church Women; Chairman of Fulton County Interracial Committee.

IN THE STATE -

Chairman of Georgia Committee on Cause and Cure of War - interim between the World Wars.
Represented Georgia on National Conference on Cause and Cure of War.
Secretary of Georgia Emergency Peace Commission.
Now serving as - Director of Rural Health Conference (since 1946); serving on special commission on Human Relations appointed by the Governor;
Chairman of International Relations, Georgia Council of Church Women; Member of Executive Committee of Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation;
Board of Directors of Georgia Conference on Social Welfare.

SOUTHWIDE -

Served as chairman of area Conference on Cause and Cure of War; Secretary of Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching; Director of Mobilization Conference for 16 women's organizations (1945)
Director of Conference on Human Rights and World Order (1947)
Chairman of Conference on Civil Rights - Church, Southern Regional Council, and other organizations - 1948
Board of Directors of Commission on Interracial Cooperation
Field Secretary of Southern Regional Council (1944 - now serving).

NATIONAL -

Served on National Commission on Race; President Truman's Civil Rights Committee; as Acting-Director of committee on Emergency Food Production in Washington, 1944; American Palestine Committee; National Commission on Children and Youth of the Children's Bureau; National Housing Commission; Commission on Migrant Labor.
Race Relations Committee of the Federal Council of Churches;
Executive Committee of Americans for Democratic Action.

Was called to Detroit to be one of those to listen to the hearings for the Automobile Workers and General Motors; was sent by the Jewish Community of Atlanta to their national conference at Atlantic City, 1946.

Served as administrator of Funds for Relief of the Strikers in Chevrolet-Fisher Bodies plants during the strike period in Atlanta.

Elected as "Woman of Achievement in the South in World Peace" by women of the Southeast for the Southeastern Women's Exposition held in Atlanta April 28 - May 2, 1948. Five "Women of Achievement" in various fields were so honored. Mrs. Tilly received her award of merit on May 1.

~~Hyde~~
Terence Luce
Chase

July 22, '47

Dear Dr. Will,

I had lunch with Bill Howland, Time etc., today, and I asked him if he knew where we could get money for the police thing.

He thought Luce might be interested, and undertook to arrange for a letter from me to Luce to have personal attention.

The idea would be to ask Luce either to put up part of the money himself, or tell us where we could get the rest.

Should I move on this, or should I wait to hear from your interviews?

I couldn't see Gordon Gray, on account of time of driving to vicinity of Winston-Salem, but I've written him to ask for an appointment.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

Foundation requests
Henry R. Luce

October 24, 1947

Mr. Henry R. Luce
Editor, TIME Magazine
Time and Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Luce:

In connection with our letter to you of August 1 to which Mr. Kip Finch replied, I take pleasure in sending you a couple of copies of the results of some exploratory work by the Council in the field of police administration in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Attachment

GSM:ee

Foundation Request
Henry Luce

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

JOSEPH L. EGAN
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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LT57 DL PD=CD NEWYORK NY 2 144P

TU ATLANTA

GEO S MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR=SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
INC RM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST TU ATLA=

DO NOT BELIEVE TRIP TO NEW YORK NECESSARY. SUGGEST YOU CONTACT TIME'S ATLANTA BUREAU HEAD, WILLIAM HOWLAND, 901 RHODES-HAVERTY BUILDING, PEACHTREE STREET, WHO CAN RELY MATERIAL FOR POSSIBLE INTEREST EDITORS=
E C K FINCH ASSISTANT TO HENRY R LUCE.

901.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

COPY

August 1, 1947

Mr. Henry R. Luce
Editor, TIME Magazine
Time and Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, New York

My dear Mr. Luce,

In one form or another this Council has been working at Southern problems for twenty-five years. We are a careful and a factual outfit, with good friends scattered over the South.

We want to undertake a project for getting better police administration in the South. It will take some money, and I make bold to ask if you would be interested in giving us some or all of the needed funds.

The project is duly written in a four page statement, which I take it you are too busy to read. Very briefly:

> Within the last few years a number of Northern cities have made preventive work in race relations a part of police administration. Training schools for policemen, wide use of Negro police, special procedures when extensive trouble is threatened, and so forth. Hardly a whiff of this has reached the South. We need it. We will take it up much the sooner if it is someone's business to push it.
>
> No Southerner interested in this has wide knowledge of the Northern results and of Southern police officialdom.
>
> The Council would like to take on some carefully chosen white Southerner, preferably drawn from police circles, who would for nearly a year

travel to Southern towns, cities, county seats, making the acquaintance of Mayors, Directors of Public Safety, County Commissioners, sheriffs, chiefs, and others. He would be advantaged by prior visits made by a Negro representative, who would pick up the story locally as the police protection for Negroes, and give the layout to the white inquirer. The experiences of various cities, particularly in the use of Negro policemen, would be passed on to other cities.

After about a year of such travel, the best method of further work would shape up. It might be by pamphlets, articles, and conferences. It would seem wise to unlimber local citizen pressure, which could be done effectively. One useful method would be an annual award, available for each of three years, to the police officer in the South, who had done an outstanding job in protection of civil rights. Such an award, we are advised, would need to be a thousand dollars. Citations would be given to eight or ten others, the candidates to be passed on by State Committees, which we think we could get Superior Court judges to head. The award would have the incidental, but important, function of making easier the establishment of friendly relations on the part of the visiting representatives of the Council.

The two representatives would have to be engaged for two years each. The award should run for three years, at the least.

We figure the whole cost at $37,300.

We think this is a practical way to get improvement rapidly. If it interests you, I am sure you will see changes in the method which will get a better job done. Will you be good enough to write us whether you find it worth your further inquiry? We have pamphlets galore about the Council, and lists of its supporters, and more about this project. I would of course be happy to come to New York for more explanation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

Foundation requests
Henry Luce

October 16, 1947

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond 22, Virginia

Dear Paul:

August 1, 1947 I wrote Mr. Henry Luce a two-page letter giving a compressed version of the police project. "We figure the whole cost at $7,300".

A little later Mr. Luce's assistant, Mr. Kip Finch, wrote me a not un-encouraging letter to the effect that the matter would be brought to Mr. Luce's attention and I would hear further as to whether they wished to know more about it.

I then wrote Mr. Finch and offered to go to New York and explain whole project. After some delay he sent me a wire in early September saying, instead of coming to New York tell our Atlanta man, Bill Howland, about it. I gave Howland a copy of the full project proposal as enclosed herewith.

I have heard nothing more; neither has Bill Howland. If you will go, complete-project-proposal-in-hand, to Finch that will help. Possibly, he will arrange opportunity for you to talk with Mr. Luce.

I enclose for your further use, if needed, our latest results on police in Southern cities. This is to show that we are into the business.

The South is in these months, on the turn to doing better in these police matters. If we can go into it vigorously now we will greatly strengthen and spread the movement.

I find I did not in my original letter to Luce suggest anything less than his full financing of the complete project. I do believe we can get some money from the Rockefeller Foundation, but the more from Luce the better.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures 2

Foundation Requests
Henry Luce
(Police Project)

August 14, '47

Mr. E. C. K. Finch
Time, Inc.
Time and Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Finch,

Thank you for your letter of August 12.

Would you be good enough to name a date early in September when I might be in New York to hand in the full Police Project, and answer any questions that might arise? I am free from September 2 to 6, and from the 16th on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Foundation Requests
Luce

TIME
INCORPORATED

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

August 12th, 1947.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In Mr. Luce's absence from the office I am acknowledging your recent letter asking for a contribution to the Southern Regional Council.

I expect to review with Mr. Luce his contributions for the last half of 1947 within the next several weeks and you may be sure that your request will be given every consideration at that time.

Cordially,

E. C. K. FINCH
Assistant to
Henry R. Luce

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Time, Inc.
(Larsen)

TIME
INCORPORATED

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 20

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

June 1, 1950

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of May 29. Mr. Larsen is out of town and will see your letter on his return to the office.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy D. Parke

Dorothy D. Parke
Secretary to Mr. Larsen

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Time, Inc. (Larsen)

May 29, 1950

Mr. Roy Larsen
Time-Life-Fortune, Inc.
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Larsen:

I thought perhaps you would find it worthwhile to go through this newly done Survey of the Negro Community at Greenville, South Carolina, which our Council was instrumental in getting done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Time, Inc.
(Larsen)

April 21, 1950

Mr. Roy Larsen
Time-Life-Fortune, Inc.
Rockefeller Center
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Larsen:

Most kind of you to take the call at the airport.

Here is the Herald-Tribune story, of which we are very proud.

We are struggling to keep going a movement that is central to all good purposes in the South. If you can get us some help, we will be deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.: 6

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QUARE

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...mes.

...t's fun for the youngsters, ...oo," the Rev. Mr. Mallard said. "They look forward to playing in the scene."

Miss Norris said the live Nativity scene would be enacted Thursday and Friday nights from 7:30 p. m. to 9:30 p. m.

G. A. Towns Dies; Taught At Atlanta U.

George A. Towns, educator and former professor at Atlanta University, died at his home at 594 University Pl., NW, late Tuesday night. He was 91.

He was the father of Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, who for the past 18 years has been executive director of the Atlanta Urban League.

Born in Albany in 1870, he enrolled in Atlanta University at the age of 14. After graduation he entered Harvard University and was graduated with highest honors.

For 27 years he was professor at Atlanta University in the science and English departments, and was coach of the university's debating teams for many years. Upon his retirement, he was called to Fort Valley as assistant to the president of Fort Valley College.

He later became acting president and remained until the school became a state institution.

He is survived by his wife, the former Nellie McNair, whom he married in 1900; sons, George Towns Jr., Oakland, Calif., and Myron B. Towns, of Nashville, Tenn.; another daughter, Mrs. Percy Jenkins, of Brooklyn, N.Y.; seven grandchildren and three great-grandchildren.

Funeral services will be at 11:30 a.m. Friday at the First Congregational Church, the Rev. Homer McEwen officiating. Burial will be in South View Cemetery. The family requests donations be made to the Atlanta University Alumni Association Fund.

• New Co
• 4 Ways
Longer

PAY ON

SEE
FURNI

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US
EA

September 30, 1953

Mr. Howard Tolley
705 Cafritz Bldg., Eye Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Howard:

We have just lately put this out. Object: to bring the argument down from the closed-door offices of Southern State officials and get it into the homes of the people. Object of that: avoid confusion when the decision comes out.

I've been trying hard to get it moved about, and used by local discussion groups.

Sincerely,

GSM/allo
enclosure

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

December 15, 1953

Rev Fr M A Tognocchi, S D B
Catholic Mission
Jowai P O
Assam - India

Dear Father Tognocchi:

Here is a poor battered dollar in response to your appeal of November 27.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure: $1.00 currency

Rev. Fr. M. A. Tognocchi, S. D. B.
Catholic Mission,
JOWAI P. O.
Assam—India

RECEIVED
NOV 27 1953
Southern Regional Council

Dear friend,

This is an appeal! I need money! I am working in one of India's famine-stricken areas, trying to uplift a portion of poor, suffering humanity. If you can help, even in a small way, it will be greatly appreciated.

If you are not in a position to do so, then consider this letter as not addressed to you; tear it or pass it on to a friend and whisper a little prayer that some-body else may step in and make my work, stamp and hope worthwhile!

Thanking you in anticipation and promising my prayers, I remain,

Yours gratefully,

M A Tognocchi

RECEIVED
APR 9 1954
Southern Regional Council

Rev. Fr. M.A. Tognocchi, S.D.B.
Catholic Mission
JOWAI P.O.
Assam — India

February 17th.,1954.

Dear Mr.Mitchell,

I am in receipt of your kind letter of December 15, 1953. and thank you most heartily for your prompt and generous response to my appeals.

My gratitude is deep and heartfelt particularly due to the fact that similar appeals must be of every day occurence and also because your high position must leave you very little time for extra activities. Accept therefore my sincerest thanks and my daily prayers.

Conditions have slightly improved during these last two months and I hope there will be a steady improvement in future.

Your needs, plans and hopes will be daily remembered by me and my little brownies.

May God ever bless you and prosper all your undertakings.

Very gratefully yours,

M. A. Tognocchi.

June 30, 1954

Mr. Jack Todd
The Office of Senator Russell Long
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Todd:

Please accept my long over-due expression of appreciation for the opportunity to talk with you on May 11th.

A copy of The Negro and The Schools is being sent to you under separate cover.

As consideration is given to the advantage to the South itself -- as well as to the nation -- inherent in the Supreme Court's Decision of May 17th, we believe the region will accept and use the opportunities before it.

We are grateful for your interest in these matters.

Sincerely,

Grace T. Hamilton
Associate Director

GTH/

file

THE TOWN HALL, INC.

A Non-Profit Educational Institution founded in 1894

123 West 43rd Street, New York 36, N. Y. · JUdson 2-2424 · Cable: Townall New York

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WILLIAM R. TRAUM
Director — Radio and TV

HAROLD RIEGELMAN
General Counsel

August 12, 1954

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Miss Halsband has asked me to send you the enclosed background questions for the TOWN MEETING of August 17. They were written for the general use of our moderator, James F. Murray, Jr., but she thought they might be of some interest to you. They are not necessarily used. We are also sending you copies of the opening statements written by our other two speakers, and we have given them each a copy of yours.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Jo Ann Ellsworth

Jo Ann Ellsworth
Research Department
AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING

RECEIVED FEB 13 1957

Gentlemen:

The writer happened to come across several interesting articles in one of your publications. If possible kindly advise the purpose of the Southern Regional Council and any information about your literature.

Very truly yours,

T.H.Todd
2406 Warwick Avenue
Newport News,Va.

February 11, 1957

Mr. T. H. Todd
2406 Warwick Avenue
Newport News, Va.

Dear Mr. Todd:

In answer to your post card, we are sending you a pamphlet concerning the Southern Regional Council, and some information concerning some of our recent publications.

Please let us know if we can be of additional help to you.

Sincerely,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:fc
Encl.

February 6, 1958

Miss Bess Topolsky
Publicity Chairman
Allegheny County Council on Civil Rights
200 Ross Street, Room 1108
Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Topolsky:

I am flying into Pittsburgh on the evening of the 14th of February and reservations have been made for me by Mrs. Friedberg at the Penn-Sheraton Hotel.

I will be happy to meet with members of the press on Saturday morning before the Conference. I look forward to being with the Allegheny County Council on Civil Rights at their tenth annual meeting.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Allegheny County Council On Civil Rights

Right to Safety and Security of Person **Right to Citizenship** **Right to Equality of Opportunity** **Right to Freedom of Conscience**

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500 Jones Law Bldg.
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Membership
BESS TOPOLSKY

Public Accomodation
MRS. MARION B. JORDON

February 4, 1958

Office of the Secretary
Room 1108, 200 Ross Street
Pittsburgh 19, Pa.
ATlantic 1-6273

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I have been asked to handle the publicity for our Conference on Civil Rights on Saturday, February 15.

I understand that you will be coming into the city Friday evening, and I wonder if it would be all right with you if we set up a press conference with representatives of our local newspapers for Saturday morning before the Conference - say about 10 or 10:30 A.M. on February 15?

Would you please have your secretary drop me a note at the office of the secretary of ACCCR to let me know if I should go ahead with press conference arrangements. I hope to hear from her soon. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Bess Topolsky

Bess Topolsky
Publicity Chairman

TP/rnb

AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

American Civil Liberties Union
AFL-CIO, Teamsters Local 609
American Jewish Committee, Pittsburgh Chapter
American Legion, Henry C. Williams Post 666
American Service Institute of Allegheny County
Americans for Democratic Action
Amvets, Allegheny County Council
Association of Community Councils
B'nai B'rith Women's Council of Greater Pittsburgh
Catholic Interracial Council of Greater Pittsburgh
Central Labor Union A. F. L
City-County Federation of Negro Women's Clubs
Council of Churches Race Relations Commission
Council of Industrial and Interracial Relations, Presbytery of Pittsburgh
Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations
Fellowship of St. Paul
First Unitarian Church, Public Affairs Committee
Anna B. Heldman Community Center
Anna B. Heldman Community Forum
Jewish Community Relations Council
Jewish Labor Committee
Labor Committee for Human Rights
Loendi Club
National Achievement Clubs, Inc.
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
National Conference of Christians and Jews
North Side Ministerial Association
Pioneer Women's Council of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh Chapter Frontiers of America
Pittsburgh Council of B'nai Brith
Pittsburgh Council on Intercultural Education
Pittsburgh Council of National Council of Negro Women
Pittsburgh Section—National Council of Jewish Women
Provident Home Agency Force, Pgh. District
Soho Community House
Steel City Industrial Union Council, C. I. O.
The First Baptist Church, The Board of Christian Action
United Mine Workers of America
United Steel Workers of America, Civil Rights Committee
United Vocational and Employment Service
Urban League of Pittsburgh
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Young Women's Christian Association of Pittsburgh
Youth Advisory Committee, United Jewish Federation

PR✓
MF

TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE
TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

December 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your good letter of December 2 enclosing copy of the annual report of the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. I shall read the report with much interest.

When you are traveling in this part of the country I hope you will stop to see us. If you should be coming here at an appropriate time, I shall be glad to have you speak to the student body or to the Social Science Forum.

In any event, I am glad to know what you and the Southern Regional Council are doing even though you are not getting a very enthusiastic response in Mississippi at the present time.

With best wishes for the Christmas Season, I am

Cordially yours,

A D Beittel

A. D. Beittel
President

ADB:eh

February 16, 1962

Frontiers

Mr. Jesse O. Thomas
220 Griffin Street, N. W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Mr. Dunbar asked that I send you the following information:

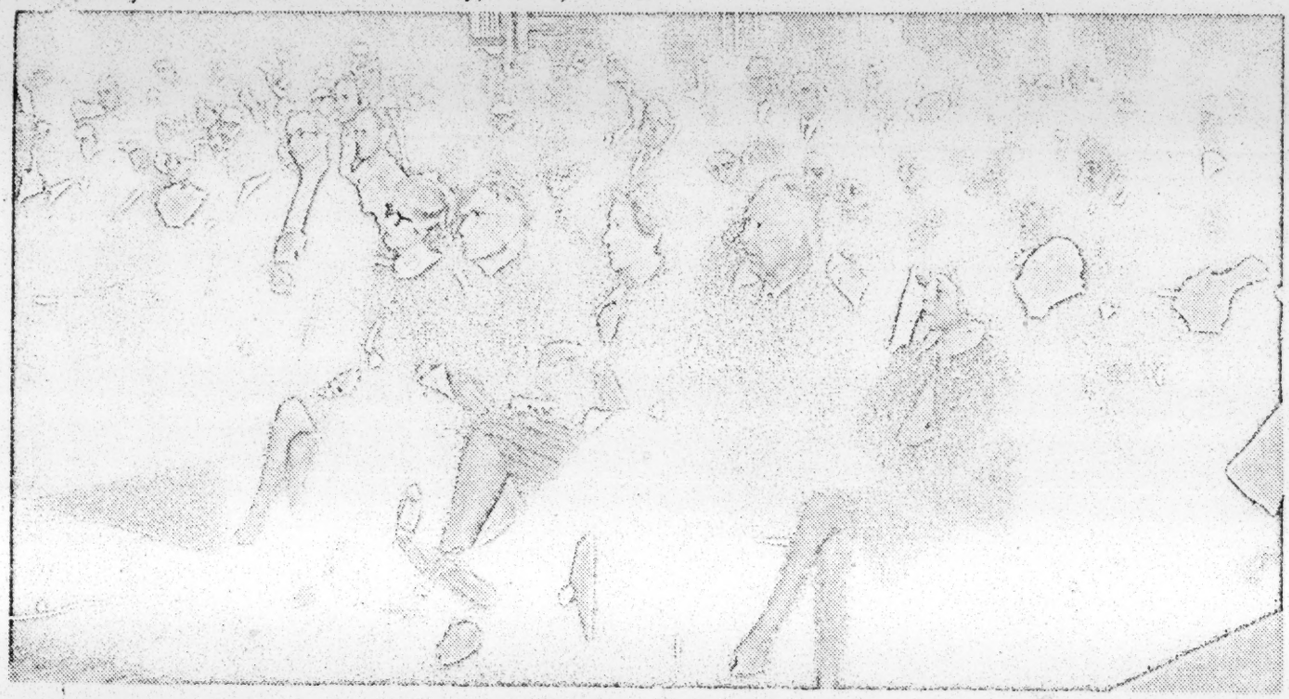
Cost of printing, "Georgia's Divided Education"	$3,562.54
Received from Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities	2,750.00
Balance due SRC	$ 812.54

If I can be of further help in the above matter, do not fail to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs



APTHEKER CROWD — A predominantly student audience at Tougaloo College listened attentively last night as Dr. Herbert Aptheker, admitted communist, droned on for some 50 minutes last night about "The Life of W. E. B. DuBois," the late Negro communist who founded the DuBois youth clubs. Aptheker refused to answer a reporter's series of questions following his speech.—Daily News Staff Photo by Lamar Scruggs.

TOUGALOO SPEAKER — Dr. Herbert Aptheker told an audience at Tougaloo College last night all about the life and times of the late W. E. B. DuBois, the Negro communist who founded the youth clubs. Dr. Aptheker said he's a Communist, too.

Aptheker Visit State Disgrace

Editor, Daily News — The visit of Communist top theoritician Herbert Aptheker to a college campus here is a disgrace to the State of Mississippi.

In view of the fact that millions have been killed and enslaved by communism all over the world, and in view of the assaults against the lives of our soldiers in Vietnam by the Communists at this moment, America's Victory Force denounces and strongly protests the invitation extended to the Communist leader by Tougaloo College.

The Red menace should be resisted, not expanded, in the State of Mississippi.

ROBERT WEEMS
P.O. Box 3333
Jackson, Miss.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

MINDS COUNTY COLLEGES

Commie Comes To Town But He Is No Winner

SDN 2-6-69

Talk At Tougaloo Is Dull And Drab; Questions 'Funny'

By WILLIAM PEART
Daily News Staff Writer

Dr. Herbert Aptheker admits with childish glee that he's a Communist.

As an active member of the party, his favorite colors are red and black.

He apparently considers himself a 20th century Moses, determined to lead the Negro race to the promised land.

Aptheker is an authority on "The Life of W. E. B. DuBois," the late Negro Communist who founded the Communist youth clubs under his name.

Last night, Aptheker starred in a one-man show at Tougaloo College, detailing to his audi-

Continued On Page 18 A

COMMIE COMES

Continued From Page 1 A

ence the life and times of DuBois.

In his view, "one man's criminal is another man's saint."

Aptheker droned on for some 50 minutes.

His remarks were meaningless.

Following his address, Aptheker said he welcomed questions from the audience.

I poked my arm above my head and was recognized.

"Dr. Aptheker," I said, "I am a newspaperman and would like to ask you if you are a member of the communist party."

The audience laughed and hissed. I was amused that they considered my question amusing.

Aptheker said yes, he was a Communist.

"Will you tell me, doctor," I asked, "the amount of the fee you received for your speech tonight."

The audience thought that question was funny, too.

But he didn't answer my question.

"Doctor," I asked, "do you consider the black community better prospects for membership in the Communist party than the white community."

More hisses followed my question. There were a few boos, too.

Aptheker said he didn't think my question was pertinent to the forum.

But he said he would gladly give me an exclusive interview later.

That's what the man said — little old me, offered an exclusive interview with top Communist Aptheker.

Only one question was asked by the audience.

When the meeting was adjourned, I legged it up to the stage and again asked Aptheker why he was apparently concentrating on the Negro race as potential members of the party.

Well, he said, the Negor race is the oppressed race. He said they need help.

He failed to explain how the Communist party could be of any assistance for more equality.

"Doctor," I asked, "how many Negroes are in Russia?"

"Very few," he answered abruptly.

I frankly enjoyed the less than two hours I spent on the Tougaloo campus.

And I learned a few things, too.

For instance, Aptheker made it crystal clear to me that the Communists don't have a darn thing going for them.

They expouse Markism to young people whom they consider amenable to their thinking.

But, hopefully, the Tougaloo College students didn't buy Aptheker's arrogant remarks.

Aptheker told the audience he was "delighted to be here."

I reckon he was.

Because he apparently got paid for making his speech.

But I wish I knew how much he got.

Shedding Light On Dr. Aptheker

Editor, Daily News — Thank you for the timely expose of top Communist Herbert Aptheker, who is slated to speak at Tougaloo College Wednesday. This could be Aptheker's most important junket since he flew to Hanoi three years ago at the invitation of Ho Chi Minh. Accompanied then by Yale Professor Staughton Lynd and Tom Hayden of the Students for a Democratic Society (who first made a name for himself by going to McComb, Mississippi in 1961 with Robert Moses, head of "COFO", Apatheker stopped off at Prague, Moscow and Peking on his way to North Vietnam. It had all been dreamed up at a Communist conference in Helsinki, Finland the previous summer. (See "Newsweek," January 10, 1966, p. 18)

Mississippi and Vietnam are currently the two principal theatres of action in the Communist campaign against "colonialism." A Red of the worldwide standing of Herbert Aptheker does not come to a Negro college in Mississippi for any trivial reason. Aptheker has only scorn for "Liberals." His book "The Negro People in America" (International Publishers, official Communist publishing house) contemptuously dismisses even one so far left as the Swedish Socialist Gunnar Mydal, whose "An American Dilemma" was cited by the Warren Court in the Black Monday decision of 1954.

Aptheker says the Negro question is not a moral one, but requires revolutionary changes in the existing system. "The forces of reaction are to be met and overcome," he writes, and adds, "We fight not only for the Negro but for all Americans...in the fires of this struggle will be forged a comradeship" which will be "irresistible."

When Communists sing, "Black and white together, we shall overcome some day," whom do they mean to overcome? The answer is simple today's property owners. To Communists the possession of property by individuals is the root of all evil. Communists promote integration in Mississippi because Mississippians don't want it; in integrated Portuguese Africa Communists still attack the "system" and stage terror raids from the Congo to kill and torture "black and white together."

Compromisers gain nothing by yielding to Reds on integration. What the Communists want is total power, and every move they make, including every visit to an American College campus, is aimed at the acquisition of power.

Better known to the public than Herbert Aptheker is his daughter Bettina, who in the judgement of most observers outranks Joan Baez as Red Queen of the "New Left." Aptheker's aforesaid book, copyright 1946, was dedicated "For Bettina's Future," and much of that future is now here. With Mario Savio, Bettina Aptheker was a leader of the "Free Speech Movement" which at Berkeley, California in 1964 started the wave of campus disorders that later shocked Columbia, Northwestern, San Francisco State, and U.C.L.A., to name a few. "Time" magazine of December 3, 1965 reported Bettina's "girlish glee" when the Supreme Court ruled that Communists do not have to register with the government.

Just days earlier she had written with calculated impudence to the student paper: "I have been for a number of years, I am now, and I propose to remain a member of the Communist Party of the United States." She dared the government to fine her the $12 million or sentence her to the five thousand years in prison to which she boasted she was liable under the McCarran act.

The Warren Court, of course, got her off the hook. She went on to organize the "Vietnam Week" of April 8-15, 1967, exposed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as an anti-US, pro-Vietcong operation with thousands of demonstrators from New York to San Francisco. She works with Leftists of every kind, whether they do or do not call themselves Communists, such as David Dellinger, editor of the revolutionary magazine "Liberation," who was a prominent leader of the disturbances in Washington last month on the occasion of President Nixon's inauguration.

Important as Bettina is, she woud undoubtedly not be so prominent in the Red network if she had not been the daughter of Herbet Aptheker, Marxist-Leninist theoretician.(You know that in Communist parlance nobody is of greater practical importance than a theoretician. If theoreticians do not call the shots they immediately reflect them). Among other reasons why Herbert Aptheker is now so influential, not just on the Communist Party, but on the whole of U. S public education, is the fact t at he ⁻ the leading authority, fro the Communist point of view. ı the history of the Negro in A erica—and thorough revision of all American history texts to give the Negro a more important place is one of the top-priority projects in the textbook industry today.

The appearance of Herbert Aptheker at Tougaloo indicates that Mississippi is ripe for new seimisc distrubrances out of which a few handpicked state Negroes may hope to profit, but for which the world Communist movement is responsible, and from which the vast majority of all Mississippians will suffer. will suffer.

Medford Evans
Managing Editor, The Citizen
Citizens Councils of America
254 East Griffith Street
Jackson, Mississippi

PLEASE NOTE: F O R U M IS AT 6:30 P.M.

✓ LVS
ret to PA
file

The Social Science Division
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi 39174

Faculty, Staff, Students and Friends
are cordially invited to attend

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE FORUM
Wednesday, February 5, 1969
6:30 P.M.
Warren Hall

Speaker of the Occasion: Dr. Herbert Aptheker
Director
The American Institute for Marxist Studies

Subject of Discussion: "THE LIFE AND WORK OF W. E. DU BOIS"

The speaker was named by the late Dr. W. E. Du Bois to be his Literary Executor; he is now engaged in producing a collection of his Letters and a bibliography of his writings.

Dr. Aptheker fought during World War II in the field artillery of the U. S. Army in the European theatre. He entered the army in February, 1942 as a private and terminated his service in April, 1946 as a Major.

Dr. Aptheker was awarded the History Prize in 1939 by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. He was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, 1946-47.

As a scholar and author, he has produced over twenty volumes dealing with U. S. history, American Negro history, American foreign policy, and questions of social theory and philosophy.

The presentation of the speaker will be very timely and very challenging.

A discussion will follow the presentation. A social with refreshments will close the evening.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE DIVISION
Ernst Borinski, Chairman

PLEASE NOTE: F O R U M IS AT 6:30 P.M.

Biographical Data

Dr. Herbert Aptheker

Dr. Aptheker was educated at Columbia University (B.S., A.M., Ph.D.). He has been active in radical, socialist, anti-war and antifascist struggles since 1935; he has also in his scholarship and his activity -- in the North and in the South -- for thirty years been in the midst of the struggle against jim crow and racism in the United States.

As a scholar and author, he has produced over twenty volumes dealing with U. S. history, American Negro history, American foreign policy, and questions of social, theory and philosophy. His books include:

AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS (1943)
A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN THE U. S. (2 vols., 1951)
HISTORY & REALITY (1955)
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1960)
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY & THE COLD WAR (1962)
SOUL OF THE REPUBLIC: THE NEGRO TODAY (1964)
NAT TURNER'S SLAVE REVOLT (1966)
THE NATURE OF DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM & REVOLUTION (1967)

Dr. Aptheker also has been the editor of and contributor to 3 volumes:

DISARMAMENT AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY (1960)
MARXISM AND DEMOCRACY (1965)
MARXISM AND ALIENATION (1966)
MARXISM AND CHRISTIANITY (1968)
AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS (1968)

He has contributed to leading scholarly magazines in the United States and abroad -- including Mexico, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Soviet Union, Hungary, France, Great Britain and Japan.

His books have been translated into FRENCH, ITALIAN, SPANISH, HUNGARIAN, CZECH, SLOVAK, RUSSIAN, JAPANESE, GERMAN, POLISH, PORTUGUESE.

He has lectured at most leading universities in the United States and also at universities in the USSR, Africa, Hungary, Poland, Canada, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Japan, and India.

Dr. Aptheker in his civil liberties efforts broke speakers' bans at Wayne State University, the University of Buffalo, Ohio State University, and at the University of North Carolina. Together with the late Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, he conducted a successful battle (Aptheker vs. the Secretary of State) to get the U. S. Supreme Court to declare unconstitutional the passport provision of the McCarran Act) -- accomplished in 1964.

Dr. Aptheker was a witness for the Communist Party during the McCarthy period in seven Smith Act cases; in a Pennsylvania sedition case; and in hearings before the McCarran Board. He also was a hostile witness before the McCarthy Committee, and the House Un-American Activities Committee during the McCarthy era.

Dr. Aptheker fought during World War II in the field artillery of the U. S. Army in the European theatre. He entered the army in February 1942 as a private and terminated his service in April, 1946 as a Major.

Dr. Aptheker was awarded the History Prize in 1939 by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. He was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, 1946-47.

Dr. Aptheker was one of the founding editors of MASSES & MAINSTREAM and served as editor from 1948 to 1952. He was editor of POLITICAL AFFAIRS from 1953 through 1963.

Dr. Aptheker has been active in the peace movement for many years. He was a delegate to the World Peace Congress in Tokyo in 1961 and to the World Peace Congress in Helsinki in 1965. He organized and went together with Professor Staughton Lynd of Yale and Mr. Thomas Hayden, founding president of the Students for a Democratic Society, on a fact-finding mission to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in December, 1965 - January, 1966, which mission has had a significant impact upon the growing struggle against war in the United States. Since that journey he has spoken personally and via radio and television to scores of millions of people against the war in western Europe, Canada, and, especially, in the United States. His lectures against war have reached in particular the academic community and the student body of the United States; Dr. Aptheker has carried the message of opposition to the Vietnam war to Queens College, Hunter College, University of California (Los Angeles), University of Wisconsin, St. Francis College (Maine), University of Michigan, Michigan State University, Temple University, Boston University, Brandeis University, University of California (Berkeley), Wayne State University, Duke University, etc., just in the first months of 1966.

Dr. Aptheker was named by the late Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois to be his Literary Executor; he is now engaged in producing a collection of his Letters and a bibliography of his writings.

Dr. Aptheker was the chief founder, in 1964, of The American Institute for Marxist Studies (AIMS) and has been its director since its foundation. Candidate for Congress, 1966, PEACE & FREEDOM ticket, Brooklyn, N. Y.

JDN 2-4-69

Top Commie Functionary Invited To Speak Here

A top functionary of the Communist Party in the United States si scheduled to speak at Tougaloo College next week. He is Dr. Herbert Aptheker who has been invited to speak Wednesday, Feb. 5 at 6:30 p.m. in Warren Hall.

Aptheker wil come to Mississippi under the auspices of the Tougaloo Social Science Department. The department is headed by Dr. Ernst Borinski who has been at Tougaloo for 20 years as profesor of sociology.

Regarding Aptheker, it is noted that on page 10 of the Sept. 10 isue of The Worker, he is identified as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

Aptheker, white, male, about 50, of New York City, is director of the American Institute for Marxist Studies.

Aptheker is to speak on the subject "The Life of W.E.B. DuBois", Negro activist in radical causes who in his late years renounced his American citizenship, announced he was a full member of the Communist Party, departed for foreign lands, and is now dead.

The W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, which he founded, have been identified as Communist youth organizations active on many college campuses in the past. Influence of the clubs has dwindled in recent years.

Veteran observers of the Communist movement say Aptheker's visit will bring the highest ranking Communist functionary to Mississippi in memory. While lesser activists and sons or daughters of high-ranking Communists have appeared here either in "freedom rides" or college forums, Aptherker is considered the top drawer theoritician for Communists in this country.

Borinski said that faculty and staff members, students and friends are invited to attend the forum. A discussion will follow the address.

Aptheker, who served in the U.S. Army field artillery in Europe during World War II, was awarded the 1939 history prize of the Association of Study of Negro Life and History. He is a severe critic of the Vietnam War.

He has written over 20 volumes dealings with United States history and foreign policy and social theory and philosophy. The volumes include "American Negro Slave Revolts," "The Nature of Democracy: Freedom and Revolution" and Marxism and Christianity."

Aptheker who has lectured on four continents, has been active in the anti-war movement of the 1960s, having spoken in western Europe and Canada as well as in the United States against America's role in Vietnam.

RECEIVED
SEP 17
Southern Regional Council

Saint Augustine's College
Raleigh, North Carolina

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 15, 1953

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I have just read the announcement of the Associated Consultants in Education.

Does this mean that the gentlemen are going to duplicate the work of the Southern Regional Council?

I have been watching for a movement like this and would like to have your opinion.

Kindest regards to your family and the Staff.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Trigg
President

HLT:mbw

February 12, 1954

Miss Virginia Trumper
Serials Librarian
The Woman's College, U.N.C.
Greensboro, N. C.

Dear Miss Trumper:

The Southern Regional Council's series of pamphlets has been discontinued - pamphlets which are now issued go out as a number of our publication, NEW SOUTH. I believe that you have had a subscription to NEW SOUTH continuously and so probably have all of our numbers.

So that you may check on your file, I am enclosing our latest publications list which will give you information about all of our numbers.

Very truly yours,

Katherine Stoney,
Secretary-Treasurer

ks
encl.

THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE
OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO, N. C.

THE LIBRARY

February 11, 1954

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

We have a file of the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL PAMPHLETS nos.1-8, 1944-1947. Has this series definitely been discontinued and, if so, did it end with no.8?

Very truly yours,

Virginia Trumper

Virginia Trumper
Serials Librarian

VT/bw

RECEIVED DEC 10 1955

December 5, 1955

Dr. Chester C. Travelstead
University of South Carolina
Columbia, S. C.

Dear Dr. Travelstead:

Thank you very much for your warm letter of December 3rd.

I have just today been advised by the Atlanta office of Southern Regional Council of your election as a member of the Board of Directors. While, in view of your impending removal from South Carolina, you would have a very short tenure as a Board member, I hope very much that you will consent to serve. We should like for the Southern public to know that we are completely unawed by the action of your superiors at the University of South Carolina and that we esteem you no whit the less on account of that action. Your acceptance of membership gives us an opportunity to a degree at least to identify ourselves with the views which you represent in the disagreement with University officials.

It will also give you the opportunity to associate yourself with a group of able men and women who share your convictions.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

c c to George Mitchell

Travelstead

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

12/13/55

GSM--

Was Dean Travelstead of USC among those to be honored by the Philadelphia group? He can't be hurt by it, and he sure deserves it.

HCF

Mr. Harris Powers
1011 Hendrix Ave
Jacksonville 7,
Fla.

Travelstead

Dr. Chester C. Travelstead,
920 Beltline Boulevard,
Columbia,
SOUTH CAROLINA.

December 16th, 1955.

Dear Dean Travelstead,

Our Board did elect you to its number, on November 9th, of course subject to your acceptance.

We all greatly hope you will serve, even if perforce the term is short (we having a rule that non-residents of the Region may be our dear friends but not our policy-making members). But we honor you, and want you to be part of us.

In all fairness I let you know that we have been jumped on, probably libellously, by those who are running a warfare against the Fund for the Republic, which has given us a substantial grant. The Hearst Journal-American, in New York, on November 7th, 1955, published a scandalous article claiming that 21 of our Board members were "pro-reds", categorizing thus a string of outstanding Southern leaders; four or five College and University Presidents, an Episcopal Bishop, a couple of newspaper publishers, various ministers, and so on. I send you a paid advertisement in which the Virginia form of the white citizens' councils republished this attack. Also Fulton Lewis, Jr., doubtless by careful concert, made much in his broadcasts in mid-November of the Journal-American charges. The editor of the Chattanooga Times put his finger neatly on the truth in a column which is enclosed.

But do write us that you are willing to serve, even briefly.

Sincerely yours,

GSM:Pl
Encls.

(Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director.)

TR

January 5, 1956

Chester C. Travelstead, Dean
School of Education
University of South Carolina,
Columbia 1, South Carolina

Dear Dean Travelstead:

Sorry not to have you, even for a flitting stay, but we remain admiring of right principles.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Copy: Marion A. Wright

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA, 1, S. C.

School of Education

27 December 1955

RECEIVED DEC 28 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am deeply grateful to you and the other members of the Board for inviting me to become a member of your group. This is an honor indeed. I deem it wise, however, for me to decline this invitation, in view of my early departure for New Mexico. I believe I could make little if any contribution to the work of the Council in this short time.

Therefore, will you please convey to the members of the Board my gratitude for the invitation and deep regret in not being able to serve.

May I add that I commend you for the fine work you are doing. History will record with honor the action being taken by such groups as yours, notwithstanding the fact that some petty and bigoted men of the present question your motives and attempt to discredit you.

Congratulations and best wishes to all of you.

Cordially,

Chester C. Travelstead

CCT:s

Chester C. Travelstead
Dean

Info -
~~schools~~ -
integration

January 6, 1956

Superintendent W. W. Trent
State Department of Education
Charleston, W. Va.

Dear Superintendent Trent,

I would like to ask your assistance in gathering information about the process of school desegregation. As you perhaps know, affiliates of the Southern Regional Council are active in twelve southern states, working toward the elimination of artificial distinctions between people. We have a need to learn all that we can about school integration, so that we may have sound information for use in counselling those with whom we work.

At the present time, we have a special need to obtain information about desegregation in county school systems. We hope for some full and lucid accounts of successful experiences at the county level comparable to those available on major cities such as Washington, Baltimore, and Saint Louis.

Can you suggest a means by which we can obtain such information out of the West Virginia experience? Do you have reports or articles available which you could send to us? Can you suggest one or more West Virginia Counties where local officials acted particularly effectively? Would the superintendents in these counties write to us to tell us of their experiences? Or, can you refer us to the best such people to whom we might write?

We are interested in facts both about desegregation steps, and about the process of decision making and planning. What was done? Who did it? What steps were taken? What basic policies were laid down? What were the results in terms of number of classrooms, pupils, and teachers now in an integrated situation? How do school officials evaluate what they have done, and what do they see as remaining problems?

We look to West Virginia out of respect for the high quality of the job you are doing there. We believe your experience will be invaluable to those who have yet to do the job. We will appreciate any help you can give by way of sharing information. To you personally are due special commendations for the leadership you have taken.

Sincerely yours,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf

RECEIVED APR 2 1956

601 Grant Hall,
514 W. 122nd St.,
New York City
3-30-56

Dear George:

Does the Council have a publication which contains the facts in the Primus King case? If so, would you please send me a copy? Who was the colonel who submitted to being sued?

We are living in a T C residence hall now. I have

not been able to force myself back to work yet. am remaining here until September or maybe later. The fresh (intellectual) air is invigorating.

I read the papers and note the effort you are making to harmonize this battle of extremes. Go to it! I think the time is about right for a movement from

(3)

both ends back toward center.

The article in the Mar. 31 edition of the Journal and Guide about a recent meeting at Capahosic raises many questions.

Incidentally, you were right about some facts in my situation. A very evil member of my board of trustees is in the same (Biology) department at Chapel Hill with the "professah" who is president of the Patriots of North Carolina.

(4)

This explains many things.

If you come this way call me at University 5-6000, Ext. 786. I'm forging ahead in my research, and my wife is doing 16 hours also.

Hope your family is doing well. Best regards to all of you.

Sincerely

Harold

Trigg

April 2, 1956

Mr. Harold Trigg
514 West 122nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Harold:

How very nice to have word of you.

Sunday afternoon, April 8, at 3:30 stroll thyself to the Church of the Master, Morningside Avenue and 122nd Street, and there thy humble servant for Mr. Walter Pinkston, who seems to be a local bigshot in Omega Psi Phi, holds forth.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

April 13, 1956

Mr. Harold Trigg
514 West 122nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Trigg:

Dr. Mitchell has requested that I forward material that we have in the office on the Primus King case. We have no publication that contains an article on the matter, but enclosed you will find copies of newspaper articles we have on file, and information contained in The Negro Handbook, 1946-1947.

Sincerely,

Beth Friedman
Secretary to Dr. Mitchell

bf

June 7, 1956

Mr. John A. Collings, Executive Vice President
Trans World Airlines, Inc.
380 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Collings

Many thanks for your letter of June 1 expressing regret about the delay of Flight 23 on May 19. Any small inconvenience was more than compensated for by your pleasant letter. I surely appreciate a firm that is sufficiently conscious of good public relations that they would write such a letter without a note of protest from the passengers.

I flew back from the West Coast on another airline only because you do not service Seattle. You may rest assured that I prefer TWA to any other unmentioned airline.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

October 6, 1960

Mr. Matthew A. Trotty
Rt. 4, Box 9A
North Augusta, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Trotty:

Mr. James McBride Dabbs is president of the Southern Regional Council and Mrs. Alice Spearman is the director of the Human Relations Council in South Carolina. The address is 1330 Laurel St., Room 8, Columbia.

If we can be of additional help, please write us.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director of Information

/lec

R. 4 Box 9A
North Augusta, S.C.
Oct. 5, 1960

The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Will you please tell me who is the head of the Southern Regional Council in South Carolina and their address, yours truly,

Matthew A. Lathy

P.S. No SCLC

Livingstone College
Salisbury, N. C.

DIVISION OF EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

February 14, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Many thanks to you for the several publications which you were kind enough to send me, and for the promise of future releases.

It is probable that I shall be coming your way in late March or early April and will hope to see you at the time.

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Trigg

HLT:pcj

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

September 28, 1962

Mr. A. D. Boylston, Jr.
Senior Vice President
Trust Company of Georgia
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Mr. Boylston:

In response to your announcement of September 24, may we have a copy of the eighteenth annual audit report of the Common Trust Fund.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

PA:A

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

TRUST COMPANY OF GEORGIA

MEMBER FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM

ATLANTA 2, GA.

TRUST DEPARTMENT

September 24, 1962

To Beneficiaries and Co-Trustees
of Accounts Holding Units in the
Common Trust Fund of the Trust
Company of Georgia

The Eighteenth annual audit report of our Common Trust Fund has just been completed by the accounting firm of Arthur Andersen & Co. This audit is made pursuant to the provisions of the Georgia law governing Common Trust Funds and in conformity with the Regulations of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

While the above audit will be available at our office for your inspection, we will be glad to send you a copy, without charge, upon request.

This copy will be sent you in accordance with the above regulations and the understanding that its republication or any part thereof is unauthorized inasmuch as such data is furnished you in strict confidence.

Sincerely yours,

A. D. Boylston, Jr.
Senior Vice President

ADB:dh

October 7, 1968

Mrs. Nancy Sherwood Truitt
International Development Foundation
205tE. 42nd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Nancy:

How good to hear from you. Certainly, we will do anything possible to help Miss Moss.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

October 3

Dear Paul,

Its been a long time since we met on my travels for the U.S. Youth Council. I am sorry that I was unable to reach you when I called this morning as I was looking forward to talking with you.

I was calling on behalf of a friend of mine, Miss Mary Moss, who is a lawyer associated with C.B. King in Albany, Ga. She has organized a group called Operation Open City which has been working on issues such as integration of the YMCA, termination of United Fund giving to segregated organizations, and a suit against the Police Department on police brutality cases. One of her main concerns is to help build a sense of unity and common commitment in the black community there. The programs of Operation Open City are designed with this in mind.

A real problem they face is communication of their activities both within the

black community and to the white community. This is why I am writing. I thought that if Mary were to contact you you might be able to assist her in establishing contact with Ralph McGill and others who could help provide some of the courage which has been lacking in the area.

So, I have taken the liberty of urging Mary to call you. I am sure that you will enjoy talking with her.

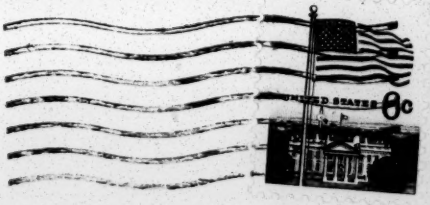
I am off to Central America for 2 months with my husband. We'll be working on setting up a program of leadership training and institution building with the Agrarian Reform Agency in Honduras. I do hope that our paths will cross when I'm back in New York

With thanks and best wishes,

Mary Sherwood Truitt

c/o International Development Foundation
205 East 42nd St, Rm 2018
New York 10017

MIAMI, FLA.
-PM
3 OCT
1968



Mr Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St
Atlanta
Georgia

Nancy Sherwood Truitt
c/o International Development Foundation
205 E. 42nd St
New York 10017

Training Program

September 1, 1955

Mr. Earl Brown
706 Riverside Drive(Apt 6C)
New York City

Dear Earl,

In our conversation last Sunday I attempted to point out what I thought were some important aspects of the southern scene and my reasons for feeling that the Southern Regional Council had a crucial role to play in the implementation of the desegregation edict of the Supreme Court. My notions about these matters have developed out of four years in an integrated set-up at the University of Louisville, visits to 33 Alabama communities during February-March 1954, and my experiences as field consultant and assistant director for state organizations of SRC for the last 18 months. Among the impressions from these experiences are the lack of communication between Negroes and whites, the gap between the official position on desegregation and the attitudes of the people, deliberate fostering of the "Solid South" myth, the paternalistic attitudes toward Negroes of "good" white people and the persistence of the outmoded Negro stereotype.

The Southern Regional Council is perhaps the only organization in the South that is dealing with the problem of desegregation on a clearly defined integrated basis. Back in April 1954, SRC, under a grant from the Fund for the Republic, undertook to set up twelve state organizations which would be almost immediately autonomous and would become completely self-sustaining in three and a half years. After eighteen months of organizational activity it has become apparent that the young state affiliates need a lot more help with program than was previously anticipated. Also it has become clear that a truly integrated staff(perhaps the crucial feature of SRC operation) was not to be quickly or easily assembled either at the local or regional level.

To meet both these needs it has been proposed that a group of highly qualified persons (mostly Negroes) be recruited as regional consultants, to be paid on a per diem basis. As I have indicated to you in conversation, their major responsibility would be to work with the 400 persons who comprise the interracial boards in the several states. State by state, they would meet with board and staff to evaluate the state's program in the light of the Supreme Court decisions and the avowed objectives of the SRC. They would also participate in staff-training institutes and in strategy conferences e.g., labor groups, press, etc. There would, of course, be held a preliminary meeting of these consultants at which the details of their operation would be worked out. A full- time program director added to the staff would coordinate consultant activities.

Financial commitments to state organizations and the continuing operation of the Atlanta office make it impossible to provide funds for the vital program outlined above. An additional grant has been requested from the FFR. If it is necessary, I will be glad to make another trip to New York to explain the plan more fully in person.

Earl Brown - - -

At the risk of confusing your thinking on this matter, I am enclosing miscellaneous data, some of which bear only indirectly on the point at issue. For the most part they are rough drafts of self-clarifying memos. I have arranged them in the order in which they will make sense and in every case have written an explanatory note to you. Please return these odds and ends to me when you have finished with them.

As you know, I have no personal axe to grind, since my connection with SRC is only part time. It is my conviction, however, that the approach is sound and is a profitable investment for any foundation that is sincerely interested in civil rights and in pushing forward the desegregation of schools. These ideas have been submitted to some of the most informed people in this area and have received strong approval. The most important work to be done is unspectacular and is not likely to make headlines. The people on these state boards are committed to the elimination of segregation and they are influential in their local communities. They need guidance. They need to see in operation the sort integrated program they are trying to establish in their own states. They need to know what is going on elsewhere that does not get into the newspapers. They need to see Negroes performing conpetently in authoritative roles as qualified experts in their respective fields. An organization cannot sell integration if it does not exhibit it in its own program.

If there are any questions you would like to ask, call me collect in Louisville Monday(AMherst 2816) or in Atlanta Wednesday at SRC(WAlnut 7963).

Sincerely,

C. H. Parrish

COPY

file under
Tracing Program

OCT 28 1955

LIFE
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20

October 20

Dear C. H.:

It has been a long time since you sent along your memorandum about the Southern Council. I owe you an apology for at least seemingly to have been wayward in taking care of it. This is only partly true, if I may cop a plea, because other factors entered into the picture.

First, I had to nail down W.H. "Ping" Ferry. This took a little time. Second, I have been ailing with my eye since soon after you were here. (On the way to the hospital for an operation Nov. 21). Third, work here at the magazine and in politics cut into my time.

But these are only excuses, which get us nowhere. Ferry finally had me get in touch with Frank Loescher, who also does some work for the Fund for the Republic. He said that Loescher who, by the way, knows you and spoke very highly of you (he could not have done otherwise), and he took it to Philadelphia where he lives and studied it. Of course, I talked to him about it and urged him to do what he could.

Loescher took it up with Ferry and suggested that Ferry approve your plan. But Ferry would not, and this is the nub of the hold up, at least part of it. Loescher told me that he is all for your idea and that he will continue to plug for it, in spite of Ferry's present opposition. He said that Ferry reminded him that the Southern Regional Council still has some dough left over from the money the Fund gave to it last year and that the Council will use it or some of it for the purpose you have outlined. Either Ferry or Loescher has been in touch with George Mitchell, I gleaned from the latter, about interesting some other foundation in your idea. This may be only a buck passing move, but since Loescher obviously is interested in what you want done I believe that maybe you will get some action either from the Fund or another foundation sooner or later. Let us hope that its sooner.

I have not yet left these moorings for the South as I informed you I was about to do because of my eye. It's all right now, that is, it is not bothering me particularly, but since I did not go down there in September I shall let the South wait a little longer.

I suppose you read our stuff about the Till trial and the editorial on the same topic. As you probably know, we made a mistake in the editorial about Till's father. The southern papers have had a field day playing it up.

A few weeks ago I made a speech, among others, at a Till protest rally given by Phil Randoplh's Sleeping Car Porters union in Harlem. Among other useless remarks, I said that a Mississippi Refugee Committee should be formed to rescue Negroes from Miss., the same as oppressed people (Jews, for example) are rescued from Europe. The crack caught on. The Jackson (Miss.) Daily News called me up for a phone interview. Ran a long story about it. Received letters from England about it. English & French papers ran stories about it. People around here, white and colored, have called me and urged me to do something about it.

If I were five guys, maybe I'd have time to do something. At least get some propaganda value out of it. Or maybe, as some have said, the idea is screwy as hell.

Meantime, if I do take a trip South, I will stop off in Louisville to see you. I will also keep behind Loescher about your program and the money for it. Sorry I was unable to impress Ferry, but the guy evidently had his mind made up even before we talked. (Maybe his present harrassment by the extreme rightwing ghouls of doom has had some effect upon his mind).

Love to your family, and don't you try to do it all for the salvation of the brother. You're only one guy, too.

Regards,

/s/ Earl

TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS, *Executive Vice President*

Hope

WILLIAM F. FRAZIER, *Treasurer*

Training program

THE BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS

of the Congregational and Christian Churches, 287 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

Philip M. Widenhouse, *General Secretary*

October 24th 1955

OCT 26 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of October 17th, regarding the services of John Hope of our Department of Race Relations. I am in consultation with Dr. Herman Long with regard to the use of Mr. Hope's time and will write you later what our decision is on the matter.

I am completely in sympathy with the program you have outlined and feel it one of the most important services your organization can render. We shall do all in our power to cooperate with you, but we are under very severe staff limitations at the present time and I will have to await word from Dr. Long before I can give you a definite answer.

Sincerely yours,

Philip M. Widenhouse

Philip M. Widenhouse.

PMW gw

GSM

October 10, 1955

Dr. John Hope II
Fisk University (Park Hall)
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear John,

I wish to apologize again for disturbing you so early yesterday morning. I hoped to give succinctly the broad outline of the program you will be asked to coordinate for SRC. Before the month is out we can work out the details in face to face conversation at Nashville. I agree that you should have in writing from Dr. Mitchell a definite proposal to serve as a basis for discussion with Dr. Long. I am sure the suggested plan is flexible enough to fit in with your commitments there at Fisk.

Briefly, you will be asked to accept a half-time job for eight months, beginning November 1, if possible. The basic annual salary would be $7500; for eight months half-time you would be paid $2500. During the month of November, it is hoped that you could be in Atlanta long enough to set up basic policy and to organize a small meeting (suggested date: Nov. 25). In attendance at this meeting would be staff persons and consultants to whom would be presented tentative plans for program development for their consideration. A suggested plan of this sort is enclosed with this letter.

Since we have already talked about these matters at some length, the initial planning should not prove difficult. Later, the state organizations would become more self-sufficient and would be able to devise and implement appropriate local programs with a minimum of direction.

I hope you will do what you can to arrange matters so as to get this program started for us.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish

Tentative Outline and Job Description

Southern Regional Council
Assistant Director for Program in the States

Subjects: Program Analysis---Evaluation Criteria---Staff Training---Conference Planning---Coordination of Professional Services---Preliminary Steps.

Program Analysis---In selected states the directors and staff would be offered the opportunity of sitting down for a full day with regional staff persons and outside consultants for the purpose of analyzing the program of the state council and suggesting plans for improvement.

Evaluation Criteria---Tentative standards for judging the effectiveness of state programs would be established on the basis of the data collected by the regional office last summer. These criteria would be revised later in the light of the experiences with the state boards.

Staff Training---It would seem advisable to hold a two-day institute for state staff personnel as soon as possible (early in 1956 at the latest). The outside consultants would have a considerable role to play in these training sessions.

Conference Planning---The Assistant Director for Program in cooperation with other staff persons and the consultants would suggest and plan for regional or sub-regional conferences of labor, educational, religious and other groups. Conceivably, underwriters might be sought for many of these projects and SRC would be relieved of much of the financial burden.

Coordination of Professional Services---The services of a half-dozen consultants would be solicited with the understanding that they would be used in at least one-third of the various meetings and would be paid on a per diem basis. Later, SRC might be in a position to plan and staff workshops and institutes for local communities on a fee basis (the fee covering merely the cost of the outside consultants).

Preliminary Steps---

1-Select the people who will be asked to serve as consultants.
2-Send each of them a letter outlining the plan of operation.
3-Call a meeting at which these plans will be put into final shape.
4-Solicit the cooperation of state boards and staff for the purpose of arranging a schedule of meetings.

NOTE---It is to be expected that the program devised will be articulated with the field sojourn of Miss Irene Osborne wherever possible and brought into close coordination with the present activities within the states under the supervision of Mrs. Tilly and Mr. Routh. They would of course be in attendance at all the planning sessions.

Make folder: Transamerica Agricultural Coop

ES

my - file

June 26, 1967

Mr. Edward H. Heller
President
Transamerica Agricultural Cooperative
722 Marine Bank Building
Tampa, Florida 33602

Dear Mr. Heller:

Thank you for the preliminary draft on your proposal for regional development. I have read it with care and interest.

Frankly, while I am in complete agreement on the need to develop economic strength in the rural South and of the use of cooperatives toward this end, I do not feel technically competent to react to this. Regrettably, the man on our staff who is a specialist in this field is on an extended leave of absence.

I do wish you well, however, in this effort and we here will be happy to be of any possible assistance to you.

Do plan to visit us here whenever you get to Atlanta or are passing through.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Transamerica Agricultural Cooperative, Inc.

ES
MJ-file

AFFILIATES:

FLORIDA: SUWANNEE RIVER CATTLE COOPERATIVE, INC.
PRODUCERS SERVICE COMPANY, INC.
AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CO., INC.

GEORGIA: FARMERS LIVESTOCK COOPERATIVE, INC.

WASHINGTON, D. C.: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:

[X] GENERAL OFFICE:
722 MARINE BANK BUILDING
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33602 PHONE 229-2202

[ ] INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS DIVISION
POST OFFICE BOX 22791
FT. LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA

June 19, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony, Enclosed you will find rough preliminary draft #1 of an agricultural development plan for the southeastern states.

I will very much appreciate your constructive criticism of this plan. It has been designed for application in the southeastern states with the Office of Economic Opportunity and other state and federal agencies.

Please let me hear from you.

Very truly yours,

Edward H. Heller
President

EHH/co

Enclosure

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Please let me hear from you!

COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL AGRIBUSINESS by TAC MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

There is **Much** *that you can do* **Alone**, *but there is* **No Limit** *to what a group can accomplish working* **Together**!

Thought you might be interested in reading this item.....

COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL AGRIBUSINESS

by TAC Management Systems

Edward H. Heller

722 MARINE BANK BUILDING
TAMPA, FLORIDA

Arizona

Transamerica
Agricultural
Cooperative, Inc.

AFFILIATES:
FLORIDA: SUWANNEE RIVER CATTLE COOPERATIVE, INC.
PRODUCERS SERVICE COMPANY, INC.
AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CO., INC.
GEORGIA: FARMERS LIVESTOCK COOPERATIVE, INC.
WASHINGTON, D. C.: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:
X GENERAL OFFICE:
722 MARINE BANK BUILDING
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33602 PHONE 229-2202

☐ INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS DIVISION
POST OFFICE BOX 22791
FT. LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA

PRELIMINARY DRAFT #1

AGRIBUSINESS REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

I Purpose:

A. To design a practical agribusiness project for economic opportunity and development utilization in the southeastern states.

B. To make the agricultural industry a good place for young and old alike to find economic incentives with the result that the family farmer will have no economic reason to leave the rural way of life and therefore become a part of our large cities resulting in increased urban problems which are known to all of us.

II Format:

A. Basically speaking, AMCO (See Attachment A which is an important part of this proposal) invests in developing a cooperative and receives a contract to manage the cooperative project. A portion of AMCO financial ability and management comes from joint ventures and/or consortia with agricultural suppliers and processors. The TAC Management System accomplishes the vertical integration of production, marketing, and finance, and through the farm management plan results in diversification to increase the profits and the net income of the family farmer.

III Application:

A. TAC is evaluating application of the TAC Management System in various parts of the six southeastern states.

IMP.!!

IV Summary of Program:

A. A review of attachment A is an essential factor in reviewing this program.

B. In addition to Operational Plans One, Two, and Three in-

COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL AGRIBUSINESS BY TAC MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

cluded in the attachment, Financing Plans One, Two, and Three are outlined herein.

C. Financing plan One - Local residents that desire to make application for membership in the cooperative will be required to buy one share of common stock in the cooperative. One cooperative will be organized for each production area. This one share of common stock will cost $100.00, and the stock will be financed by the cooperative. The first step in the program is to develop a Farm Management Plan for the individual member. This Farm Management Plan will take into consideration the abilities of the individual member and the past practices that he has used. In addition, it will give a specified plan for a specific individual to carry out in order to increase his family farm profit potential. The Farm Management Plan will clearly outline to the individual member of the cooperative what he must do to become a more profitable farmer.

D. Financing Plan Two - On the job training program will be carried out in order to improve the technical skills of each member of the cooperative. Vocational, practical training will be emphasized. This will be in the form of both operational and management techniques. It is estimated that the members will be classified in three areas during the training program. For example, Class One members will receive $5.00 per day while they are working in the training program, and AMCO will receive $15.00 per day in order to train the individual; when the member graduates to Class Two he will receive $10.00 per day, and respectively AMCO will receive $10.00 per day; and when the member graduates to Class Three, he will receive $15.00 per day and AMCO, respectively, $5.00 per day. The training program will be carried out during the initial membership period in order to improve the skills of the member. In addition, AMCO will continue refresher courses during the entire operating lifetime of the cooperative.

E. Financing Plan Three - Under this plan, the member will be eligible to borrow from the cooperative, funds for supplies, equipment, fertilizer, minerals, pharmaceuticals, funds to either rent or purchase land, and related and similar items. Both short term and long term loans will be designed that are responsive to the individual farmer. As the agricultural commodity owned by each member is marketed by AMCO, the indebtedness incurred by the mem-

ber is repaid before any remittance is paid to the member. A marketing agreement on all agricultural commodities will provide for adequate control of production, marketing, and finance.

V In General:

A. A close evaluation of the attachments is requested. Example of crops to be evaluated include, but are not limited to, okra, corn, peas, pickles, and locally grown roughages for growing out dairy and beef calves.

I will very much appreciate your constructive criticism of this program. Please let me hear from you as soon as you have had an opportunity to review this proposal and the enclosures. IMP!

Very truly yours,

Edward H. Heller
President

EHH/co

Enclosures

A. TAC Management Systems Brochure
B. Cooperative International Agribusiness
C. Farmers Feed The World But Too Often Short Change Themselves

COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL AGRIBUSINESS

By TAC MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

Transamerica Agricultural Cooperative, Inc.

AFFILIATES:

FLORIDA: SUWANNEE RIVER CATTLE COOPERATIVE, INC.
PRODUCERS SERVICE COMPANY, INC.
AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT CO., INC.

GEORGIA: FARMERS LIVESTOCK COOPERATIVE, INC.

ALABAMA: ALABAMA CATTLE COOPERATIVE, INC.

MISSISSIPPI: MISSISSIPPI CATTLE COOPERATIVE, INC
BEEF PRODUCTION CORPORATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE TO:

☐ GENERAL OFFICE:
722 MARINE BANK BUILDING
TAMPA, FLORIDA 33602 PHONE 229-2202

☐ INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS DIVISION
POST OFFICE BOX 22791
FT. LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA

COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL AGRIBUSINESS
by
TAC MANAGEMENT SYSTEM

IN GENERAL - Transamerica Agricultural Cooperative, Inc. (TAC) is a broad-based agribusiness management system. It's basic design is the vertical integration of Domestic and Foreign agricultural cooperative production, marketing, and finance. Through such integration of the various phases of agribusiness, each cooperative member realizes a greater profit potential, and the ability to expand his business. This plan has been approved for development by various private, governmental, and quasi-governmental agencies. TAC participates in management and agricultural investment banking contractual relationships. A separate management company is used for each project for the following purposes:

(1) Funds for development of project.
(2) Management of cooperative in areas of production, marketing, and finance.
(3) Control over lines of credit assuring to financial sources debt retirement in compliance with agreements.

DOMESTIC - At the present time the domestic program consists of initiating, developing, and managing agricultural cooperatives in the southeastern part of the United States. Domestic cooperatives operate in a manner similar to Plan Three of the foreign designs further outlined herein. An additional domestic program is agricultural investment banking. This is accomplished by cooperatizing of existing privately owned agribusinesses into a vertically integrated cooperative pattern.

In the domestic operations, the primary sources of funds are the Farm Credit System, (Production Credit Association, Federal Land Banks, and Banks for Cooperatives), Small Business Administration, Economic Development Administration, supplier lines of credit, and other similar private, governmental, and quasi-governmental sources.

FOREIGN - A substantial portion of this information is devoted to a rather detailed analysis of the foreign program. The primary sources of funds for the foreign programs are the Agency for International Development, Inter-American Development Bank, World Bank, Import-Export Bank, Agricultural Cooperative Banks, supplier lines of credit, and other similar private, governmental, and quasi-governmental sources.

The management concepts which TAC is applying in agriculture have been successfully utilized for many years in industries other than agriculture. In the field of agriculture, the possibilities for applying these management concepts are limitless, for agricultural development lends itself readily for such vertical integration. With the recent crisis which has developed in U.S. food surpluses, and the desperate need for agricultural development in underdeveloped countries, to avoid widespread famine, the opportunities for agricultural expansion enterprises are manifold. The TAC Management System has generated much enthusiasm as a means of accomplishing this urgently needed expansion.

CASE STUDY - The following is submitted as an example of how the TAC Management System works.

The initial project to be surveyed is an agricultural cooperative program which has been designed with the objective of stimulating the economic and technological development of the agricultural industry in the foreign country. The aim of this cooperative enterprise is the utilization of natural resources available in the foreign country - water, soil, climate and labor. These natural resources will be combined with the management in the areas of production, marketing, and finance to develop the agricultural industry, increase income of the family farmer, and provide more food for the people of the foreign country.

This case study is for agricultural production of such items as cattle, fruits, and vegetables.

ORGANIZATION AND PLAN - Since lack of sufficient management and technological know-how is recognized as a major obstacle to economic growth in developing countries, it is believed that two distinct organizational entities are required to develop and operate a comprehensive and successful agricultural cooperative program. They are proposed as follows:

(1) The foreign cooperative (COOP)
(2) The foreign agricultural management company (FAMCO)

FAMCO will perform the operating functions of COOP under a proposed contractual agreement for a period of approximately fifteen years. Under this arrangement there will be no overlapping of overhead in operating cost, since all management functions will be performed for COOP by FAMCO.

COOP will be national in scope with no geographical boundaries. It will embrace farmers, both large and small, who meet the eligibility requirements set up by the Board of Directors.

Our Foreign cooperative program is threefold in concept, having been tailored to meet the specific needs of underdeveloped nations.

PLAN ONE - of our foreign design, provides for the DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATION OF A CENTRAL FARM OR RANCH WHICH WOULD BE OWNED BY THE COOPERATIVE BUT MANAGED BY TAC UNDER CONTRACT. This farm, which would be large enough to accommodate a substantial and complete agricultural operation would serve as the hub of the cooperative effort from which supervision, control and dissemination of technological assistance and education would emanate to the farmer-members. This central farm or ranch is considered vital as a means of developing a particular agricultural industry which has been largely dissipated, disorganized or simply underdeveloped. This condition exists in many developing areas where there are abundant natural resources for various types of agricultural production which have remained virtually untapped, or where production has disintegrated because of political upheaval. The profits from this endeavor would accrue to the cooperative membership.

PLAN TWO is a program designed specifically to assist the family size farmer in obtaining land, know-how, and financing for use in the development of individual farming or livestock operations. As a trainee on the central ranch he would become eligible to buy or lease tracts of land from the central farm, which would have been packaged into feasible economic units. He would become a farmer member of the Cooperative and would obtain the same benefits and assume the same responsibilities as other farmer members.

PLAN THREE embraces those farmers who are already land owners, or who lease and operate farms. As members they would be eligible to purchase cattle, fertilizers, stock, pharmaceuticals, farm equipment and other supplies with lines of credit responsive to his needs. Marketing would be performed for the Cooperative members by the Cooperative. In the case of livestock, packing house operations would be supervised by the Cooperative where necessary.

FAMCO will provide and dissiminate to members of COOP all known technological and agricultural information which will be important to the continued development of the agricultural industry. It will continually demonstrate and advise members regarding modern techniques and practices. There will be, in effect, a continual program of education and agricultural technology, which conceptually, is another important element of the cooperative program.

FAMCO will supervise and manage the purchase of all agricultural commodities as needed, or the redistribution of agricultural supplies and equipment as may be required by individual members. It will manage and direct the processing, packing, shipping, and marketing of all agricultural products for the cooperative members. The centralized handling is for the purposes of controlling and raising standards of production and a reduction of overhead charges to individual members.

Except for required managerial and technical personnel, FAMCO will employ local personnel to perform its functions.

PROPOSED TIME SCHEDULE - It is expected that the projects will require not less than six months nor more than two years. Investment decision will be made upon completion of the project. The following are the steps of achieving this project:

1. Preliminary research; basic survey of people and industry factors.
2. AID Survey Application.
3. Economic Feasibility Research Study.
4. Operational Feasibility Research Study.
5. Loan and Credit Applications.
6. Operations.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions pertaining to the items mentioned herein. Additional information and references are available upon request.

Very truly yours,

Edward H. Heller
President

EHH/co

Enclosures
1. Farm Journal Article
2. FAMCO Charts

Southern feeding co-ops pick up steam

By GEORGE HINTON
Southern Field Staff

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Gains have averaged 2½ lbs. a day *at a feed cost of 20¢ per pound of gain at this lot, opened last August by Cotton Producers Association. Local cattlemen sell their calves outright, receive patronage refunds on any feeding profits.*

Southern feeding co-ops pick up steam

The Valdosta, Ga. lot (right) is now up to capacity, and three new custom-feeding co-ops are on the way. They all promise higher prices, better markets for cattlemen. Here are details on how you can join

By GEORGE HINTON *Southern Field Staff*

■ The Southeast's ambitions to improve its market for feeder cattle and to establish a feeding industry are getting a strong shot in the arm this spring.

At the very time the Cotton Producers Association feedlot at Valdosta, Ga. (FARM JOURNAL, November 1965, page 34) was nearing its capacity, another group was busy expanding or organizing three more feeding co-ops in Georgia, Alabama and Florida.

Together, the co-op lots themselves will provide a market for several thousand feeder calves annually. But even more important may be the stimulation they will give individual farmers to get into the feeding business.

Farthest along of the three new co-ops is Farmers Livestock Cooperative (FLC) at DeSota, Ga., which has been in business since 1964. But up to now, it's been limited to a handful of organizers. As FARM JOURNAL went to press, FLC was in the process of reorganizing under a reconstituted board of directors.

"We're completely revamping our operations this spring to make our co-op appeal to a wider membership," says Dr. Thomas W. Gilmore Jr. of Sandersville, Ga., president.

FLC's sister co-op in Florida, Suwannee River Cattle Cooperative (SRCC), started feeding cattle at leased facilities near Tampa, Fla. in April. And the third member of the trio, Alabama Cattle Cooperative (ACC), is soliciting members.

Together, the three own Transamerica Agricultural Cooperative in Tampa, which serves as a clearinghouse for information. The Transamerica group is the brainchild of a Tampa cattleman-lawyer, Edward Heller, who is vice-president.

All three will operate as custom feeders, with the farmer retaining ownership of the cattle while they're on feed. In contrast, the CPA lot buys the animals outright.

The Cotton Producers' lot put its first cattle on feed last August, and is now operating at close to its 3,600-head capacity. It's a "pilot" project, and its success will determine whether others will be built, says Gaylord Coan, director of CPA's grain and livestock marketing divisions.

"Our purpose is to serve the small cow-calf operators within about 60 miles of the lot," says Bill Allison, manager. "Most of our calves come from 12 counties in south-central Georgia and four in north Florida.

"Our producers bring calves in right after weaning—we like them around 550 to 600 lbs. And we pre-

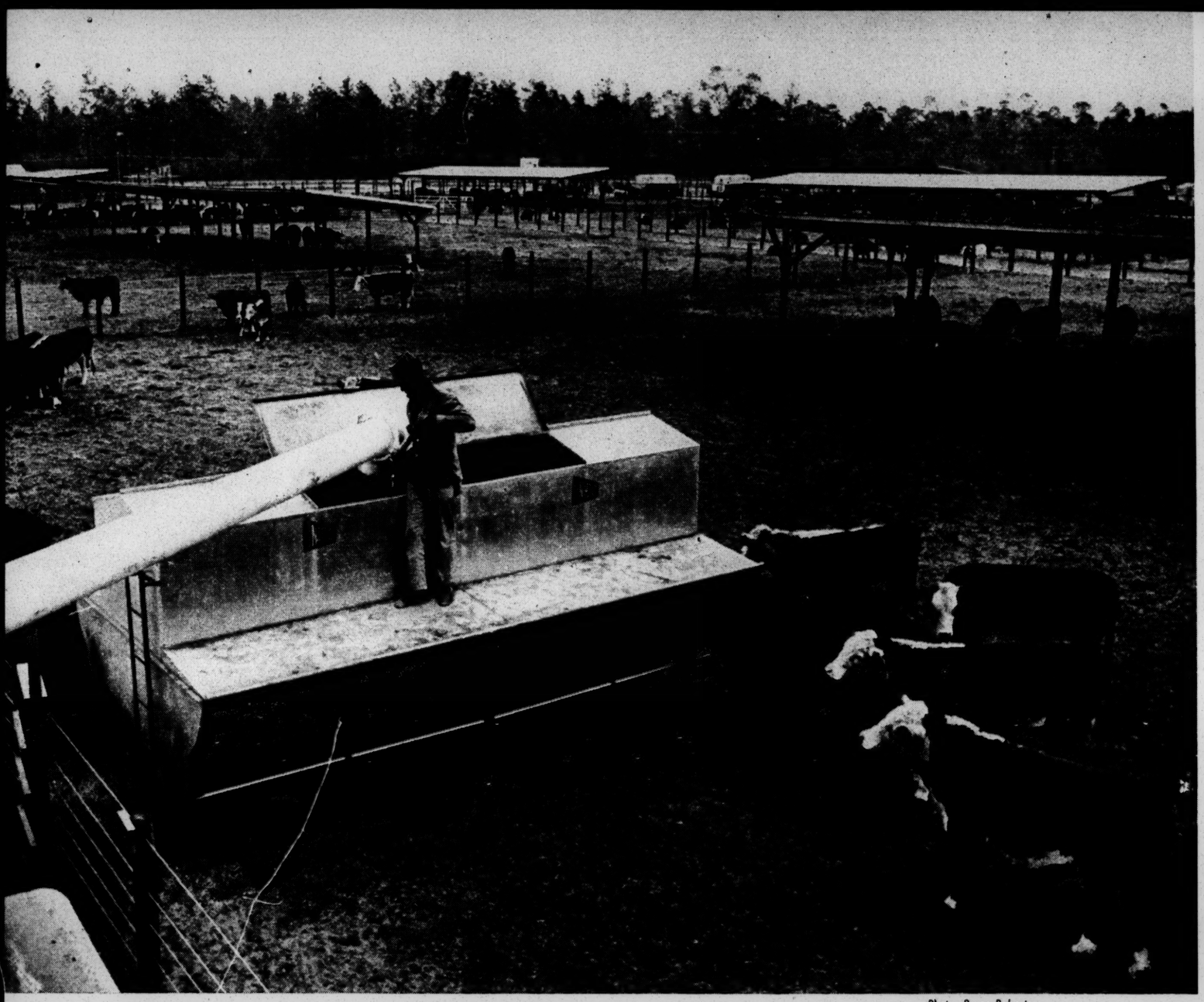


Photo: Bruce Roberts

fer calves that have been on creep feed—they're easier to get on feed in the lot.

"The Valdosta lot usually feeds calves for 120 to 140 days, starting them off on a high-roughage ration. They get six different rations before they're sold."

Here's the deal for the calf producer:

The lot's grader, Harold Long, comes to your farm to look over your calves, and if he thinks they'll do well on feed, he grades them and sets the price.

"We base our price on local markets," explains Allison. "It's as good, and usually a little better than the producer can get elsewhere. He brings them to the lot in his own truck, and we weigh immediately so he doesn't lose anything to shrinkage."

You get a check for 95% of the value of the calves on delivery. The other 5% is withheld as an investment in the feedlot for three years, when you're paid back dollar for dollar. If the lot has made money, you get your share in a patronage refund based on the weight you've put through.

Care of animals in the lot is up to Millard Braswell, the north Georgia farmer-feeder that FARM JOURNAL told you about last November ("We've Got the Cattle, Let's Feed Them"), and to Robert Howell, herdsman.

Allison and Braswell agree it's too early to evaluate the operation from a business standpoint. But, after nine months they're optimistic: "Up to now we've put an average of 400 lbs. on a calf for a feed cost of 20¢. Gains have averaged 2½ lbs. a day; overhead, less than 7¢ per head a day."

The Valdosta lot is on porous, sandy soil, so dust in summer may turn out to be a worse problem than mud in winter. "We wet down the pens with irrigation sprinklers in dry weather," says Allison. "Mud hasn't become serious yet. We'll put in some concrete if it gets bad enough."

The Transamerica group will emphasize an on-farm conditioning program for their members—that is, gains on pasture *before* the animals go into the lot.

"The most profitable weight we can put on cattle in this part of the country is the 250 lbs. after weaning, provided the feed is mostly farm-grown roughage," says FLC president Gilmore.

Here's how all three of the new co-ops will operate:

"You'll have to buy one share of common (voting) stock for $100 to

Continued

join. Then, for each head of cattle you place in the co-op's program, you'll have to buy a share of preferred stock at $15. Should you want to get out or reduce your participation, it'll be up to you to find a buyer for your preferred stock.

"There's a good chance for the member to earn the $15 back every year if he keeps cattle in the program," says Gilmore.

"The efficiencies of a large lot plus the savings on commissions and other marketing costs should give the cattleman $1 to $1.50 cwt. more than he could realize by feeding and selling on his own."

Gilmore feels that co-ops can supply the management and know-how that has held up beef feeding in the South.

The co-ops will set management standards for the on-farm conditioning, and you'll have to agree to them when you sign up. These will include disease and parasite control, pasture management and supplemental feeding. A field man for the co-op will call on you at least once a month.

Once everything is approved, you'll be eligible for a cattle loan of 80% of the appraised value, not to exceed a maximum—currently set at $100 per animal.

From the time they come into the program, calves will be insured against theft, mysterious disappearance, fire, natural disasters—practically anything except death from natural causes.

When your calves go into the feedlot, you'll retain title to them but will be able to get a full loan for the feed they'll need. Unless you have 100 or more, your calves will be grouped with others. They'll be branded and sold individually, but the co-op will make all decisions on what to feed and when to sell.

The co-ops will make a surcharge to cover all operating expenses except feed. Any surplus funds will be distributed among members in the form of patronage refunds and dividends on preferred stock.

FLC, the Georgia co-op, is currently contracting its finishing to Leo Ellsworth, one of its directors. Ellsworth is an experienced Western feeder who acquired the Deseret Farms, Inc., feedlot at Americus, Ga., from the Mormon Church last year.

As soon as it can work out the organizational and financing details, FLC expects to expand and put its operations under supervision of Carl Cooling, the former secretary of the Georgia Hereford Association.

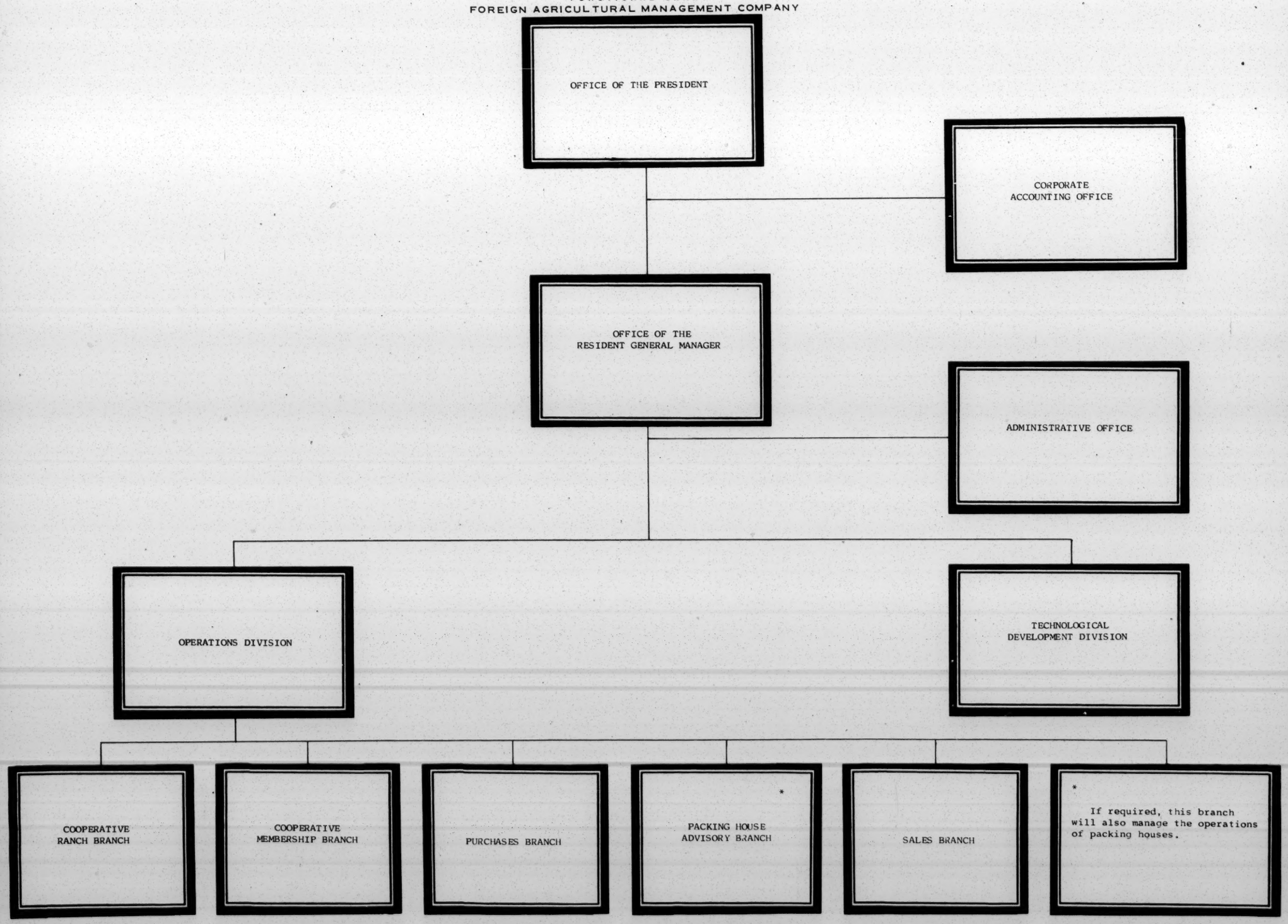
SRCC, in Florida, organized a separate corporation, Producers Service Company, to operate its Tampa lot. Harlow Land of Mayo is president and Ralph Cellon Jr. of Alachua is managing director.

"We already have plans and a $312,000 loan from the Small Business Administration to build a feedlot at Mayo," Heller says.

Carl Bolch, president of ACC, says they hope to arrange financing within the next few months. William H. Gregory III, executive secretary, is doing the recruiting in Alabama.

"We'll eventually build a lot somewhere in southwest Alabama, but we'll have arrangements for leased feeding facilities before then," Gregory says. **END**

PROPOSED
FUNCTIONAL CHART
FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT COMPANY



PROPOSED
FUNCTIONAL CHART
FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT COMPANY

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Will provide overall corporate and policy direction; will make final major policy decisions; will provide broad program development and guidance to the organization. Directs overall financial, legal and accounting activities.

CORPORATE ACCOUNTING OFFICE

Maintains general corporate accounts, maintains ledgers and accounts for each member of the cooperative; prepares financial reports.

OFFICE OF THE RESIDENT GENERAL MANAGER

Directly responsible to the president for all activities of FAMCO; actively supervises and directs all management programs and functions; develops and installs operating policies and procedures; is responsible for efficient conduct of all phases of DRAMCO activities.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE

Performs all administrative housekeeping and bookkeeping functions for FAMCO; responsible for personnel, processing and payroll; maintains central files; purchases internal supplies, maintains accounts payable and receivable and other accounting records; performs other related activities.

OPERATIONS DIVISION

Coordinates and directs all operational programs including cooperative ranch, cooperative membership activities, purchase and marketing of cattle and the control of packinghouse activities; integrates and correlates activities among branches; supervises application of approved policies and procedures.

TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT DIVISION

Responsible for planning, experimentation, development, application and adaption of most current and effective technological practices in the cooperative program. Conducts studies in the areas of cattle breeding, supplemental feeding, land development and improvement through fertilization, etc. veterinary and sanitary practices, and mechanical processes; develops and disseminates all technological information to members. Continually obtains and evaluates information on technological advances and livestock throughout the world and adapts to cooperative program where applicable; advises and assists individual members and application of technological programs; and will study and assist members in the solution of individual technological problems.

COOPERATIVE RANCH BRANCH

Responsible for development and operation of central cattle cooperative ranch, will apply advanced technological methods, veterinary practices, breeding, fertilizing, and feeding programs; will conduct all technical and physical functions required in operations of ranch.

COOPERATIVE MEMBERSHIP BRANCH

Performs all functions required in development and management of the membership cooperative program; will submit membership applications to immediate supervisor; will inspect operations of members to determine compliance with guidelines and program requirements; reports findings and action to be taken; advises and assists members in matters of breeding, fertilizations, supplemental feeding and other technological matters.

PURCHASES BRANCH

Purchases all cattle, fertilizer, supplies and equipment required by the cooperative members and the cooperative ranch; makes purchases in compliance with approved specifications and approved purchasing practices.

PACKING HOUSE ADVISORY BRANCH

Develops procedures and policy requirements for the proper processing of cattle through the packing houses. Advises packing houses of sanitary and other conditions under which cooperative cattle are to be processed; as and if requested by the needs of the cooperative program, will set up procedures for and manage packing house operations.

SALES BRANCH

Will coordinate and accomplish the sale of cattle for all members according to the approved practices; will be responsible for the development of local and export markets for the sale of cattle.

Farmers Feed the World But Too Often Short-change Themselves

says J. K. Stern
President
American Institute of Cooperation

Man first fed himself only.

With increased production beyond his own needs—he bartered with others for the things he wanted.

At home we delivered eggs, apples, potatoes to the consumer's doorstep. There was no middleman.

The farmer delivered whatever he had in surplus to his own needs. He went door to door peddling until he unloaded at whatever price he could get—but he got 100 cents of the consumer's dollar.

Each producer who did the same thing was in competition with every other producer.

The producer of milk made cheese or butter. Some could do a better job of processing than others—so several producers hired one cheese

maker or a butter maker, and sometimes, someone to go to market and sell the product.

Several generations back, buyer and seller dealt face to face:

The cobbler made shoes to order for his customer.

The harness maker made what the farmer or carriage trade ordered.

The blacksmith shod horses while the farmer watched.

The buyer was personally concerned with the welfare of the producer.

Today, the housewife in the supermarket doesn't care whether the milk comes from Wisconsin or Timbuctoo; whether the oranges are from California or Egypt; whether the strawberries are from New Jersey or California. What happens to the dairyman if she buys a butter substitute; or who is going broke if she doesn't buy this or that product?

Housewife Today Only Interested in Convenience

Today she wants the food **not** in its original form. It must be canned, frozen, dehydrated, boned, cooked, made up into a TV dinner, or prepared a thousand other ways—services that were originally done in the home.

Someone will do all these things and get paid for them. Someone will assemble the product from the farm, grade it, transport it, store it, process it, finance it, package it, merchandise and advertise it, and deliver it to the retailer or the consumer. Someone gets paid for each of these services—**how many should the farmer perform?** Today, he only gets on the average

from 35 to 40 cents of each consumer's food dollar because of this, though in livestock the figure is higher.

A generation or two ago, there were more producers than consumers—at least of many agricultural commodities.

Later middlemen—buyers and sellers of the commodity which someone else produced—became numerous:

The egg buyer—who went from farm to farm—then either delivered a truckload to a city store, or shipped them by rail to a city buyer.

The wool buyer—who bought a small lot on each farm—then assembled a carload and shipped it to a broker, who in turn sold to a processor who prepared the wool for commercial use.

The cattle buyer—who bought an animal here and there at his own price.

There were no grades or standards of any consequence, little honest information on supply and demand, and the producer had no idea how or for what purpose his product would ultimately be used. There were all kinds of opportunities for exploiting the producer.

Herbert Hoover: "Improved Marketing Is Elimination of Waste"

Herbert Hoover, who later became President of the United States, addressed the American Dairy Federation in Milwaukee in 1924—to report on a pioneer study made by the American Federation of Engineering Societies. Among other things he said was the following:

". . . . the whole problem of improved market-

ing is elimination of waste—a reduction of waste of materials and motion between the farmer and the consumer is a gain to both of them. Waste of unnecessary transactions, unnecessary links in the chain, waste in transportation of inferior and unsalable products, waste in decay of perishables from delayed movements and repeated handling, waste in transportation, waste of inadequate facilities, waste of uncontrolled distribution with its gluts and famines, and inevitable price fluctuations that encourage speculation, waste in the use of capital."

He said that cooperative marketing has been developing for many years and any study of it will show that it has succeeded just so far as it has eliminated some of these wastes.

As an example of a single item of waste—the claim losses on perishables by American railroads in 1923 exceeded $10 million.

I'm sure that if Herbert Hoover were alive today he would be concerned with the tremendous change in our market structure: The supermarkets with their huge buying power, the specification buying because the consumer is king, and the often overwhelming influence of large capital concentrations in financing producers, to say nothing of stores and packers being in production themselves.

I can recall meeting with a large dairy bargaining cooperative in a city when distributors' margins were being discussed at the bargaining table. The manager of the cooperative was concerned that if retail margins were narrowed further, many small distributors would be eliminated, and he feared the day when there would be only a few large distributors and processors on the other side of the bargaining table. That day has come.

Farmer's Efficiency Has Benefited Consumer, Not Himself

The American Farmer is the envy of the world—his efficiency in production has never been equalled. But his increased efficiency in production has largely been passed to the consumer because he hasn't used the same intelligence in marketing that he uses in production.

General Motors—one corporation—has 40 percent more sales than all the buying and selling cooperatives in the U.S. put together—and an amazing profit record. Their assets are less than 1/10 of what farmers have invested in agricultural production efforts. General Motors is successful because they control production and marketing every step of the way. There is no profit margin for the battery maker, the wheel maker, the transmission or axle maker, or the producer of a thousand other parts. They all add up to one good margin for General Motors because they own or control all of them.

In contrast, the farmer lets too many processors and handlers make a profit margin on the way to the consumer—each is legitimate, and usually an efficiently-operated service, but it could be operated by farmers with the benefits accruing to them.

Our Cooperative Farm Credit System now makes it possible to borrow from the public—as

other business does—almost unlimited amounts of capital to do some of these necessary things.

Furthermore, there is only one General Manager for General Motors—not hundreds of competing branches as we have in agricultural marketing. And if the demand for cars falls off, the factory is shut down. The functions of marketing are understood and influenced to help the General Motors stockholder.

I am not saying that this is contrary to the public interest—but the preponderance of power which the relatively few buyers for the supermarkets in any metropolitan area have, give the consumer and the distributor the priority to most profit margins, and by deducting costs back toward the producer, who takes what is left?

National Grape Cooperative Used Big Business Tactics

There are some exceptions. For example, National Grape Cooperative has had a fantastic degree of success—because they used many of the same tactics as General Motors. They control the major share of the market for Concord grapes—they limit production, they have a high-quality product that is continuously advertised and merchandised. Because of this the consumer is willing to pay more for the product and the producer gets a better than average return for his production efforts.

It is true that specialized commodities are easier to organize under one national organization, like Sunkist oranges, Ocean Spray Cranberries, Diamond Walnuts, Sun-Maid Raisins,

Sunsweet Prunes, California Avocados, Land O'Lakes Butter, Gold Kist Pecans, Norbest Turkeys, Lynden Chicken, Donald Duck frozen orange juice, Sioux Honey, and many others which have done outstanding jobs.

Cooperatives have a greater challenge, and greater opportunities to return more dollars to farmers' pockets today than ever before. Many are doing it but we still have too many organizations, too many practices, and too much thinking that was good in the horse-and-buggy-era but is out of step with our jet age of today.

We hear occasionally that a supermarket or chain buyer says to a packer, "We want so many million pounds of a certain kind of beef, or turkeys, or pork, and we will pay you x cents per pound for it." In turn, the packer says to its buyers, "Go get it at a price which will provide us with a margin."

Weakness in Market Fault of Producer

If this be true the fault lies with the producer and his organizations more than with the buyer, for we have the commodities first, and we believe in a competitive system.

If more producers, co-op directors, and co-op managers understood how our economic system works, we could put together organizations of producers, strong enough regionally, nationally, and internationally, so that our influence in the market place would be as strong as that of any buyer facing us. Our principal fault is that our producer organizations too often compete with each other, and the weakness in the market is too often of our own making. **We can cor-**

rect it anytime we make up our minds to do so.

Bargaining cooperatives, operating cooperatives, farm organizations, service cooperatives, working together with one goal, of putting more dollars in farmers' pockets, and fully supported by members, could achieve miracles.

The basic function of a marketing agency is to shorten the route between producer and consumer. We have a complex but amazingly efficient system today—unfortunately it works largely for the benefit of consumers.

More coordination, more federation, more mergers, more teamwork, can make it much more effective for producers.

American Institute of Cooperation
1200 17th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Transamerica Agricultural Cooperative, Inc.

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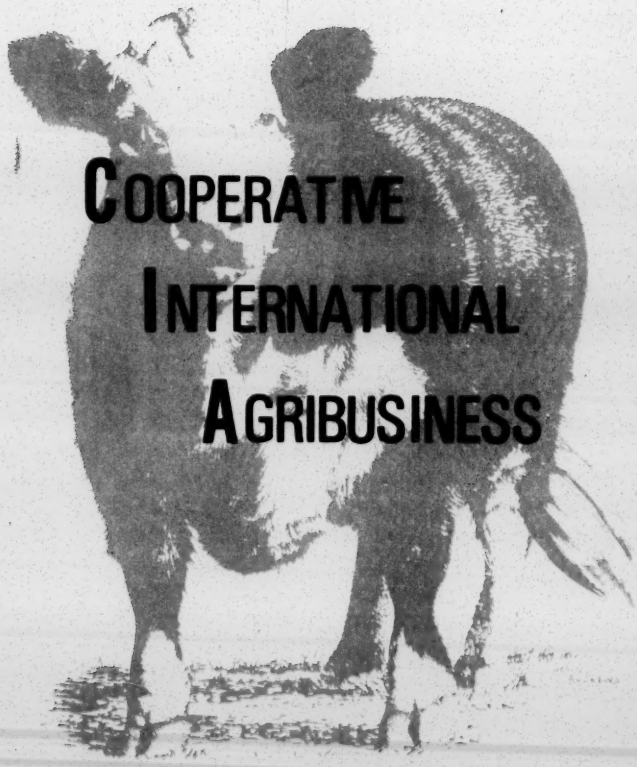
WASHINGTON, D. C.: INTERNATIONAL COOPERATIVE
DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION



COOPERATIVE INTERNATIONAL AGRIBUSINESS

By TAC MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS

There is **Much** *that you can do* **Alone**, *but there is*
No Limit *to what a group can accomplish working* **Together**!

Transamerica Agricultural Cooperative, Inc., (TAC) is a broad based agribusiness management system. It's basic design is the vertical integration of Domestic and Foreign agricultural production, marketing and finance. Through such integration of the various phases of agribusiness, each cooperative member realizes a greater profit potential, and the ability to expand his business. This plan has been approved for development by various private, governmental and quasi-governmental agencies. TAC participates in management and agricultural investment banking contractual relationships. A separate management company is used for each project for the following purposes:

(1) Funds for development of project.

(2) Management of cooperative in areas of production, marketing and finance.

(3) Control over lines of credit assuring to financial sources debt retirement in compliance with agreement.

CASE STUDY - The following is submitted as an example of how the TAC Management System works.

The management concepts which TAC is applying in agriculture have been successfully utilized for many years in industries other than agriculture. In the field of agriculture, the possibilities for applying these management concepts are limitless, for agricultural development lends itself readily to such vertical integration. With the recent crisis which has developed in U.S. food surpluses, and the desperate need for agricultural development in under - developed countries, to avoid widespread famine, the opportunities for agricultural expansion enterprises are manifold. The TAC Management System has generated much enthusiasm as a means of accomplishing this urgently needed expansion.

The initial project to be surveyed is an agricultural cooperative program which has been designed with the objective of stimulating the economic and technological development of the agricultural industry. The aim of this cooperative enterprise is the utilization of natural resources available in the area - water, soil, climate and labor. These natural resources will be combined with the management in the areas of production, marketing, and finance to develop the agricultural industry, increase income of the family farmer, and provide more food for the area.

This case study is for agricultural production, marketing, and finance of such items as cattle, fruits, and vegetables.

ORGANIZATION AND PLAN - Since lack of sufficient management and technological know-how is recognized as a major obstacle to economic growth in developing countries, it is believed that two distinct organizational entities are required to develop and operate a comprehensive and successful agricultural cooperative program. They are proposed as follows:

(1) The cooperative (COOP)
(2) The agricultural management company (AMCO)

AMCO will perform the operating functions of COOP under a proposed contractual agreement for a period of years. Under this arrangement there will be no overlapping of overhead in operating cost, since all management functions will be performed for COOP by AMCO.

COOP will be production area wide in scope with no geographical boundaries. It will embrace farmers, both large and small, who meet the eligibility requirements set up by the Board of Directors.

TAC Management System is threefold in concept, each program having been tailored to meet the specific needs of underdeveloped areas.

PLAN ONE-provides for the DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATION OF A CENTRAL FARM OR RANCH WHICH WOULD BE OWNED BY THE COOPERATIVE OR IT'S MEMBERS AND MANAGED BY AMCO.

PLAN TWO - a program designed specifically to assist the family size farmer as trainee on central farm or ranch.

PLAN THREE - embraces those farmers who are already land owners or who lease and operate farms. As members they would be eligible to purchase cattle, fertilizers, insecticides, pharmaceuticals farm equipment, and other supplies with lines of credit responsive to their needs.

TAC SYSTEM CHECK LIST

1. Project selected by client and approved by TAC. Both client and TAC participate in cost of project.

2. PROPOSED TIME SCHEDULE - It is expected that the project will require not less than six months nor more than two years. Investment decision will be made upon completion of the project. The following are the steps of achieving this project:

   (a) Preliminary research; basic survey of people and industry factors.

   (b) Project coordinated with policies and guidelines of applicable governmental, quasi-governmental, industrial, and political groups.

   (c) Economic Feasibility Research Study.

   (d) Operational Feasibility Research Study.

   (e) Loan and Credit Applications.

   (f) Operations.

3. Client reviews studies and desires to go ahead with project. The following are elections of client:

   (a) Capitalize cost of project and receive a percentage of AMCO stock, or

   (b) Treat cost of project as loan which AMCO will repay.

4. Client reviews studies and desires not to go ahead with project. The following is the result of client's decision:

   (a) Cost of project treated as expense by client. TAC has all right, title, and interest in study.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions pertaining to the items mentioned herein. Additional information and references are available upon request.

Very truly yours,

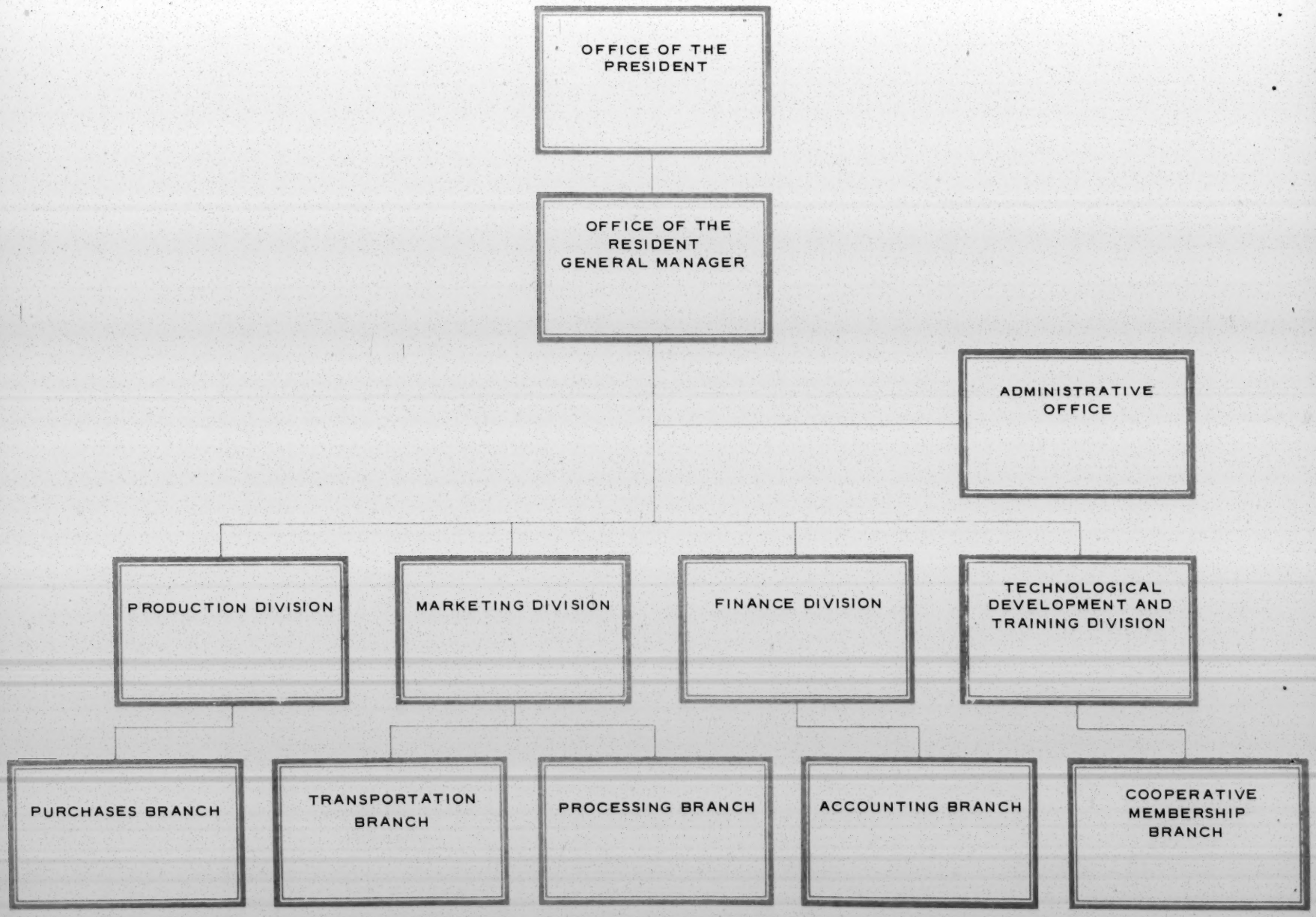
Edward H. Heller

Edward H. Heller
President

EHH/co

FUNCTIONAL CHART

AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT COMPANY



January 18, 1962

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Division of Education and Psychology
Department of Education
Livingstone College
Salisbury, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

I am very happy that you shall be here on February 5 and I look forward to seeing you. Incidentally, I shall be out of town February 3 should you try to call me that day.

Yes, Mrs. Tilly is "still around" - very much so. Sadly, Mrs. Tilly broke her hip before Christmas. She is up and about in a wheel chair and came back to the office this week. I shall tell her that you are coming and I know, that if she can, she will want to see you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Livingstone College
Salisbury, N. C.

DIVISION OF EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

January 17, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
S R C
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

My present plans are to come to Atlanta on Saturday, February 3, 1962. This will permit me to make some contacts on Sunday, and, I hope, to have some of your time on Monday, February 5. Some members of your staff will be able to help me, I am sure.

Sorry I missed you on your recent trip to this vicinity. A meeting in Raleigh had me tied up.

I hope that February 5 will be a convenient date for me to see you. I would be grateful for a word from you in confirmation.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Trigg

HLT/pls

P. S. Is Mrs. M. E. Tilley still around?

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

January 30, 1962

Dr. Harold L.Trigg
Division of Education and Psychology
Department of Education
Livingstone College
Salisbury, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Trigg:

We are sending you a bundle of our publications and you will be on the mailing list for future releases.

I regret that you have had to postpone your travel plans but we look forward to seeing you when you are here in the Spring.

Thank you most kindly for your Christmas card.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Lee said he told Fillmore what to send.

Sent 7-29-62

WF

from LD

Please send following to

Mr Harold Tugg

Original sit-in report

I-1, 8, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 26, 27, 29, 22, 23A, 25

I didn't have

New South, also Sept, July-Aug, November 1961

Daughters for Tradition

Fed Exec + CR

Unequal Badge

Gaining Ground Educ

This I Believe, Case for Integration, Taylor

Freedom Ride

Negro + the Ballot

Houston

Student Protest, A Recap

Race Violence + Law Enf

School Desegr, 1956

Racial Crisis + Press

Price + Moreland sit in report

South + the Nation

1

$$\begin{array}{r} 2\ 27 \\ 12 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 2.27 \\ 6 \\ \hline 13\ 62 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 2\ 27\ \ 4, \\ 7 \\ \hline 15.89 \end{array}$$

Annual Meeting

August 8, 1961

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Department of Education
Livingstone College
Salisbury, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Trigg:

I was delighted to receive your letter of August 1. I regret that I am not one of the people at the Council who had an opportunity to work with you, but I assure you that others remember your services full well and I, of course, do know of and admire the work you did, not only with the Council, but in your other activities as well.

It will be a great pleasure to welcome you when you visit Atlanta, and I hope your stay will be a leisurely one. So far as I know, I shall be here throughout the early fall, except from September 19-23.

Incidentally, some time from now you will be receiving a more formal invitation to be present at the annual Board meeting November 8 - 9. At the last meeting of the Executive Committee, it was decided to invite former members of the Board to attend the non-business sessions, including lunch and dinner, of this year's meeting. The desire of the Executive Committee and of the staff is that the former members of the Board should be made to feel welcome and very much still a part of the work and concern of the Council. Unfortunately, we are not able to offer expenses, but we do hope that some of the former members will, one year or another, be able to be with us.

Many thanks for your good wishes.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

Livingstone College
Salisbury, N. C.

DIVISION OF EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

August 1, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Exec. Dir.,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Please accept these belated congatulations at your succession to the responsibilities formerly shouldered by Mr. Fleming. I was with the Council in 1946 and 1947, and I know what a tremendous challenge you have in the work there. I am sure you are amply capable of measuring up to the need.

For some time I have wanted to visit the offices there and have access to the accumulated wealth of information in the area of civil rights. I also plan a trip over the ground covered by me during my service with the Council. If I may be permitted to do so, would you kindly suggest a time in the early Fall when such a visit might be convenient.

Wishing you every success in your work, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold L. Trigg

T/t

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

Livingstone College
Salisbury, N. C.

DIVISION OF EDUCATION AND PSYCHOLOGY
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

October 23, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, North West
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 13 and also the one of October 8. I am thanking you for both.

I have not yet been able to make a schedule for the trip I had planned and therefore I have not written you about them. I hope to be able to make the trip soon.

I am deeply grateful for the invitation to attend the annual meeting on November 8 and 9 and regret that it will not be possible for me to do so. I know most of the personalities on the program and I am sure that all of the sessions will be educational and inspirational.

Would you kindly have me put on the mailing list for the occasional reports mentioned in the post script? I am particularly anxious to have information concerning the "Sit-Ins" and "Freedom-Riders".

I am looking forward to going to Atlanta sometime in the near future and having a visit with you.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg

HLT/pls

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND FOUNDED 1944

November 17, 1961

Mr. Robert B. Troutman, Jr.
15 Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Robert:

I am enclosing a copy of a report which we have just issued on employment opportunities for Negroes in Houston. As you will note, this is the first of several similar reports we are planning on southern cities.

These reports do not purport to be comprehensive surveys. They are intended simply to portray and illustrate the employment and career opportunities available to Negroes in their own communities.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. 1

Files
Robert
Troutman

POPULATION OF THE

UNITED STATES

	% Non-white
1900	12.1
1910	11.1
1920	10.3
1930	10.2
1940	10.2
1950	10.5
1960	11.4

Non-whites are about 11% of the nation's population, and, as shown on the adjoining table, are 10% of its work force in 1961. Yet non-whites are only:

4% of the nation's professional and technical workers

2% of its managers

5% of its clerical workers

2% of its sales people

5% of its craftsmen

In only one of the above categories--clerical--has there been much change since 1948.

OCCUPATION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY % WHITE AND % NONWHITE FOR THE UNITED STATES 1948 and 1961

	1948		1961	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total employed	90.6%	9.4	89.9%	10.1%
Professional, technical & kindred workers	96.3	3.7	96.0	4.1
Farmers & farm managers	89.4	10.6	92.3	7.8
Managers, officials, & proprietors (except farm)	98.1	1.9	97.9	2.1
Clerical & kindred workers	97.5	2.5	94.8	5.2
Salesworkers	98.1	1.9	97.8	2.1
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	96.3	3.7	95.2	4.8
Operatives & kindred workers	90.4	9.6	88.1	11.9
Private household workers	47.5	52.5	56.4	43.6
Service workers (except private household)	79.6	20.4	79.8	20.2
Farm laborers & foremen	84.2	15.8	76.7	23.3
Laborers (escept farm & mine)	76.4	23.6	73.6	26.4

Source: Current Population Survey - unpublished data

The next table shows change in occupational distribution from 1948-1961.

- More non-whites are now in professional and technical employment, but more whites also have entered these fields.
- In the categories of managers, officials, etc.; sales workers; and craftsmen, foremen, etc.; the gain by non-whites has been slight.

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS AND COLOR FOR THE UNITED STATES 1948 and 1961

	1948		1961	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	7.5	2.7	12.7	4.8
Farmers and farm managers	7.9	9.0	4.2	3.2
Managers, officials, and proprietors (except farm)	11.8	2.2	12.0	2.3
Clerical and kindred workers	13.5	3.4	15.9	7.8
Sales workers	6.7	1.2	7.3	1.4
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	14.8	5.6	13.5	6.1
Operatives and kindred workers	21.0	21.4	17.0	20.4
Private household workers	1.6	17.3	2.2	15.0
Service workers (except private household)	6.3	15.7	8.5	19.1
Farm laborers and foremen	4.1	7.4	2.6	7.1
Laborers (except farm and mine)	4.7	14.1	4.1	12.9

Source: Current Population Survey - unpublished data

Some of the figures in the facing table are especially interesting:

- Approximately the same proportions of whites and non-whites are engaged in agriculture, leaving equal proportions of both races for other employment.

- Non-white college men face employment prospects comparable to those of women of both races: clerical work is the principal opportunity for those not going into the professions. For white college men, clerical work is relatively unimportant.

- There are few opportunities for non-whites in sales.

- Better than 1 of 5 white men with no high school training nevertheless become craftsmen or foremen; far fewer non-whites of the same educational level develop such skills. One-fourth of the white men with some high school training become skilled workers; only 1/8 of the non-whites do.

- About the same proportion of whites and non-whites without high school training are employed as service workers. When whites achieve some high school training, they move rapidly away from these jobs; they absorb many non-whites of all educational levels.

- Domestic employment continues to be a principal outlet for non-white women of all educational levels.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS 18 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND COLOR, MARCH 1959

	White			Nonwhite		
	Less than High School	High School 1-4 years	Some College	Less than High School	High School 1-4 years	Some College
Total: Male	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Professional, technical & kindred workers	1.2	4.7	40.6	.5	1.5	40.7
Farmers & farm managers	13.2	5.6	2.2	8.4	2.3	-
Managers, officials & proprietors, except farm	10.4	14.8	22.0	2.0	2.0	4.7
Clerical & kindred workers	3.0	8.9	8.3	1.4	9.2	15.7
Sales workers	2.8	6.8	10.3	.3	1.4	3.7
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	22.2	25.1	7.7	7.5	12.3	10.3
Operatives & kindred workers	25.1	21.9	4.8	23.6	28.2	5.3
Private household workers	.1	*	.1	.3	.3	-
Service workers, except private household	7.4	5.6	2.4	10.3	19.3	14.0
Farm laborers & foremen	4.8	1.3	.5	12.0	3.8	.7
Laborers, except farm and mine	9.8	5.3	1.2	33.6	19.7	5.0
Total: Female	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %
Professional, technical & kindred workers	1.0	6.2	52.8	.2	2.9	52.2
Farmers & farm managers	1.9	.3	.2	.5	-	-
Managers, officials & proprietors, except farm	6.0	6.1	5.9	3.1	1.4	2.4
Clerican & kindred workers	8.2	43.6	28.0	.9	12.4	17.0
Sales workers	7.7	9.2	5.2	.8	1.3	2.8
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	1.7	1.0	.3	.2	.9	-
Operatives & kindred workers	30.9	14.8	1.8	13.0	15.8	5.5
Private household workers	13.6	3.0	.7	53.6	29.4	10.3
Service workers, except private household	22.1	13.5	4.4	21.6	33.5	9.9
Farm laborers & foremen	6.1	1.9	.8	5.6	1.5	-
Laborers except farm & mine	.8	.3	-	.6	1.0	-

Source: Special Labor Force Report No. 1

* Less than .05%

For both 1954 and April 1961, the unemployment rate for non-whites was higher than that for whites in <u>every occupational category</u>.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF SELECTED OCCUPATIONS BY COLOR

FOR THE UNITED STATES 1954 and 1961

	Annual Average 1954		April 1961	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total experienced civilian labor force	4.2%	7.9%	5.7%	11.9%
Professional, technical & kindred workers			1.7	2.1
Farmers and farm managers			.2	0
Managers, officials, proprietors (except farm)			2.1	7.2
Clerical & kindred workers)	2.9	6.1	4.3	9.4
Sales workers)			4.3	3.1
Craftsmen, foremen & kindred workers	3.7	11.6	7.3	15.3
Operatives & kindred workers	6.2	10.3	10.0	12.6
Private household workers	3.2	6.7	4.2	8.8
Service workers (except private household)	4.5	6.8	5.9	12.4
Farm laborers & foremen	3.9	5.3	5.7	10.8
Laborers (except farm & mine)	7.9	11.7	16.1	20.6

Source: 1954, Current Population Reports. P. 50, No. 66

Source: 1961, Current Population Survey & Unpublished data

From 1939 to 1959, the income of white workers increased about 4½ times; that of non-white workers, about 6 times.

Progress in narrowing the gap between white and non-white income was fairly rapid between 1939-1951. Since then, the gap has grown.

MEDIAN MONEY WAGE OR SALARY INCOME OF WHITE AND NONWHITE MALE WORKERS WITH WAGE OR SALARY INCOME: 1939 to 1959

Year	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of white
1939	$1,112	$ 460	41
1950	2,982	1,828	61
1951	3,345	2,060	62
1952	3,507	2,038	58
1953	3,760	2,233	59
1954	3,754	2,131	57
1955	3,986	2,342	59
1956	4,260	2,396	56
1957	4,260	2,436	56
1958	4,569	2,652	58
1959	4,902	2,844	58

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957, and various issues of Current Population Reports, Series P-60.

When measured by <u>family</u> income, non-whites are even less well off. The preceding table shows for 1959 that non-white salaries and wages were nearly 3/5 as high as those of whites. In the same year, total family income of non-whites was only about ½ that of whites.

MEDIAN MONEY INCOME OF FAMILIES, [1] BY COLOR FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1947-1959

Year	White	Non-white	Non-white as % of white
1947	$3,157	$1,614	51
1948	3,310	1,768	53
1949	3,232	1,650	51
1950	3,445	1,869	54
1951	3,859	2,032	53
1952	4,114	2,338	57
1953	4,392	2,461	56
1954	4,339	2,410	56
1955	4,605	2,549	55
1956	4,993	2,628	53
1957	5,166	2,764	54
1958	5,300	2,711	51
1959	5,643	2,917	52

1. Groups of two or more related persons residing together.
Source: Current Population Reports, P. 60, No. 35.

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS BY TOTAL MONEY INCOME, (before taxes), BY COLOR FOR THE U. S. 1949-59

	White		Non-white	
	1949	1959	1949	1959
Under $2,000	35.6%	19.5%	70.6%	45.4%
$2,000 - $2,999	17.8	9.4	17.0	14.6
$3,000 - $3,999	18.1	9.9	7.4	12.1
$4,000 - $4,999	10.9	11.0	2.4	10.1
$5,000 - $5,999	7.0	12.2	1.3	5.9
$6,000 - $6,999	3.8	10.0	.7	3.9
$7,000 - $9,999	4.2	16.9	.5	6.3
$10,000 and over	2.6	10.4	.1	1.7
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Sources. 1949: U. S. Statistical Abstract (derived)
1959: Current Population Reports P. 60, No. 35 (derived)

Note: This table refers to money income only, and does not include any payment in kind - e. g. food and lodging, especially important on farms.

Although the relative increase of schooling has been greater for non-whites than whites, the gap between them slightly increased from 1940-1959.

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED

BY PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER

	Male		Female	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
April 1940	8.7	5.4	8.8	6.1
March 1959	11.1	7.6	11.6	8.4
Increase 1940-1959	2.4	2.2	2.8	2.3

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce as quoted in Economic Situation of Negroes in the United States

ILLITERACY[1] OF POPULATION[2] IN THE UNITED STATES

1870 - 1959

	Percent Illiterate White	Nonwhite
1870	11.5	79.9
1880	9.4	70.0
1890	7.7	56.8
1900	6.2	44.5
1910	5.0	30.5
1920	4.0	23.0
1930	3.0	16.4
1940	2.0	11.5
1947	1.8	11.0
1952	1.8	10.2
1959	1.6	7.5

In 1959, of the non-white population over 25 years of age, 23.5% had less than five years of elementary school; of the white population, the percent was 6.4.

1. Unable to both read and write in any language.
2. 1870-1940 for population 10 years old and over; 1947-1959 for population 14 years old and over.

SOURCE: Current Population Reports. P.20, No. 99

School attendance within the age group 7-24 is about as high for non-whites as for whites; however, examination of the figures on the next page indicates a greater drop-out rate for non-whites in the high school ages. In contrast to 1940, there was in 1959 practically no difference in the 7-13 age bracket, and greatly reduced difference in the ages from 14-19: this means that non-whites newly entering the labor market will be better trained than in the recent past.

PERCENT OF WHITES AND NON-WHITES ENROLLED IN SCHOOL BY AGE FOR THE UNITED STATES 1940-1959

	April 1940		October 1959	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total 7-24	59.7%	55.3%	74.9%	72.3%
7-13	95.5	91.2	99.5	99.0
14-17	80.7	68.2	90.8	85.3
18-19	29.8	21.1	37.3	33.6
20-24	6.9	3.8	13.4	8.5

Eleven percent of the nation's population is non-white. Non-whites occupy only 9% of the total housing of the country, occupy 29% of the dilapidated housing, and 17% of the housing occupied by non-whites is classified as dilapidated. This means that almost 1 of every 5 non-whites lives in a dilapidated structure.

CONDITION OF HOUSING UNITES IN UNITED STATES BY COLOR OF OCCUPANTS 1950-60

	1950		1960	
Dilapidated Housing	(000)	Percent	(000)	Percent
White	3,262	72.0	2,139	70.7
Non-white	1,273	28.0	886	29.3
Total	4,535	100	3,025	100
Total Housing				
White	42,269	91.6	53,170	91.2
Non-white	3,868	8.4	5,153	8.8
Total	46,137	100	58,323	100
Percent of Housing Dilapidated				
White		7.7		4.0
Non-white		32.9		17.2
Total		9.8		5.2

SOURCE: U. S. Bureau of the Census - Press Releases March 1961

One of the brightest indices is the growth in home ownership by non-whites, which proportionately has greatly exceeded that of whites.

PERCENT OF OWNER-OCCUPIED HOUSING, BY COLOR FOR THE U. S. 1890-1960

Year	White	Non-white
1890	51.5%	19.0%
1900	49.7	23.6
1910	n/a	n/a
1920	48.1	23.9
1930	50.2	25.2
1940	45.7	23.6
1950	57.0	34.9
1960	64.4	38.3

HOUSING 1960

	White	Non-white	Total
Owner occupied	30,821,869	1,974,218	32,796,087
Rented	17,046,534	3,178,440	20,224,974
Total	47,868,403	5,152,658	53,021,061

Note: n/a - not available

Source: Censuses of Housing

EXPECTATION OF LIFE AT BIRTH, BY COLOR, U. S.

Year	White	Non-white	Difference
1900	47.6 years	33.0 years	14.6 years
1910	50.3	35.6	14.7
1920	54.9	45.3	9.6
1930	61.4	48.1	13.3
1940	64.2	53.1	11.1
1950	69.1	60.8	8.3
1958	70.3	63.0	7.3

DEATH RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION, BY COLOR, U. S.

Year	White	Non-white	Difference
1900	17.0	25.0	8.0
1910	14.5	21.7	7.2
1920	12.6	17.7	5.1
1930	10.8	16.3	5.5
1940	10.4	13.8	3.4
1950	9.5	11.2	1.7
1959	9.4	9.9	.5

Negro families spend more of their income on clothing and housing than do white families.

AVERAGE EXPENDITURES OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY COLOR, FOR THE UNITED STATES, 1955

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION

	Average Expenditure of Households	
	White	Negro
Food, beverages and tobacco	29%	29%
Clothing and accessories	12	19
Medical and Personal care	5	5
Home operation and improvement	19	23
Home furnishings and equipment	9	8
Recreation and recreation equipment	5	3
Automotive	14	12
Other goods and services	7	1
All goods and services	100%	100%

Source: "Life" Study of Consumer Expenditures

October 1, 1956

(Dictated September 28)

Mr. John E. Tsouderos
Georgia Institute of Technology
Department of Social Sciences
Atlanta 13, Georgia

Dear Mr. Tsouderos:

I greatly appreciate your kind letter of September 21st, and much enjoyed reading your father's article and what you were good enough to send me about him. I wish I could have known him.

I sent the testament on to my friend John Fischer. Maybe Harpers will use it. I told Ed that in my weak judgement the most likely magazine to publish it would be The Round Table in London.

If you are ever free for minutes of conversation, do stop in at the office.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED SEP 2 5

GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
ATLANTA 13, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

September 21, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Ed Foster suggested I send you the enclosed summary background information on my father. He will be sending you an article written by my father, Emmanuel J. Tsouderos, just before his death last February, 1956, which I have translated from the original Greek and entitled "Political Testament". The original text in Greek will be read on or about February, 1957 at a commemoration ceremony in honor of my father in Athens. The article will need some revision for the American reader. I do hope that Harper's will be interested in using this article and if so I will be most happy to cooperate with the editor as regards any modifications of the text.

I look forward to the pleasure of making your acquaintance soon.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Tsouderos

enclosure

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Emmanuel J. Tsouderos, Born in Crete, Greece, 1881, fought as his forefathers did for the liberation of the island and its union with Greece. It was in 1911 that he appeared as a political leader starting his career as a member of the legislature of Crete and as its representative in Athens. Studied law at the University of Athens and economics at the Sarbonne in Paris and Oxford University in London. A Venizelist liberal and a financial expert, in 1918 he was a technical advisor to the Greek delegation at the Paris Peace Conference. After the war he went to Hungary, Austria and Czechoslovakia as an economic delegate to Greece. He was a member of the Vienna committee on reparations in 1920 and 1921. During the middle nineteen twenties Mr. Tsouderos was a League of Nations delegate, Minister of Finance, Minister of Communications and a member of the Greek delegation that went to London to discuss Greece's war debts to England. From 1931 to 1939 he was Governor of the bank of Greece. Mr. Tsouderos came into top prominence during the tragic days of 1941 when he became Premier of Greece, just before the German invasion. While German troops advanced toward Athens, Mr. Tsouderos and his Cabinet fled to Cairo, where for three years he headed the Greek Government in exile. After the liberation he served as deputy premier. Mr. Tsouderos was elected a member of Parliament and appointed a minister in successive cabinets since 1945. Died in Genoa, Italy at the age of 74, author of a great number of books with a historical, economical and diplomatic theme, honored by the highest Greek decorations and decorations from other countries. Awarded an honorary Doctor of Philosophy degree from the University of Oxford, England and the University of Pittsburgh, United States. Was Well known in Washington, D. C. having headed a number of economic missions there.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Corres. re Tsouderos mss.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE
Editorial Rooms

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR

49 EAST 33D STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

October 8, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 11 1956

Dear George:

After such a long time, it was delightful to hear from you again. Is there any chance that you might be in New York this fall? If so, could you have lunch with me?

I'm sorry to have to tell you that the Tsouderos manuscript which you sent me with your letter of October 1 seems a bit too abstract and remote for us; important as he was to his own people, the author is, of course, not very well known in this country.

Thanks, anyhow, for giving us a chance at it -- and I hope you will keep us in mind if you come across any other authors or ideas which seem to you possibilities for Harper's. I have returned the manuscript directly to Ed Foster, as you directed, and I am returning John E. Tsouderos' letter of September 21 herewith.

Best regards,

Jack

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

John Fischer/ns

No enclosure
(ob)

October 1, 1956

(Dictated September 28)

Mr. Ed Foster
Georgia Institute of Technology
Department of English
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ed:

I read the Tsouderos testament and thought it had a number of stately passages. I commended it to John Fischer. I greatly enjoyed it and thought it wise.

On private reflection, I doubt that it has sufficient popularity to achieve use in Harpers. My own knowledge of the journals that would print it is limited. But my guess would be that the British magazine called The Round Table is the closest to what would use it. And the British are great on centenaries and commemorations, and they love Greece and royal Greece.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

October 1, 1956

(Dictated September 28)

Mr. John Fischer
Editor
Harpers Magazine
49 East Thirty-Third Street
New York 16, New York

Dear John:

There's a good guy teaching English at Georgia Tech named Foster. Out of a capacious memory he recalled that I had the honor of your acquaintance. Foster asked me to send on to you, as possibly printable, the enclosed item.

Foster has in his class a Greek boy, John E. Tsouderos. John, as his letter will show, is son to the Greek statesman by that name who died in February, 1956, just after having written the enclosed article as a political testament.

John and the man Foster thought the political testament of great importance and topical before long because in February, 1957, there will be commemoration of the father in Athens.

I have read the testament. I find in it occasional stately passages; nothing silly; considerable wisdom; but little language that flows along. Maybe that is some problem of translation that a touch-up artist could remedy. In any case, I suggest merely that the proposal that this be an article be run through your machinery, and the appropriate answer ground out electronically.

Your answer could be made to Ed Foster direct. He is Professor of English, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta. Along with this I send the information on pere et fils. If your clerks can remember, the letter should come back to me, George Mitchell.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

OFFICERS FOR 1956: *President*, Mrs. Luella B. Cook, Box 127, R.F.D. 3, Wayzata, Minnesota; *First Vice-President*, Helen Mackintosh, U. S. Office of Education, Washington 25, D. C.; *Second Vice-President*, Jerome W. Archer, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. EXECUTIVE SECRETARY: J. N. Hook, 704 South Sixth Street, Champaign, Illinois.

The National Council of Teachers of English

EXECUTIVE OFFICE: 704 SOUTH SIXTH STREET, CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS

210 North Avenue NW, Atlanta, Ga. 9-22-56

Dr. George S. Mitchell
The Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Enclosed is the Tsouderos Testament, and I think you'll have a fine time reading it.

John, the son, a member of Tech's Department of Social Sciences, is sending you a brief note on his father's career.

If you do feel like writing a note to John Fisher, Souderos and I will both be grateful. He tells me that it was decided in Athens, that part of the check from the editor should go into a fund to be used for an official and commissioned biography of the late prime minister.

Cordially,

Ed

Ed Foster

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: The officers of the Council, and T. A. Barnhart, St. Cloud, Minnesota, State Teachers College; Mrs. Alvina T. Burrows, 117 Nassau Avenue, Manhasset, New York; John C. Gerber, State University of Iowa, Iowa City; Lou LaBrant, University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Missouri; Virginia Belle Lowers, 322 North Flores Street, Los Angeles 48. COUNCIL JOURNALS: *Elementary English*, Editor, John J. DeBoer, University of Illinois, Urbana; *The English Journal*, Editor, Dwight L. Burton, Florida State University, Tallahassee; *College English*, Editor, Frederick L. Gwynn, University of Virginia, Charlottesville; *College Composition and Communication*, Editor, F. E. Bowman, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina.

JC
MF } Please note address.
HCF

United States Court of Appeals
Fifth Judicial Circuit

Elbert P. Tuttle, Judge
Atlanta, Georgia

May 2, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your kind note of April 27th. I shall be glad to be on the mailing list and am perfectly happy to have the mailings come to my office, P. O. Box 893.

Cordially yours,

Elbert Tuttle

EPT:w

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

"TU" GENERAL

REGARDING

Letter to Mr. Cliff Tuck, Shelby County Development Coordinator Shelby County Commissioners, Memphis Tenn, 38130 dated 4-3-67 regarding assistance in efforts to create and find funds for a Community Liaison Officer from P.A.

Ltr. 3-23-67 from Mr. Tuck requesting assistance.

DATE

4-3-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

"SH" GENERAL

See Jim - gen.

June 28, 1967

The Honorable Elbert P. Tuttle
Judge
Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals
Old Post Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Judge Tuttle:

This summer we have several Emory University law students working with us as interns. Two of them, Mr. Kenneth Horwitz and Mr. William Gignilliat, are working on a project of analyzing recent federal court decisions on school desegregation, particularly those in the Fifth Circuit. Theoretically, William Foster of the University of Wisconsin Law School is to do an outline for their study, but we have yet to receive it.

This is to ask if you would be good enough to grant these young men an interview. I think they would be grateful and there is no question but that they would be helped by an opportunity to talk with you. Knowing of your very busy schedule, we would especially be grateful if you could find the time for this.

Should you find this request possible, these men would be available at your convenience, of course.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Tiee Tuskegee Inst.

Tuskegee Institute

COMMUNITY EDUCATION PROGRAM
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA, 36088

August 4, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thanks so much for the material, which will enable us to give a better picture of our problems and needs.

Very Sincerely,

Vera C. Foster

Vera C. Foster
Associate Director for
Agency Coordination & Resources

VCF:g

FUNDED THROUGH U. S. OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND U. S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION

file "T" or "TU"

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME:

TUVE, Mr. Robert F.

REGARDING:

Deposition of, in the case of Vivian Calhoun, et. al., (plaintiffs) vs E. S. Cook, et al, (Defendants) in U. S. District Court. Civil Action #6298.

(Calhoun et al., vs. Atlanta Board of Education)

DATE(S):

April 25, 1969

SEE:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

BETTER SCHOOLS ATLANTA file

SEE ALSO:
(NAME OR SUBJECT)

T. C. H.
WR file

March 3, 1958

Mr. C. G. Gomillion
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mr. Gomillion:

Thanks so much for your kind letter of February 22 and the copy of your excellent presentation before the Macon County Committee. This is as statesmanlike a presentation as I have seen, and it would be hard to suppose that the Committee was not impressed by it, in spite of itself.

I am further confirmed in my admiration for the leadership you are giving in a very difficult situation.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 2/25/58

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

February 22, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the February, 1958, copy of The Progressive which I received today. Your article on "The South and Segregation: Where Do We Stand?" is, in my opinion, an accurate analysis of the present situation, and a timely one. Thank you for taking the time to write it.

Thank you, also, for the report on the work of the human relations councils in the states formerly affiliated with the SRC. At the annual meeting of the Alabama Council on Human Relations at Talladega College, Saturday, February 15, representatives of several of the local units reported on their activities and achievements during the past year. You will probably receive a report from Reverend Hughes. Mr. Dabbs' speech, in the afternoon, on "The Southern Regional Council: Guide for Those Going Somewhere" was loudly applauded.

Best wishes for continued success in your work.

Sincerely yours,

CGGomillion

C. G. Gomillion

P.S. Enclosed is a copy of the statement which I read to the Macon County Committee of the Alabama Legislature on Friday morning, February 14.

CGG

C. G. Gomillion

CGG:fk

Tuskegee Civic Association
Box 31
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
February 14, 1958

The Macon County Committee
State Capitol - Room 331
Montgomery, Alabama

Gentlemen:

I am grateful to you for the opportunity which you have given me to present to you the desires of many citizens in Macon County, Alabama. I come before this Committee with great concern for the well-being of the citizens of Macon County, and for the County as a unit of the State of Alabama. I recognize that you have been given an assignment by the majority of the citizens who voted on December 17, 1957, and that you have a responsibility to execute the mandate of the electorate to the best of your ability. But the mandate given you, if I understand it, is that you study the situation in Macon County, and make recommendation to the Legislative Council.

It is my opinion that you, as responsible officials, will want to make the best possible recommendations, that you will want those recommendations to be in keeping with the democratic principles of our government, and with the increasing tendency toward fair play and justice in the South. Although in Macon County and elsewhere in Alabama there are citizens who think that you should recommend that Macon County be reduced in size, or abolished completely, if it takes that to keep Negroes from holding public office, or from voting under conditions similar to those under which white citizens vote, you are free to recommend what you conceive to be good for Alabama and for the Nation.

The Tuskegee Civic Association and other Negroes in Macon County have been accused of trying to take over the government, and of destroying the economic well-being of white merchants. Such is not true. Negro citizens in Macon County, since the arrival of Booker T. Washington in 1881, have been trying to follow his teachings. They have studied diligently, and often at great odds, to reduce their ignorance and increase their knowledge; they have tried to use their knowledge and understanding in their efforts to earn a living, to improve their health, to beautify their environment, and to serve their fellow-citizens; they have tried to learn their civic rights and duties, so that they might function as socially responsible citizens. As a result of their study and work, the Negro citizenry became better educated, and the Negro community became economically more valuable. As this took place, the white community prospered. There was the hope on the part of Negro citizens that the white community was pleased with the progress made by them, and with their contributions to the growth and beautification of the City of Tuskegee, and its adjacent areas. Imagine the shock and disappointment of many when the boundary lines were redrawn, the city was reduced in size, and many industrious, lawabiding and sacrificing Negroes gerrymandered out of the City of Tuskegee, deprived of their equity in the municipal property, and deprived of the right to vote in municipal elections. Even today, there are many who do not understand why industrious, thrifty, lawabiding, democratic-loving citizens were required to pay such a price for their contribution to the well-being of the community.

And now there is even greater anxiety. They fear the reduction or the abolition of the County. They fear that you, members of the Alabama Legislature, will recommend such. It is difficult for them to understand why the Legislature would reduce the size of a city, and is considering the reduction or destruction of a county.

Today, my Negro fellow-citizens in Macon County want me to inform you that in spite of the fact that they have been accused of trying to take over the government, and of destroying the economy, the record will show that there is no evidence to substantiate such charges. Today, there is not a single Negro holding an elective governmental office in Macon County, and there are more than one hundred such offices in the County. Only once in thirty years has a Negro run for public office. Does this suggest that Negroes are trying to take over the government? In spite of the fact that Negroes have made no effort to take over the government, there are some in the County who learned well their civics and political science, and who know that a political democracy is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, and who believe that all citizens who can meet the qualification for voting should have the opportunity to vote.

Further, Negro citizens in Macon County have contributed greatly to the economic prosperity of white citizens, and to the economic wealth of the County. Taxes paid by them have been used to keep up municipal and county property, and to pay the salaries of government employees. These Negroes have been happy that they could make such contributions to the economy of the County. Until recently they have been proud of what they thought were their city and county. Now they are confused. When the Legislature gerrymandered Tuskegee, and when a committee of the Legislature is considering the abolition ofMacon County, Negro Citizens are wondering whether or not Macon County belongs to the citizens who live there, or to the Legislature. When they realize that in spite of their contributions to the economy of the County they hold no public office, and that they were given no direct opportunity to decide whether or not they should be put out of the City, they remembered the utterance of one of the Founding Fathers of this Nation that taxation without representation is tyranny. They recalled, also, the statement of another great American that this Nation cannot exist half-slave and half-free.

The Negro citizens of Macon County appeal to you to recommend to the Legislative Council that the present boundaries of Macon County be left as they are, and that the citizens - white and Negro - be given the opportunity to resume the program of societal and cultural development which was in progress prior to the gerrymandering of Tuskegee. There is no good reason why white and Negro citizens in Macon County cannot develop a community which would be a model of democratic living. The citizens can learn to recognize and respect the rights of one another. We urge you not to recommend the reduction or destruction of the County. You are Americans, and as good Americans, you are committed to the concept of progress. You will want history to record that you helped to build Macon County. You might not want school children in the future to read that you voted to destroy a county because you were requested to do so. In spite of what has happened to Negro citizens during the past twelve months, the Tuskegee Civic Association is still willing to work with public officials and other citizens interested in the development of the County. Why not give us a chance?

In your deliberations you might wish to consider the appointment of a commission of white and Negro citizens in the County which would appraise the existing problems, and consider appropriate measures to resolve them. This commission would report to this official body.

We remind this Committee that the only true yardstick by which its actions can be measured are the fundamental articles of America's political faith, to wit:

1. No taxation without representation.

2. Enjoyment of the voting franchise by all qualified citizens.

3. Equitable application of the law to all.

I thank the Committee for the opportunity which was given to me, and I assure you that the Tuskegee Civic Association is committed to the objective of growth and development, and will work diligently to make Macon County, or wherever TCA members live, a better place. Our lives and work will be such as to attract visitors and residents who want to see and participate in progressive living. May we not move ahead with your blessings? Give us the chance to make you proud of us. Thank you.

The Tuskegee Civic Association

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
President

December 15, 1958

Mr. William P. Mitchell
Secretary
Tuskegee Civic Association
Box 467
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

phone 1694 Office
phone 1126 Home

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed please find a biographical sketch on yours truly. Unfortunately, we do not have any glossy finish photographs of me at the moment. They are on re-order and we will send one to you shortly.

With the best of Christmas wishes,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Box 467
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

December 11, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

As suggested in our letter of November 6, 1958, we are still desirous of a glossy finish photograph of yourself along with your biographical sketch. If possible, kindly favor us with this material in order that we might do some pre-planning for your coming.

Very truly yours,

William P. Mitchell

WILLIAM P. MITCHELL
Secretary, Tuskegee
Civic Association

cc: Rev. K. L. Buford
Acting President,
Tuskegee Civic Assoc.

CRUSADE FOR CITIZENSHIP

Second Anniversary Celebration

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Scene from the Civil Rights Commission Hearings
Montgomery, Alabama, December 8, 1958

Greenwood Missionary Baptist Church

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1959

7:30 P. M.

LWD ✓
~~+ Co.~~

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

RECEIVED AUG 1 . 1959

July 11, 1959

Dear Fellow Americans:

Mr. C. G. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, who is on leave while doing advance study at Ohio State University, directed me to send you a copy of our Souvenir Program that points up the Second Anniversary of our Crusade for Citizenship here in Macon County, Alabama.

You are aware of the act of the Alabama Legislature that gerrymandered the City of Tuskegee so as to exclude all but 10 Negro voters. We have conducted weekly educational mass meetings since June, 1957.

Mr. Jackie Robinson, formerly of the Brooklyn Dodgers Baseball Club was our speaker during our Second Anniversary Observance.

We hope that you will find the booklet informative, and I am sure the president would appreciate any comments from you regarding our efforts as we have attempted to point them up under "The Year In Review." Mr. Gomillion's address is: 1474 East Long Street, Columbus 3, Ohio.

Sincerely yours,

William P. Mitchell

William P. Mitchell
Executive Secretary

HF - ~~Did this call for a "I'm with you" letter from you?~~

MM - see "The Year in Review" - convenient summary to keep in mind

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

P. O. Box 467
September 10, 1959

Dr. Harold Flenning
S R C
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Flenning:

The Tuskegee Civic Association is attempting to build national support for H.R. 7957 recently introduced into Congress. The bill is a definite step toward eliminating voter-registration denial so prevalent in many sections of the South. H.R. 7957 provides for federal regulation of this matter.

We are asking national and local organizations to endorse this bill and individuals to write the committee members urging support of H.R. 7957.

Anything you can do in this regard will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

William P. Mitchell

William P. Mitchell, Chairman
Voter Franchise Committee
Tuskegee Civic Association

WPM:b

Encl: H.R. 7957
Committee list

April 12, 1960

Mr. C. G. Gomillion
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mr. Gomillion:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to the members of the Southern Sociological Society. It was a fine job of restrained and persuasive interpretation, and I'm sure it had a lot to do with the unequivocal stand taken by the Society last week.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

H. K. LOGAN, BUSINESS MANAGER

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Tuskegee Institute

FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

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PRESIDENT EMERITUS

THE INAUGURAL COMMITTEE

October 15, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 15
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We are enclosing a schedule of events of the inaugural exercises, including the completed program of the symposium. We have asked you to present a 30- to 40-minute paper on the subject "The Extension of Citizenship" during the morning session. You will note that President Rufus E. Clement of Atlanta University and Dean C. H. Thompson of Howard University have been asked to serve as discussants of your paper. They have been asked to present 10- to 15-minute comments and evaluations. It will therefore aid the symposium greatly if you will send us a copy of your paper by October 21, so that we may have copies made to forward to the discussants and to Mr. O'Connor, who will make a summary statement at the end.

A room has been reserved for you at Dorothy Hall, where you will find excellent accommodations and meals. If you will let us know the time and place of your arrival, I shall have an Institute car meet you.

We are extremely happy that you have accepted the invitation to participate in the symposium, and look forward to having you with us.

Yours very truly,

M D Sprague

M.D.Sprague
Chairman, Inaugural Committee

S/rwa

- SYMPOSIUM -

THE NEW SOUTH AND HIGHER EDUCATION

What Are the Implications for Higher Education
of the Changing Socio-Economic
Conditions of the South?

Saturday, October 31

Morning Session: 8:30-12:00

Invocation ..... Rev. D. W. Wynn, Acting Chaplain, Tuskegee Institute

Greetings ..... Dr. I. A. Derbigny, Vice President, Tuskegee Institute

The Distribution of the Composition of the Population of the New South

Speaker: Dr. Donald J. Bogue, Associate Director, Scripps Foundation, Miami University, Miami, Ohio
Discussant: Dr. Rupert B. Vance, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Presiding: President Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

The Reorganization of the Economy

Speaker: Dr. Benjamin U. Ratchford, Professor of Economics, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina
Discussants: Dr. Edward C. Ackerman, Assistant General Manager, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee
Mr. Lorimer D. Milton, President, Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia
Presiding: President Albert W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana

The Extension of Citizenship

Speaker: Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
Discussants: President Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. Charles H. Thompson, Dean of the Graduate School, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
Presiding: President R. B. Atwood, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky

- SYMPOSIUM -

THE NEW SOUTH AND HIGHER EDUCATION

Afternoon Session: 1:30-3:30

Changes in Values and Attitudes

Speaker: Dr. Ira D. Reid, Professor of Sociology, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania
Discussants: President Horace Mann Bond, Lincoln University, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania
Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, Atlanta, Georgia
Presiding: President J. F. Drake, Alabama A. and M. College, Huntsville, Alabama

Summary Statement: Mr. Basil O'Connor, President, The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis
Presiding: Dr. Clarence H. Faust, President, The Fund for the Advancement of Education, The Ford Foundation

October 29, 1953

Mr W B Hill
State Leader for Negro Work
Agriculture and Home Economics
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr Hill:

The truth is I go to the expense of mailing each issue of the NEGRO FARMER to my Virginia friend whose address appears below and who is a Negro farmer.

If you will be good enough to send what would otherwise be my copy to him straight along I will be extremely grateful, and I can chip in one dollar toward general expenses. Check enclosed.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure - 1

Mr Houston Johnson
R F 22, Box 238
Ashland, Virginia

COOPERATIVE EXTENSION WORK
IN
AGRICULTURE AND HOME ECONOMICS
STATE OF ALABAMA

Alabama Polytechnic Institute and
United States Department of Agriculture
Cooperating

EXTENSION SERVICE
COUNTY AGENCY WORK

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
October 19, 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 22
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Veterans Service Division
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Subscriber:

If you wish to continue receiving The Negro Farmer, please sign below opposite "signature" and return to The Negro Farmer, Box 248, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama by December 1. We are revising and otherwise bringing our mailing list up to date.

If your name and address, as it appears above, is not correct, please write the correct name and address in the blank space below.

Very truly yours,

W. B. Hill
W. B. Hill
State Leader for Negro Work

~~Ate~~

To

Signature _____

Mr. Houston Johnson
RF2 2, Box 238
Ashland
Virginia

November six, 1953

Dr L H Foster
P r e s i d e n t
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr Foster:

My warmest gratitude to you and those about you and all of Tuskegee Institute for my happy enjoyment of the occasion of your inauguration. I do not know when I have been treated to two days of hospitality, thoughtfulness and friendship so generously.

Tuskegee Institute is a symbol of the noble achievement of the Negro in America. As I sat in the meetings and in the great Inauguration Service, one could feel strength and pride in the tradition and energy and devotion that Tuskegee has brought to bear in that cause. It is a rich service which you are doing to our country.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

H. K. LOGAN, BUSINESS MANAGER

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FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

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November 2, 1953

RECEIVED
NOV 4
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Tuskegee Institute is exceedingly grateful to you for your paper presented as a part of the symposium on "The New South and Higher Education." Everyone was very pleased with an effort so scholarly and yet presented in such a way that all could understand.

It is our plan to publish the proceedings of the symposium and we shall send you a copy.

Cordial good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

ewp

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
ALONZO J. DAVIS, DEAN

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

November 20, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I wish to thank you very much indeed for remembering to send me a copy of your most excellent speech on "The Extension of Citizenship", which you delivered at Tuskegee Institute on October 31st last. I have c arefully read this speech, just as carefully as I had listened to it when you delivered it, and I find it a fertile source of information and stimulation.

I am not quite sure that I know exactly what the areas of interest of the Southern Regional Council are, and I should appreciate it if you would have your secretary send me any mimeographed material describing the work of the Council.

Thank you again so very much.

Sincerely

I. L. Ferguson

Ira L. Ferguson
Assoc. Professor Hygiene & Education

cbh

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

RECEIVED
MAY 31 1954
Southern Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH

May 28, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Will you kindly send to the Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, a copy of your latest annual report.

We would greatly appreciate this favor.

Very truly yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman
Director

JPG/jng

KS

OK
1953 Refer to Bd

done 5/31/54
KS

July 6, 1954

Mr. L. H. Foster
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute,
Alabama

Dear Mr. Foster:

. How very kind of you to send over the clipping from the New York Post. Mr. Poston much exaggerated my prowess. I doubt if the Governor of Georgia much more than knows my name.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

June 29, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I thought you might like to have this clipping from the New York Post of June 24 which I enjoyed reading the other day.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

1

Enclosure

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

August 26, 1954

Dictated August 24

Mr. L. H. Foster
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Foster:

We are very grateful for the two copies of the grand volume on the Symposium and ceremonies at the Inauguration. It is helpful to have the material in print.

My warmest wishes to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 28, 1954

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman
Director
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

We are trying hard to get our state organizations moving by October 1. And we won't have much of value coming in in the way of reports from the states until several months after the state groups have really been set moving. Meanwhile, there is some material in our files which would be of particular interest to you.

We have had an able man from Berea travelling in the mountain areas of the South and sending in weekly reports. He has been interviewing people in small towns and country places in the Southern Appalachian territories. Also there are reports from visits made by Mr. C. H. Parrish during the Summer in various Southern states.

Besides this, there is general material in our clipping files. I suggest that you send over Lewis Jones and let him read through what is available here and take notes from whatever of it would be helpful to your needs.

For our purpose, the best time for him to come, would be from September 21st forward. But if he needs to get to work sooner, it would be possible for him to be into our files between September 6 and 10.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence

HCF
G+H
Read & advise Dr. Mitchell re.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH

August 17, 1954

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

The time has come for us to think in terms of preparing our annual report to be released at the end of December.

As you know, we decided last year not to issue a report on lynching, as such, as in previous years, but to send out a release that would be more meaningful from the point of view of race relations, particularly in the South.

Our first thought was to use quantitative data showing trends or change during the past five years, but we find this to be impractical. The plan now is to focus attention on the year 1954 instead, using the legal definitions of the status of the Negro before and after May 17 as the frame of reference. That is, we propose to report what the legal definition of the status of the Negro was as of May 17, the impact of the recent United States Supreme Court decisions, and the reaction of the South to these decisions.

To do this we find we will need (1) a wide range of southern editorial opinion, and other press releases, and (2) authentic South-wide reports about the reaction of local communities to the decisions. It was our thought that in the expanding work of the Southern Regional Council in setting up local chapters all over the South, you may have received reports from individual community leaders indicating local community attitudes and behavior patterns. If you have, would it be possible for us to use this material for analytical purposes?

We feel that the issuing of this report will be helpful to the work of all institutions and organizations operating to improve race relations in the region.

Mr. Lewis W. Jones, who presently is one of the consultants on this project, could come to Atlanta to confer with you about our request, if you think it necessary.

We would certainly appreciate whatever cooperation you may be able to give.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman
Director

JPG/m

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH

August 31, 1954

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

We sincerely appreciate your letter of August 28, and the fact that you are willing for us to use the materials in your files to assist us in making up our report for December.

Mr. Jones states he can come to Atlanta on September 21st. He will no doubt contact you before that time.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman
Director

JPG/m

cc: Mr. Lewis Jones

August 12, 1955

Mr. J. Henry Smith
Tuskegee General Alumni Association
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Smith:

Train service being inconvenient, I will brave the holiday traffic and drive over in the course of Saturday, September 3rd, arriving at 5:00 p.m., at Dorothy Hall.

If there is a bed for me that night in Dorothy Hall, I would be delighted, but you may be so crowded that you may prefer for me to go back to Auburn or Opelika. That will be all right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Sure have
meeting of 8/10/55
re Elks - from
Mr. Smith

Gem has
meaning of
8/13/55
fr.

August 3, 1955

Mr. J. Henry Smith
Tuskegee General Alumni Association
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Smith:

Delighted to come Saturday evening, September 3rd. I assume you are going to pay my (modest) expenses over and back, and hope the Association can find some helpful honorarium or donation to the Council. Fifty or a hundred dollars would be most welcome, but I am happy to come in any case, and don't have to get a donation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

Dear Mr. Smith,

Delighted to come, Sarurday evening September 3rd. I assume you are going to pay my (modest) expenses over and back, and hope the Association can find some helpful honorarium or donation to the Council. Fifty or a hundred dollars would be most welcome, but I am happy to come in any case, and don't have to get a donation.

Sincerely,

DANIEL W. ANDREWS, SR., PRESIDENT
611 E. FOURTH STREET
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

LARRY ROBINSON, TREASURER
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

Tuskegee General Alumni Association

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
J. HENRY SMITH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

July 29, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are having a meeting of our Alumni Association here on the campus, September 3-5, 1955. As you will note from the enclosed announcement, a keynote session is scheduled for Saturday evening, September 3rd. At this time we will have a statement from an Alumnus. We would also like to have a statement from a non-Alumnus which can point up the kinds of social and economic changes now taking place in the South; how these affect higher education and the responsibilities College Alumni have in such a situation. You were the unanimous choice of our program committee to make such a keynote statement at our meeting, Saturday evening, September 3rd.

All of us recall very pleasantly the many fine addresses you have give us here and we certainly hope it will be possible for you to be with us on this occasion.

With kind regards in which all of your friends here join.

Sincerely yours,

J. Henry Smith

J. Henry Smith

JHS:pg

FOURTH TRIENNIAL MEETING

of the

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE GENERAL ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

•

NORTH CENTRAL REGION SOUTHERN REGION

NORTH EASTERN REGION

SOUTH WESTERN REGION WESTERN REGION

1881 — *Diamond Jubilee Anniversary Year* — 1956

September 3-4-5, 1955

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

September 7, 1955

Mr. John F. Potts
School of Agriculture
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Potts:

Good to see you t'other day.

My notion on the rural plumbing was that this is a service and trade not preempted by anybody, and one in which Negro persons of skill would be greatly appreciated and widely used.

There is a desirable hook-up with the engineering part of Extension, in order that for the most technical answers some District Engineer could be called in.

Suppose Tuskegee could display on its campus three or four installations of farm household water: a pitcher pump to kitchen sink, with simple drainage of waste from sink. A hot and cold water hook-up to kitchen sink, with better drainage. A full bathroom with septic tank and full disposal field. Each with cost analysis in plain sight. Many and many a man would want to put that in for his wife.

I believe if you would train the people they would find useful careers in this work. But you and I agreed that they would only stay at it if you so taught them to yearn for equal human dignity that they would earn it. And somebody has got to teach Caucasians to accord it!

We thank you greatly for wise management of the selling of Changing Patterns!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 8, 1955

Mr. J. Henry Smith
Executive Secretary
Tuskegee General Alumni Association
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Smith:

Had a good time, and a restful night at Dorothy Hall. Thank you for such kind provision.

Bill was $15.00 mileage, plus a dollar for breakfast Sunday.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 19, 1955

Mr. J. Henry Smith
Tuskegee General Alumni Association
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Smith:

How kind of the Tuskegee Alumni Association to find a whole $50.00. We are very grateful for it. It means a contribution of $34.00 to the general funds of the Southern Regional Council.

I had a good time as I always do at Tuskegee.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

DANIEL W. ANDREWS, SR., PRESIDENT
611 E. FOURTH STREET
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

LARRY ROBINSON, TREASURER
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

Tuskegee General Alumni Association

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
J. HENRY SMITH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

SEP 15 1955

September 13, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We cannot thank you enough for taking time from your busy schedule to be with us during our Tri-Regional Alumni Meeting. The address has received many favorable comments, and we are indebted to you for being with us. We hope that you were able to make your other enagements on time.

Enclosed you will find our check for ~~$50.00.~~ I am sure you know this is not a payment for your services, but only a token of our appreciation. If there is a residue over and above your expenses, we hope that you will use it for the benefit of your organization.

With Continued best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

J. Henry Smith

J. Henry Smith

JHS/ejb

Enclosure

September 23, 1955

Mr. L. H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Foster:

Most kind of you to write.

I look forward to a meeting SRC is to have at the Institute November 9th, when there should be opportunity for us to be together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

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PRESIDENT EMERITUS

SEP 22 1955

September 21, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We appreciate very much the fine contribution which you made to the Fourth Triennial Meeting of the Tuskegee Institute General Alumni Association on September 3. Many favorable comments have been made about the address which you gave.

I regret very much that I was not on the campus to greet you personally.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

p

October 6, 1955

Mr. J. Henry Smith
Tuskegee General Alumni Association
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Smith:

Nobody ever said anything before the meeting about a manuscript, and I took it for one of those blessed occasions when a man could get up and say what he thought without putting it into polished phrases. Which is what I did. So there isn't any Ms.

If a summary paragraph would do it could be:

"George Mitchell, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, said that Negro Southerners, excluded systematically from every formal consultation on matters of public policy, had developed the habit of contracting out of cooperation with such one-sided policy decisions. The self-respecting contracting out is here and there given unpleasant names and labelled as a racial trait; it is no more than intelligent response to an insupportable exclusion. As a remedy he suggested the selection of courageous and representative white and Negro citizens to serve on citizens committees to find the facts on local schools and prepare a plan for implementation of the Supreme Court's decision. This, he thought, would bring in the healing recognition of equal human dignity, and begin the process of making Negro persons(respected for leadership by their own people) pick up responsibility for getting in practice acceptance of negotiated terms of compliance. Finally, he said, Southern communities which do this will in all likelihood find themselves 'way ahead in the race for community effectiveness, business efficienty, and democratic understanding."

Best I can do!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

DANIEL W. ANDREWS, SR., PRESIDENT
611 E. FOURTH STREET
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

LARRY ROBINSON, TREASURER
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

Tuskegee General Alumni Association

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
J. HENRY SMITH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

October 1, 1955

OCT 5 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In closing out your file, I fail to find where we have asked for a copy of the address you made at our meeting last month. I don't know how this oversight was made, but I hope it is not too late for us to have a copy for the files.

Your cooperation in this connection would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

J. Henry Smith

J. Henry Smith

JHS/abr

DIVISION OF PUBLIC RELATIONS
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama
Sept. 9, 1955

NEWS RELEASE

INSTITUTE ALUMNI PLEDGE $100,000 TO DIAMOND JUBILEE CAMPAIGN

As tangible evidence of their belief in and devotion to Tuskegee Institute, 120 graduates and former students attending the Fourth Triennial-Joint Meeting of Regions and Annual Meeting of the Tuskegee General Alumni Association, voted to raise $100,000 as their part in the Diamond Jubilee observance. Before the conclusion of the meeting the delegates assembled produced $10,750 in cash and pledges.

With more than 25,000 graduates and former students scattered throughout the nation and abroad and a revitalized spirit focused upon the development of the Institute, and all of its programs, it is expected that the goal will be oversubscribed by the conclusion of the campaign on April 9, 1956.

The meeting held September 3 - 5 at Tuskegee Institute brought together representatives from 13 states and the District of Columbia. It was marked by a determined purpose to meet the responsibilities which challenge all alumni of private institutions of higher learning. There was basic agreement on all vital issues.

The keynote address was delivered on Saturday night, September 3, by Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

Jesse O. Thomas of Atlanta, introduced by his life-long friend T. M. Campbell on Sunday night said, "In the area where integration is meeting the firmest opposition, there is not now a single white institution that does not have all of the students that its facilities can accommodate and it is physically impossible to transplant all of the Negro students to these institutions." He reasoned then that we must maintain Tuskegee Institute and our other institutions on par with the best in the nation because with the coming of integration we must have nothing second-rate. We must be ready to receive all who apply.

(MORE)

CONTINUED

TUSKEGEE ALUMNI

Mr. Thomas thinks that this institution may well set a pattern for similar institutions in the support which its alumni render.

Daniel W. Andrews, president of the Tuskegee General Alumni Association, and Andrew A. Means, chairman of the executive committee, are spearheading the campaign. All regional and local officers are doing their share to get grass-root participation from every member.

Present for the meeting were delegations from the North Central Region headed by Miss Carolyn O. Browning, Chicago, director; from the North Eastern Region led by Homer M. Griffin, Washington, D. C., director; Southern Region, Henry B. Jackson, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, director; and the proposed Western Region was represented by Jack Jones, Los Angeles, California.

J. Henry Smith, Tuskegee Institute, is executive secretary of the General Alumni Association. The Southern Region with the Local Tuskegee Club served as hosts to the meeting. The Theme, "Tuskegee Today" was effectively emphasized by the several college officials who appeared on a luncheon program and conducted tours in their areas.

An effective panel on "Coordinating Responsibilities of the College and the Alumni Through Club Organization" was conducted by Joseph Williams, Detroit, and keynoted by Dr. Hollis F. Price, Le Moyne College President.

The delegation voted to return to Tuskegee Institute on the Labor Day week-end of 1958 for the Fifth Triennial.

XXX

DANIEL W. ANDREWS, SR., PRESIDENT
611 E. FOURTH STREET
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

LARRY ROBINSON, TREASURER
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

Tuskegee General Alumni Association

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
J. HENRY SMITH, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

OCT 12 1955

October 10, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Room 432 - Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PERSONAL

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I appreciate very much yours of October 6th.

You were quite right - we had hoped our meeting would be one of those times when you could say what you wanted to without worrying about a manuscript. Those who are compiling records, however, have insisted that we should have something they could use. Therefore, we appreciate the summary paragraph which you were kind enough to send us.

With renewed appreciation of your interest, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. Henry Smith

J. Henry Smith

JHS/abr

May 21, 1956

Mr. L. H. Foster
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Mr. Foster:

How very grateful we are for that whole $130 that came in May 18th. As you well know it is always a mountainous task to put together the sums which foundations make you put together in order to claim your next installments from them. And we are just in the throes of counting each grain in the heap when in comes this noble contribution from the Executive Council of Tuskegee Institute.

We would like to provide a small token of gratitude and send subscriptions to New South to any three, four, five, or six people in the group whom you might suggest.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. SRC Official receipt $130

cc: RHA

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

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PRESIDENT EMERITUS

RECEIVED MAY 18 1956

May 17, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

CRs 107 00
Cash 23 00
$130 00
rha

I am pleased to enclose checks and cash in the amount of $130.00 as contribution from members of the Executive Council of Tuskegee Institute to the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

p
Enclosures

Registered Letter

Copy: Rev. Hughes
Dr. Gomillion

June 20, 1956

Dr. Stanley H. Smith, Chairman
Division of Social Science
Tuskegee Institute,
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Smith:

We have received your recent letter notifying us of your change of residence from North Carolina to Alabama and your affiliation with Tuskegee Institute. We are pleased that you wish to continue your relationship with our State affiliate of the Southern Regional Council.

The Alabama affiliate of our organization is:

The Alabama Council on Human Relations
Moore Building, Room 206
Court Street,
Montgomery, Alabama. Telephone 2-0450

The Director of the Alabama Council is the Rev. Robert E. Hughes, a young Methodist minister with real ability in the field of human relations and a deep dedication to democracy. If you will explain your change of address to him, I am sure he will be glad to add you to the membership list of the Alabama Council. We have changed your address so that you will receive New South at Tuskegee.

Dr. Charles Gomillion of Tuskegee is a longtime member of the Southern Regional Council and a founding member of the Alabama Council. He will be glad to talk with you about the work of the Alabama Council and how you may fit in with it.

We are interested in your proposed study on "An Understanding of Race Relations in the South" and also "The Evaluation of the Attitudes of Negro Teachers Toward Desegregation." We would like to see them for study upon their completion.

Once more, thank you for your continuing interest in the field work in which are both engaged.

Sincerely,

FHR:mf

Frederick H. Routh, Assistant Director

FBR — For early reply
HCF ~~[illegible]~~ see attached —

OK for New South Change 6/20/56 Rha

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

ALONZO J. DAVIS, DEAN
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

RECEIVED JUN 20 1956

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga

Dear Sir,

this is to notify you that I have changed my address from Livingstone College to the above where I am now Chairman of The Division of Social Science. Please send my ~~[illegible]~~ New South to the above address.

I was affiliated with the North Carolina Human Relations Commission. I will like to be affiliated with the same organization in this state. Please notify me how this could be done.

I have written a book and several articles and made very many lectures on this vital and important topic of intergroup

(over

Relations. Any help that I could be to your organization in bringing about a more harmonious relationship between the races will be gladly given.

At present I am working on a small book entitled "An Understanding of Race Relations in The South". I have also launched a project purported to "Evaluate the Attitudes of Negro Teachers enrolled in the Summer School program of Tuskegee Institute towards desegregation.

Wishing you continued success in your laudable endeavors

I am

Dr. Stanley H. Smith

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

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January 4, 1957

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Somehow the Southern scene is just not going to be the same with you over in Scotland. All of us will miss your warm and engaging personality as well as the dedicated and effective work you have done through the Southern Regional Council in behalf of the people of this region.

I wish for you and Mrs. Mitchell years of good health and happiness. Please don't stay in Scotland too long.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:l

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

October 17, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for the copy of the speech of Hon. Paul H. Douglas on "The Southern Regional Council; Origin and Aims-Report on Negro Voters," which appeared in the Congressional Record of Friday, July 26, 1957.

Please send to me 25 copies of each of the following publications and a bill for the same:

1. Changing Patterns in the New South, New South, Dec. - Jan., 1954-55.

2. The Negro Voter, a copy of which you showed me in the office last Friday, but which I did not bring away with me.

The members of a class which I teach want a copy of each.

Sincerely,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Chairman
Division of Social Science

Please take care of this

Sent 10/21/57 FC

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

July 21, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thank you for sending me a copy of "Segregation versus the Space Age," by Marion A. Wright. I am pleased to have an opportunity to read this speech.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:p

December 29, 1958

Mr. V. A. Edwards, Director
Religious Extension Service
Tuskegee Institute
P. O. Box 925
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Edwards:

Many thanks for the copy of your paper on the Rural Church. I am bringing it to the attention of our information staff and research personnel.

Best wishes for the coming year.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
Religious Extension Service
P. O. Box 925
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

December 19, 1958

Dr. F. Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Routh:

Attached you will find the statement requested on the Rural Church.

Very truly yours,

V A Edwards

V. A. Edwards, Director
Religious Extension

A Tuskegee Institute Report

RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH - 1958

Forty-fifth Annual Report to the American People
on Developments in Race Relations

L. H. Foster, President
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

January 15, 1959

Race Relations in the South - 1958

INTRODUCTION

The South* experienced in 1958 another year of serious unsettlement in race relations. The unrelenting and frequently successful actions to remove barriers of legal segregation were met by an adamant *status quo* stand which was often cloaked in silent abridgement of communication. The reluctance of white citizens to understand the aspirations of Negroes and to discuss the issues further lessened communication efforts between the races. This failure to face the issues troubling both groups and the inability of the total citizenry to join together in the advancement of over-all community welfare were marked evidences of the unsettled state of race relations throughout the South in 1958.

Notable in 1958 was the continuing advancement of legal equality and civic justice—largely through the courts—although this was resisted strenuously by established political forces in the South. This further removal of legal barriers to desegregation provided a distinct but largely unmet opportunity for white and Negro citizens to work together to restructure race relations in a stable democratic society.

The Border States quietly did make progress in restructuring race relations within the framework of legal desegregation, and even in the small segment of the Southern Region identified as the "hard core" states, the widely reported opposition to desegregation did not preclude spotty evidences of advances in racial adjustment.

The hopeful sign in 1958 was the modest but significant increase in activity by individuals and voluntary groups seeking to preserve essential community services and institutions necessary in a democratic society.

This assertion of the democratic process was cumulative and it accelerated as the months passed. It was evident despite the continuing political and economic pressures designed to maintain a race relations pattern based upon inferior citizenship status for Negroes. A growing element of southern people came face to face with the drastic fact that suspension of public services, particularly schools and parks, was the alternative to any measure of desegregation.

The integrity of the Federal system of government was reinforced in several ways. There were clear and firm decisions by the Federal judiciary; positive actions by Federal executive offices, particularly in the latter months of the year; extended study of civil rights and some action by Congress in the light of America's domestic and international welfare; and democratic practices exhibited by several state and local governments on the periphery of the deep South when dealing with issues having important effects on race relations.

The only significant loss in previous desegregation achievements was in the schools of Little Rock, Arkansas; and a few new gains were noted in the application of desegregation in various aspects of public life in the South. Officials sometimes closed schools and parks, however, as a strategy to avoid desegregation.

Several southern legislatures attempted to block public desegregation with new laws. Such legislative position proved untenable when tested in the courts; and it seemed unrealistic when viewed against the background of United States Supreme Court decisions which, over the past fifty years, have progressively reinforced rights of the individual in his public relationships. The matter of extension of the franchise continued to be a crucial issue.

Notable examples of superior news handling were evident, despite inadequate news coverage in some instances, and the general lack of advocacy of equal citizenship rights for Negroes and whites. Most court actions and community efforts—whether by proponents or opponents of segregation—were based on constitutional issues involving civil rights. The press often failed to make this fact clear and to report both sides of the controversy.

There were relatively few instances of mob violence during the year, although individual extremists and small groups resorted to terroristic activities such as bombings of churches, schools and homes, which became a major problem. Outspoken southern editors placed responsibility for these acts of terrorism at the doors of politicians, charging them with creation of the climate conducive to violence.

Until Negroes enjoy the opportunity to give of their talents in planning and building for the total advancement of their communities, the South will hardly be able to move out of a position of economic disadvantage, cultural limitation, and emotional distress. White and Negro citizens together must chart the way. All of America—not just the South—now suffers the national and international consequences of delay in achieving a democratic society in the South.

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* As used here, the South includes the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which practiced legal segregation in education before 1954. The areas indicated are education, employment, recreation, transportation and voting.

LEADERSHIP

Established leaders were expected by their followers in the South to take firm stands on the segregation question. They had either to accept their responsibilities or new leaders appeared to direct the cause to which they were committed.

Segregationist Leadership, to a large extent, inhered in public offices. Few segregationist leaders achieved influential stature as leaders of voluntary groups alone. Those of stature were both public officials and officers of segregationist voluntary organizations.

Rare, and usually defeated was the candidate for public office in the 1958 elections who did not support segregation and the southern interpretation of States Rights. Most candidates exploited successfully the unproved fears of many white voters that extension of the franchise would result in Negro dominance in a community.

Segregationist religious leaders have enjoyed more influence and recognition from voluntary segregationist organizations than from church bodies. Some pastors of local churches and leaders of State and regional denominational organizations have declared that segregation is not unChristian, but most of them did so with the known opposition of national church leadership.

Business leaders tended to remain aloof from the controversy and when pressed for opinions usually have not discussed segregation or civil rights. They have acknowledged the ill effects of closed public schools and community tensions on industrial investments in a community, but have done so generally apart from the issue of segregation or desegregation.

Desegregationist Leadership. White leaders of the movement for desegregation lacked the rostrum of public office. Their appeals to reason, conscience and civil obedience have drawn upon them censure, ostracism and persecution from their segregationist opposition. To be a civil rights leader—either white or Negro—in the South required fortitude and capacity for being maligned.

The National Negro Publishers Association convened a "Summit Meeting" of Negro leaders who agreed on the general objectives of the struggle for citizenship rights. Four Negro leaders of influence met with President Eisenhower. As one crisis moved into another, Negro leaders in the South maintained their efforts in determined but orderly fashion.

VOLUNTARY GROUP ACTION

A major index to the trend in race relations in the South in 1958 was the intensified activity by voluntary groups that sought to help resolve the controversy over civil rights.

Proponents of Civil Rights. Civic and political organizations were seriously concerned with widening the electorate among Negro citizens. Other groups were concerned with desegregation and the problem of how to retain public school education.

Professional teachers' organizations supported the movement toward a more democratic society. The American Association of University Professors voted to censure one southern college for dismissing a professor because of his expressed views on racial integration and investigated violations of academic freedom at other southern institutions. The faculty members of Emory University and of Agnes Scott College in Georgia, in public statements, pled for the preservation of the public schools and pointed out the consequences of closing them. An increasing number of groups have stated that segregation fosters misunderstanding and fails to provide a means of resolving differences.

Religious bodies—Protestant, Jewish and Catholic—have pronounced favorable views toward the extension of civil rights. The new "Atlanta Manifesto" representing 300 Protestant clergymen of sixteen denominations appealed for "reason and obedience to law" and spoke out against the use of church property for public school purposes.

National, regional and local bodies, with their programs of education, research and publicity, had a decided effect on race relations in the section. The Southern Regional Council distributed information concerning the struggle for civil rights. Similar work was done by B'nai B'rith.

An outstanding labor leader applauded the Supreme Court decision in the Little Rock case. The Jewish Labor Committee of the National Trades Union Council asked the American Automobile Association to withdraw AAA insignia from hotels and restaurants which practice discrimination.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People continued to be the object of harassment by State and local officials, but it countered many of these oppressive maneuvers. The NAACP successfully carried forward the legal attack on segregation, and the organization promoted larger Negro registration and voting. The continuing efforts to proscribe the activities of the NAACP—thus leaving litigants in civil rights action to face alone and unaided the resources and power of southern state governments—have largely failed.

There were mass protests against miscarriage of justice, such as the Easter Sunday Prayer meeting held on the State Capitol grounds in Montgomery, Alabama, and appeals made to white Southerners for an intensive battle against a pattern of injustice in the court room. Several thousand Negro and white students marched in a "Youth March for Integrated Schools" in Washington, D. C.

There was a growing body of literature influencing the southern area constructively by pleading for sanity, obedience to law, and tolerance.

Southern Heritage by James McBride Dabbs was described by Hodding Carter as "the most meaningful comment on the race situation yet made by a Southerner." To this volume were added Anne Braden's *The Wall Between;* Don Shoemaker's *With All Deliberate Speed;* Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely's *Neither Black Nor White;* and C. Vann Woodward's *The Strange Career of Jim Crow.*

Opponents of Civil Rights. The most aggressive voluntary groups in the South were the White Citizens Councils. They represented the mass support given segregationist public policy and included in their membership and among their leadership State and local public officials. In several southern cities there have been door-to-door canvasses and records made of the sympathies expressed by persons interviewed.

Business and professional people in many southern communities declare membership in the White Citizens Councils to be necessary for public support. Apparently the best financed organizations of their kind, the White Citizens Councils have had some appropriations from public funds, and their propaganda offensive has had the encouragement of many public officials.

In Mississippi, some public schools were opened to representatives of the Councils for a systematic indoctrination campaign by lectures and distribution of literature. In Louisiana, an essay contest for high school students was promoted with segregationist and anti-civil rights themes.

Some southern television stations carried the weekly telecast of the "Citizens Council Forum." The Councils had their own publications; and in Louisiana, *The Councilor* advised its readers how to respond uncooperatively to Federal agents carrying out civil rights investigations.

Among scores of other smaller organizations that adhere to the basic principles of segregation and state autonomy were the United White Party, the American Party, Defenders of State Sovereignty, and the Patriots of North Carolina. The oldest of such groups in the South, the Ku Klux Klans, have more or less lost respectability because of their leaning toward violence.

Special interest groups have concentrated their activities in support of specific causes. Corporations in Little Rock and in Virginia maintained systems of private white schools to replace some closed public schools. Throughout the year, white employees of the Charleston, South Carolina, Navy Yard boycotted the desegregated naval base cafeteria.

Many individual congregations and State church bodies took stands in support of segregation in opposition to integration policies adopted by their national associations. Local labor organizations, Parent-Teachers Associations and similar organizations often reaffirmed their segregationist policies.

FEDERAL ACTION

The year 1958 marked the expanding and determined action of all branches of the Federal Government to advance desegregation and to protect civil rights of Negro citizens in the South.

Executive. After a long period during which the Presidency did not bring the prestige of the office to bear on this crucial domestic issue, the President spoke out to remind citizens that they must support the law; called the closing of public schools disastrous; approved the stand of the Department of Justice in opposing postponement of integration at Central High School in Little Rock; and stated that the uncooperattive action of Alabama officials at the hearing of the Civil Rights Commission was reprehensible.

The President's Committee on Government Contracts reported that companies in eleven Southern States and the District of Columbia had affirmed their willingness to abide by non-discrimination provisions of Government contracts.

The Department of Justice investigated many reports of civil rights violations. Widely publicized were: investigating the arrest of three ministers in Birmingham as "outside agitators"; invoking the Civil Rights Act in an alleged voting rights violation in Terrell County, Georgia, and recruiting U. S. marshals for service in Little Rock to prevent possible violence over school desegregation.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare Secretary gave the opinion that States with schools closed because of the desegregation issue were not likely to share in the increased financial support coming to public education from the Federal Government.

Judicial. The United States Supreme Court clarified the interpretations of its basic rulings on desegregation and, specifically, prohibited evasions of compliance with the spirit of the law.

The Court warned that its rulings applied to any school where there is State participation; reviewed the power of the Federal courts to interpret the Constitution and the obligation of the States to follow these interpretations; reminded officials of their oath to support the Federal Constitution and their obligation not to violate that oath; told the Little Rock School Board that only a prompt integration start constituted "good faith"; outlawed the use of public school buildings for private classes; and declared publicly paid teachers ineligible to teach in segregated private schools.

The Court declared Alabama School Placement Law legal if not used to maintain segregated

schools; and it declined to review an injunction prohibiting the use of National Guardsmen by Arkansas' Governor to maintain segregated education.

Lower Federal courts, too, made rulings of wide import. In Louisiana, a Circuit Court supported a Negro doctor purged from a voters' list; and a law banning interracial sports' competition was declared unconstitutional.

In Florida, there was re-affirmation that segregated seating in city buses violated citizens' rights; and Negroes won the right to attend all State institutions of higher learning.

A Federal District Court dismissed a suit which protested the unanimous action by the Alabama Legislature gerrymandering Negro voters out of the City of Tuskegee. The Court acted on the grounds that the legislature had authority to establish corporate boundary lines. This decision dramatized the power of the ballot and the disadvantaged plight of citizens who are denied the vote.

Legislative. The pro-civil rights elements in Congress became more aggressive, and the 1958 elections added to their ranks. The majority in both political parties took stronger stands favoring civil rights.

The Civil Rights Commission was finally staffed and began its work after delaying tactics on the part of some members of Congress. The Commission investigated charges by citizens of Alabama that Boards of Registrars had systematically denied them the right to register to vote. Opposition and refusal to testify by several officials in the State failed to stop the investigation.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACTION

Compliance. In September, there was less new school desegregation than in earlier years, as officials watched the outcome of "massive resistance" in Virginia and in Little Rock. By the end of the year, however, there was a very obvious change in the public mood with some local officials and an increasing segment of the public opposing school closing actions as alternatives to desegregation. Suits were filed by white parents in Norfolk, Virginia, aimed at re-opening its six public high schools.

Texas, with forty-three colleges and universities desegregated—more than in any other State—had 750 Negro students in attendance at thirty-five institutions. In Houston, a Negro member was elected to the school board. Delaware twice defeated bills which would close the public schools if Federal troops were used to desegregate them.

In New Orleans, buses and parks were desegregated. West Palm Beach, Florida, permitted Negroes to play on the golf course, as ordered, although denying them the use of the Club House. An Alabama circuit court judge, in an unsuccessful State suit charging the Tuskegee Civic Association with conducting a boycott of some Tuskegee merchants, held that every person has a right to trade with whomever he pleases. In Birmingham, Alabama, Civil Service examinations were declared open to Negroes.

A District Council on Human Relations was established in Washington, D. C., to promote "equality of opportunity" in public and private employment; the Oklahoma Personnel Board voted to recommend elimination of separate hiring registers based on race; and the recently sworn-in Missouri Commission on Human Rights, three of whose members are Negroes, was set up with duties to make public reports on discrimination in the State.

Non-Compliance. Eight States added measures that would automatically close public schools if Federal troops are used to desegregate them. Lousiana's Educational Cooperative Law would transfer titular ownership of schools, once public, to an organization of parents of school children.

Both local and state-owned recreational facilities ordered desegregated have been closed, sold or leased to prevent Negroes from using them in several places, including St. Petersburg, Miami, and West Palm Beach, Florida; Charleston, South Carolina; Montgomery, Alabama; and Greensboro, North Carolina. Mississippi gave the Governor the authority to close any park in the interest of the State or county.

For such acts as enrolling a child in an integrated school or urging Negroes to register and obtain the ballot, individuals have been discharged from jobs in the public service or their employment contracts not renewed.

Legislation was enacted in several states to evade compliance with desegregation in transportation and to prevent Negroes from securing the ballot. Birmingham's new seat assignment ordinance, like the Alabama School Placement Law, did not mention race; but both were reportedly designed to maintain segregation.

Negro and white citizens favoring desegregation have been jailed, fined, and sentenced in controversies connected with transportation on buses in Tallahassee, Florida; Little Rock, Arkansas; and Birmingham, Alabama.

Legislation aimed at curbing the voting rights of Negroes has been approved or passed in Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama; and the North Carolina Supreme Court upheld literacy tests if applied without racial discrimination.

PR - As return
HCF

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

H. K. LOGAN, BUSINESS MANAGER

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February 10, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your letter of January 28 and for bringing to our attention some additional information about the Carroll Service Council, referred to in our Race Relations Report recently released to the press.

Information about the Council came to us through the February, 1959, issue of Southern School News. As we read the news report, it seemed to us that the activities of the group tended toward opposition to Civil Rights rather than support thereof. I am pleased to know that the work of the Council is more positively oriented than we had understood and for that reason probably should not be classified as opposition to Civil Rights. So often, of course, the timing and the particular orientation of the work of a group like this tend to negate Civil Rights more seriously than is realized.

We regret, of course, if in any way we have reported inaccurately in our annual statement on race relations. Your letter helps keep before us the urgency of extreme care in the study and assessment of information we secure about the state of race relations in the Southern area.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:p

January 28, 1960

Dr. Luther H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Dr. Foster:

We read the Annual Report of the Institute, and the resulting publicity, with interest and pleasure.

One passing reference puzzled us, however, and I thought I should write you about it. Among our friends are several persons who have long been associated with West Georgia College and the Carroll Service Council, both in Carrollton, Georgia. It is a matter of record that both these institutions and their leadership have played a constructive and positive role in public affairs, including human relations. Thus we made an inquiry about the committee of the Carroll Service Council referred to in the Report under the caption "Organized Opponents of Civil Rights."

Our information is that the committee in question was in no sense set up to promote evasion or defiance of school integration; rather, its purpose was to generate calm and factual discussion of the issue. At most, it would seem that the committee could be criticized for no more than failure to take a partisan stand for integration.

My guess is that the misinterpretation grew out of an inadequate or distorted news report of the committee's appointment. This has happened often enough in our experience.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
BC: Mr. Carson Pritchard

White Foster

College in the Country

January 25, 1960

Mr. Paul M. Rilling
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am glad as are your other friends here that you are in the state of Georgia again.

If the Carroll Service Council is an opponent of civil rights, I should get out of it. I wish you would see on what grounds the Tuskegee Institute judged it. Any citizens' organization that tries to be non-political and non-partisan is certain to have in it some special pleaders. The Council is no exception. I think though that none has used the Council as a platform. In fact some of us who lead the Council have been striped by the statesrighters. It seems confusing to be striped by their opposites also. We would like to know on what grounds we were judged. It is disconcerting for a dog to win a ribbon in a cat show!

I shall call you soon. I spend part of my time at Emory where I am working on a graduate degree.

Best wishes in your work.

Sincerely,

Carson

Carson Pritchard

JCP/em

I've seen the report. The committee referred to is not favorable to Miss Katie Downs! It was meant to be discussion provoking! which I believe it has been.

DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION, WEST GEORGIA COLLEGE, CARROLLTON, GEORGIA
A UNIT OF THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA

Kindly observe strictly:

HCF

RELEASE DATE: Saturday, January 23, 1960, 3 p.m. (your time).

A Tuskegee Institute Report

RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH - 1959

Forty-sixth Annual Report to the American People
on Developments in Race Relations

L. H. Foster, President
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

January 23, 1960

Race Relations in the South - 1959

INTRODUCTION AND ASSESSMENT

Race relations in the South* did not change appreciably during 1959. Despite the urgency of America's aspiration to promote peace, which was highlighted by President's Eisenhower's late December visits to several world capitals, there was —on balance—little compelling evidence that America itself was able, during 1959, to advance human understanding significantly within its own boundaries.

Efforts to remove barriers structured in segregation continued despite adamant opposition in some areas of the Southern Region. In sum, the year showed further legal support and economically based rationalization for public desegregation, limited extension of desegregation practices, successful action by many state and local governments to avoid desegregation, and a hesitancy by America's citizens to face the moral implications of continued segregation.

The principle of desegregation in public situations was reinforced; and a few instances of additional desegregation were noted, both in schools and in other public situations. With an occasional exception, Federal and state court decisions, as well as the administrative and investigative actions of Federal agencies, supported the principle of desegregation and sought its implementation. A major contribution was the work of the United States Commission on Civil Rights.

Varied and extensive activities of voluntary agencies reflected the wide-spread concern of individual citizens for the real—and sometimes imagined—consequences of desegregation in public affairs and services, and particularly the public schools. Rarely, however, did these organizations include both white and Negro membership; and, for this reason, their activities frequently tended to crystallize preconceived opinions rather than lead to acceptable resolution of the issues for both groups.

Although there were a few striking exceptions, most public officials in the South, by their comments and public actions, delayed desegregation and discouraged inter-group discussion of community issues. This influence often prevented any "grass roots" development of joint efforts by whites and Negroes to deal constructively with particular desegregation issues in the light of local conditions and resources. The continuing difficulty experienced by Negroes in acquiring the ballot was a major reason for failure of many public officials to recognize and support the interests of the total citizenry, particularly disfranchised Negroes.

Mass communication media, viewed as a whole, reported and commented extensively on desegregation and tended to highlight the arguments for segregation, either directly or by implication. A variety of constructive community services by Negroes and their organizations remained largely unreported; and, as a consequence, the general public tended to form opinions of the citizenship role of the Negro based upon the often sensational and negative reports disseminated by the mass media.

Negroes, sometimes encouraged by whites, continued to support agencies working to provide full opportunity and associated responsibilities for themselves and their children. Nevertheless, most American citizens found their energies devoted chiefly to the daily requirements of living, a task demanding the very best they could do in their individual circumstances. This was not easy for most Negroes because they were confronted often by outwardly imposed discrimination in education, voting, employment, and transportation which could not be overcome by individual effort; and this situation tended to negate the American democratic ideal. The task was difficult for whites because barriers to effective communication prevented their understanding that the aspiration of Negroes is simply to share the full rights and duties of American citizenship.

Several church and other groups sought to identify and respond to the moral issue around which the desegregation question swirled, but there were no momentous accomplishments. A general uneasiness seemed to prevail among many individuals and organizations that the values associated with democratic and Christian living were not sufficiently influential in the nation's life, for whatever the reason. Some students of the times suggested that the failure to deal morally—as well as legally—with the crucial issue of desegregation made impossible any further significant advance in the over-all quality of the total life of America and its people. The difficulty seemed most pressing at the community level, where general pronouncements in a national setting were not easily translated into local desegregation action.

Previous segregation practices seriously impaired the competence of Negroes in 1959 to experience the opportunities and discharge the responsibilities of a democratic society. That con-

* As used here, the South includes the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which practiced legal segregation in education before 1954. The areas indicated are education, employment, recreation, transportation, and voting.

dition of inadequacy was used during the year as a chief argument against public desegregation.

Widely neglected in 1959 was the opportunity to build a superior quality of race relations in the South through a substantial and early fulfillment of the Negro's aspirations for full citizenship and an effective program to inform the public of the benefits for every citizen when racial discrimination in public affairs is eliminated.

FEDERAL ACTION

Legislative. Of much civil rights legislation proposed and introduced in the Congress, the only enactment into law was the extension for two years of the Commission on Civil Rights.

The *REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS* called for the extension of equal protection of the laws regardless of age, color, creed, or national origin; recommended legislation to correct abuses and to assure voting rights to all qualified citizens; indicated to the states that the alternative is "reasonable ways of ending compulsory segregation" in their schools or abandoning their systems of free public education; urged the promotion of "equal opportunity to secure decent housing," proposed that a bi-racial commission be established in every city and state "with substantial non-white populations" to study racial problems, receive and investigate complaints, and attempt to solve problems through mediation and conciliation; and suggested that the President of the United States "issue an Executive Order stating the constitutional objective of equal opportunity in housing."

The Commission's conclusion was: Voting, education, and housing are so fundamentally interrelated that it is impossible for the problems to be solved by improvement of any one factor alone.

Executive. In his State of the Union Message the *President of the United States* asked Congress to join him in supporting the United States Supreme Court rulings against segregation and called for legislation to achieve "freedom from discrimination in voting and access to jobs."

The Secretary of the *Department of Health, Education, and Welfare* announced that public schools converted into "private" schools to avoid integration would get none of the Federal funds designed primarily to improve facilities for teaching science, mathematics, and foreign languages. The *Department of Justice* furthered the cause of civil rights by securing court orders, filing suits in Federal courts to protect voting rights, and expressing determination to continue legal action on behalf of citizens whose rights are denied. The Secretary of the *Department of Labor* warned that segregation was a waste of a "vast reserve of human talent" and a "critical factor" in the nation's economic future.

The *President's Committee on Government Contracts* called on two agencies to eliminate discrimination on redevelopment projects and was asked to give more publicity to its program. Important specific accomplishments have been recorded in several southern communities.

The *President's Committee on Government Employment Policy* announced that the number of Negroes employed in clerical, stenographic, and typing positions in Federal agencies in New Orleans had increased nearly seven times since 1951. The *United States Employment Service* reported that three department stores in Washington, D. C., had broken the color barrier in hiring sales staffs, but indicated the building trades to be the outstanding example of discrimination in employment.

Judicial. The *United States Supreme Court* refused to review a circuit court decision declaring a conviction void because the county had no eligible Negro voters, hence no Negro jurors; turned down the eleventh-hour appeals for postponement of desegregation in Arlington and Prince Edward County, Virginia; and remanded a conviction of contempt for refusing to answer questions asked by a Virginia legislative committee about desegregation.

The *United States Circuit Court*, in Virginia, upheld an order admitting four Negro children to an Arlington high school, granted a stay of a desegregation order to two Charlottesville schools, and ordered Arlington County to reconsider applications of twenty-six Negro pupils denied admission to white schools.

The court upheld the plan of the Board of Education of Nashville, Tennessee, to spread integration over a 12-year period; found no racial discrimination in the refusal of the Moberly, Missouri, School District to rehire seven colored teachers dropped when integration came in 1955; upheld the constitutionality of the Arkansas pupil placement laws and the right of Negroes to attend Louisiana State University in New Orleans.

It was ruled that an integrated local of United Steel Workers in Houston, Texas, did not discriminate against Negroes by requiring tests not previously required of white applicants. Two unfavorable rulings were upheld relating to registration and voting in Alabama: (1) the Government had no grounds to bring suit against the Board of Registrars of Macon County and the State of Alabama because of denial of suffrage rights to Negroes, as the Civil Rights Act of 1957 applied only to individuals; and (2) the courts may not reverse the legislative act gerrymandering Negroes outside the city limits of Tuskegee, because the "power of increase and diminution of municipal territory is . . . in the legislature."

Federal District Courts were kept busy carrying out their assignment of reviewing desegregation progress for public schools. They ruled that Virginia could not close individual schools ordered desegregated and "keep other public schools throughout the state open on a segregated basis," and that as long as the state operated public schools, it could not deny integration requests. By this decision, public schools were returned to local control.

In Arkansas, the court declared unconstitutional Legislative Acts under which the Governor had closed the high schools of Little Rock and reminded this city's school board that it was under a "continuing mandate" to integrate schools. The court ordered the Atlanta Board of Education to submit a desegregation plan by December 1; and the New Orleans School Board to submit one by March 1, 1960. The New Orleans' deadline was later extended. The Dallas School Board was instructed to "put its house in order" for eventual integration and to hold an election to obtain voter action in the spring. In Florida, the pupil assignment law was upheld.

In higher education, the Board of Regents of the University System of Georgia was enjoined from barring Negro applicants solely because of race, and also from requiring certificates of personal character and abilities certified by white alumni of white institutions.

The courts opened two municipal golf courses to unrestricted play in Jacksonville, Florida, but refused to so order in Mobile, Alabama. The sale of a park pool in Greensboro, North Carolina, was held valid because "plaintiffs failed to prove the sale was not bona fide"; but in Montgomery, Alabama, city officials were told the policy of denying Negroes the use of white parks violated the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Court action was taken by the Department of Justice to obtain records of Boards of Registrars for inspection by the United States Commission on Civil Rights; but of the three suits brought by this Department, in none was there a decision in favor of complainants. A Louisiana decision denied the Commission on Civil Rights permission to hold further hearings in Louisiana unless it permitted cross examination of witnesses. In the same state, a judge refused to dismiss a suit seeking to halt a purge of Negro voters in Washington Parish.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS—COMPLIANCE

Legislative. The only positive legislation was Missouri enactments making it unlawful for state agencies to discriminate in employment and giving permanent status to its Commission on Human Relations.

Executive. The Governor of Florida appeared to be the only executive in the lower South taking positive steps to support limited desegregation. His Advisory Committee on Race Relations declared no legislation can accomplish "complete segregation in a free public school system," and concluded, "All schools must be kept open or all closed."

The Governor of Virginia departed from his "massive resistance" stand and said the state could not overthrow the Federal Government.

The Mayor of Atlanta asked for legislation permitting Atlanta to "decide the fate" of its own schools and pupils. Racial segregation was abolished at City Park in New Orleans; and Bobby Jones Golf Course at Sarasota, Florida, was desegregated.

School Boards: Elementary and Secondary Education. Desegregation by school boards took the form of token integration under pupil placement plans. Token integration once again returned to Arkansas' capital.

Of Florida's school systems, Dade County first accepted four Negro children. To the four systems of Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Charlotte and Wayne County which had limited desegregation were added High Point, Durham, and Craven County in North Carolina. In Virginia, seven all-white schools in Arlington and Norfolk opened their schools to twenty-one Negro pupils. Warren County High School at Front Royal received twenty-one; Alexandria, nine; and Charlottesville, eleven. Floyd County was ordered to admit fourteen Negro pupils and the City of Galax one in January, 1960.

Integration of schools near Air Force Bases under ultimatums from the Federal Government took place in Pulaski County, Arkansas, at Naranja, south of Miami, Florida, and at a school near Smyrna, Tennessee. The Atlanta Board of Education submitted a desegregation plan to the court as ordered.

There was more teacher integration during the year. Louisville, Kentucky, transferred ten Negro teachers to five schools with formerly all-white faculties. In Western Bethesda, Maryland, a Negro headed an all-white public school in the state for the first time. Oklahoma integrated faculties of two bi-racial schools, although the assignment of Negro and white teachers to the same faculties has occurred in relatively few districts. In West Virginia, the Cabell County School System placed a second group of Negro teachers in formerly all-white schools.

Higher Education. The University of Florida admitted six students in 1959, including a woman who entered the Medical School. Enrollment of Negroes at Louisiana State University at New Orleans increased from 78 in 1958 to 417 in 1959.

Memphis State University accepted its first Negro student in April and decided to desegregate regular classes in July. Two Negro undergraduate students attended the Evening Division of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville.

A superior court clerk became the first Georgia official to sign affidavits of residence and character for two youthful Atlanta Negro students who were seeking admission to the University of Georgia. His signature fulfilled a requirement that the ordinary or court clerk in a person's county of residence must attest to his residence and good character. A sociologist at the University of Louisville became the first Negro to head a department of an integrated southern university.

Judicial. The Arkansas Supreme Court declared the acts which supported the State Sovereignty Commission invalid and refused to review its decision. A state district court judge in Louisiana dismissed a suit filed by the Citizens Council asking that the registrar of voters honor voter challenges. A registrar had testified if they had challenged impartially, ninety-two percent of the voters would have been excluded.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS—NON-COMPLIANCE

Legislative. The legislatures of eight states enacted laws to put more props under their legislation relating to segregated education, to thwart further desegregation, or to minimize existing desegregation. Alabama approved the largest school budget in its history and a $100,000,000 bond issue for school construction to strengthen all its schools and, perhaps, thereby to delay school desegregation. Georgia passed a package of six laws recommended by its new governor after an adverse court decision against the maintenance of segregation by a state college. Florida enacted a law to segregate schools by sex.

State laws affecting private schools as a segregation thwarting alternative for public schools included authorization for the use of state funds to finance private schools in Alabama and a state board to prescribe minimum standards for private schools in Florida.

State legislatures passed laws supporting or setting up private schools to prevent integration. Alabama authorized use of state funds to finance private schools.

Alabama and Louisiana enacted laws to hinder the work of the United States Commission on Civil Rights to permit Negroes' exercise of the suffrage.

In Louisiana, the Chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation announced and supervised a campaign to reduce Negro registration from 130,000 to 13,000. In Red River Parish, Negro voters were cut from 1,360 to 16; in St. Landry, from 1,726 to 83; in Washington Parish, from 1,500 to 200.

Executive. There was evidence to support the belief that in some quarters the rejection of the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision was more evident than ever. Some governors and other state officials continued to hold that segregation must be maintained at any cost.

School Boards and Other Officials. One of the main functions of school boards using pupil placement plans appeared to be to keep as many Negro pupils as possible from entering schools of their choice. School boards have refused funds from the Federal Government which could be interpreted as their rejection of the Government's role in promoting equality in education for Negroes.

Virginia's educational systems were in a state of chaos. Schools were operated under the old pattern of segregation, under a pupil placement plan, and under a complete system of private white schools.

In higher education, the Georgia State Board of Regents suspended indefinitely admissions to all institutions in the University system as a reaction to a Federal court decision calling on college officials to stop refusing admission to qualified Negro applicants "solely on the ground of race and color."

Montgomery, Alabama, closed all of its parks, white and Negro, after a suit was filed to integrate Oak Park. State officials closed a lake near Selma after a number of racial incidents had occurred there, including the finding of the body of a respected Negro citizen from Montgomery. Officials of Jacksonville, Florida, voted to close down the two golf courses rather than permit equal use by the two races. The City Council in St. Petersburg voted to reopen Spa Beach on a segregated basis, but provided for its being closed again if Negroes tried to mix with whites, and the City Commission of Miami, Florida, reversed the order of the City Manager who had opened swimming pools and other recreational facilities to Negroes.

Obtaining the right to register and vote in some of the Southern States was still a burdensome problem for Negroes in 1959. The Commission on Civil Rights reported it had received voting complaints from all of the states which formerly had legally segregated schools, except Delaware. There was refusal to cooperate with the Commission on Civil Rights by the Governor of Alabama, the Chairman of the Joint Legislative Segregation Committee in Louisiana, the Governor and state officials of Georgia, and the Governor of South Carolina.

Southern delegations went to Washington to testify against civil rights bills in Congress and against the extension of the life of the Commission on Civil Rights.

A survey relating to transportation by the Southern Regional Council released on July 25 showed that bus stations and many train terminals in the South continued racial segregation in waiting-room facilities despite Federal regulations to the contrary. Practices, it reveals, differed widely from city to city and even in cities within the same state. Some towns and terminals appeared to have deliberately left their policies confused and ambiguous. Bus carriers were the most resistent to change.

Judicial. The Arkansas Supreme Court ruled that the Legislature did not exceed its police powers when it provided for the closing of public schools to avoid integration. A state court of appeals also dismissed the efforts of the Dallas, Texas, School Board to get an interpretation of its status under a conflict between a Federal court desegregation order and a state law providing penalties if the move to desegregate is made without approval of voters in the school district.

Dismissal on technical grounds of the appeals by a group of Negroes from disorderly conduct convictions in connection with an anti-segregation demonstration on Birmingham's buses in 1958 upheld jail sentences of two of the complainants and fines ranging up to $100 for all of them by the Alabama Court of Appeals.

VOLUNTARY GROUP ACTION

Organized Proponents of Civil Rights. Voluntary groups were potent forces operating to break down segregation. In various ways several organizations expressed their interest in keeping public schools open and in desegregating other facilities. Among these were the *Committee for the Peaceful Operation of Our Free Public Schools,* the *Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools* and the *Committee with Members of Organized Labor to Maintain Our Free Public Schools,* all of Little Rock, Arkansas; also, the *Prince Edward County Christian Association* in Virginia; the *Montgomery Improvement Association* in Alabama; and the *Georgia League of Women Voters.*

Such civic and political groups as the *Arkansas Christian Movement,* Little Rock; the *United Clubs, Inc.,* New Orleans; and the *American Veterans Committee* attacked segregation in general and in specific instances. Three groups, the *Southern Christian Leadership Conference,* the *Congress of Racial Equality,* and the *Fellowship of Reconciliation,* sponsored the first *South-wide Institute on Non-Violent Resistance to Segregation;* and a number of local groups operated effectively to break down segregation in lunch rooms, cafeterias, and similar accommodations. Others attacked inequality of treatment by law enforcement officers.

A new organized interest in registration and voting rights was indicated during the year. Registration and voting difficulties were publicized by the *Bessemer Voters League,* Bessemer, Alabama, and programs to stimulate registration and voting were conducted by the *League of Women Voters,* Montgomery, Alabama; the *Tuskegee Civic Association,* Tuskegee, Alabama; the *Georgia Negro Voters League;* and the *Tennessee Leadership Conference for Political Action* organized at Nashville.

The possible economic consequences of the closing of the public schools were described by the *Virginia AFL-CIO Convention;* the *Little Rock Chamber of Commerce;* the *Real Estate Industry Council of Dade County,* the *Miami Beach Chamber of Commerce* and the *Junior Chamber of Commerce,* all in Florida.

Some organizations grew out of direct efforts to retain public schools. Some of these were: *Save the Education Program,* and the *Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools,* both in Little Rock, and *Help Our Public Education,* formed in Atlanta.

Student and faculty groups joined the growing sentiment against discrimination in education. The *Youth March for Integrated Schools* represented by 25,000 persons from all parts of the nation, met in Washington, D. C., to demonstrate for faster implementation of desegregated education. Support was given to the movement by the *United States National Student Association* representing student governments of almost 400 colleges. The *American Association of University Professors* notified its 42,000 members to be on the lookout for jobs for four members of the University of Arkansas who lost their appointments for refusing to sign affidavits under Act 10 of 1953, requiring a listing of a teacher's contributions to and membership in organizations for the last five years.

Continuing to guard the rights of all Americans but specifically those of Negro Americans in the nation and in the Southern Region, were the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,* the *Southern Regional Council,* and the *Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.* The NAACP urged religious leaders to make their churches racially inclusive and to support desegregation in all public accommodations and facilities. At its fiftieth annual convention, delegates voted "to promote registration and vote campaigns in the South."

In 1959, specific action against segregation and discrimination was added to the strong statements already recorded by practically all of the major religious denominations. Conferences and other church groups and agencies in Alabama,

Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Virginia, and Delaware opposed the closing of public schools.

The *American Jewish Congress* proposed a six-point program to curb hate bombing and the *Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith* made its "Four Chaplains" Award to the Attorney General of North Carolina for his fight against the Ku Klux Klan and his insistence the public schools must be kept open regardless of the outcome of the school segregation issue.

Organized Opponents of Civil Rights. Civic groups believing in segregation formulated programs to promote it by keeping parents informed on such matters as school closings, cost of private schools, and steps to take if schools were closed. Others petitioned authorities to cut off funds from integrated schools. The *Carroll Service Council,* Carrollton, Georgia, appointed a fact-finding committee on integration affairs; 3,000 residents of Warren County, Virginia, asked the County Board of Supervisors to defy state law in the appropriation of funds to integrated schools. Other groups indicated through action that they planned to maintain segregation.

The *East Memphis Civic Club* protested a plan to build a high school for Negroes in an all-white neighborhood, and white residents near the Adams Park City Golf Course in Atlanta threatened to tie up the course with players if plans for a Negro tournament were carried out. The *Mississippi Advisory Council* for the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth did not invite Negro representation because of changed times and a change in their feeling toward Negroes, it said. Club women of the Fifth District of Alabama passed a resolution opposing all civil rights legislation proposed in Congress and the *Mississippi Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution* commended Mississippi State University for refusing to permit its basketball team to compete in the integrated National Collegiate Tournament.

Some small Negro groups in Augusta, Georgia, Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama, were reported as having taken a segregationist position. A group of 108 Negro property owners in Augusta did not wish to have a $1.5 million urban renewal program, giving as the reason it would force them to integrate with whites; the *Southern Negro Improvement Association of Birmingham* asked President Eisenhower not to deny Negroes "a major symbol of our progress—all Negro schools." The *Montgomery Restoration and Amelioration Association* warned Negroes against attempting to integrate the schools on the basis that they would be closed in eight months, which would cause Negroes to lose their jobs and a payroll of $1,807,000. Negro citizens of the Van Winkle Community, Hinds County, Mississippi, were successful in keeping a white store owner from building in an all-Negro neighborhood.

Among economic groups, the *Oklahoma Farm Bureau* and the *Oklahoma Farmers Union* deplored the centralization of government by the United States Supreme Court and its efforts to take over the power of the states and the legislative processes.

Numerous educational groups supported the retention of segregation in education. New organizations in support of segregated private schools were organized although some schools operating in 1958 failed to open in 1959 and others proposed failed to materialize. Other groups took their traditional stand or actively worked to retain "separate but equal" schools. The *National Education Association,* for the fifth consecutive year, adopted practically the same resolution on integration, refusing to strengthen its previous position and defeating moves to change discriminatory membership practices.

The long established practice of some professional groups in the South excluding eligible Negroes from membership or of permitting membership but limiting participation was publicly called into question after the *Southern Sociological Society* informed its Negro members that it had provided separate and unequal eating facilities for them in an Atlanta hotel at its forthcoming annual meeting. In line with the same policy of exclusion, the *Richmond Academy of Medicine* voted not to accept Negroes as members but to invite them to attend scientific sessions.

Among the main white Protestant groups in the South, many churches were clinging to segregation despite the fact that their parent bodies had already repudiated it. Several Baptist bodies voted for continuation of segregation in public schools. Methodists, especially in Alabama, Florida, and Georgia, were building defenses against integration within the Church. "Southern" Presbyterians began a purge of liberals within the denomination. Like some Methodists, they called for the withdrawal of the Church from the National Council of Churches because it advocated the recognition of China and wished to see desegregation implemented; a minister was dismissed by the *Georgia Presbytery* because he advocated "creative contacts" between the races, the culmination of long-time charges against him for his racial views. When the vestrymen of an Episcopal church in Rocky Mount, Virginia, instructed a lay delegate to a diocesan council to "oppose integration . . . at a camp and conference center, in any way, and at any time," the vicar resigned.

Three interdenominational groups may be cited for their extreme racial views. The *Evangelical Christian Council* of fifty-three ministers ex-

pressed the belief that racial integration is "satanic, unconstitutional and a main objective of Communists." The *Bessemer Ministerial Association* voted down a motion to protest Ku Klux Klan signs of welcome on that Alabama city's superhighway. The *United Church Women* of Mississippi, although an affiliate of the National Council of Churches, adopted a resolution calling for the continued separation of the races.

There was evidence to conclude that a resurgence of the *Ku Klux Klan* occurred in several states and plans for further expansion existed in others. The Klan forced persons from their jobs and homes and burned crosses on private and public property. But the most obvious indications that the Klan was in favor with the people and with some city and state authorities were the various signs of welcome that appeared on highways just before visitors enter certain cities. Such signs were reported at the entrances to Montgomery, Bessemer, Tuscaloosa, and Birmingham in Alabama and in Charleston, South Carolina.

White Citizens Council members speeded up their programs directed at limiting the number of Negro voters. In this, as in their other efforts, they had the support of some public officials. There is evidence showing cooperation between public officials and the Councils through membership or other connections. These Councils announced they preferred ending public school education to the integration of the schools; and they had as another one of their goals the elimination of Negro performers from TV programs and from the movies.

THE IMPACT OF SOUTHERN RACIAL PRACTICES ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Discrimination and inequality as they operated everywhere but especially in the Southern States were the cause for alarm among responsible officials. Vice-President Nixon, appearing before the fifty-one member Council of Methodist Bishops, urged them as "opinion-makers" to apply their weight to discourage racial extremism. Attorney General William P. Rogers' concern was for finding "the means for making continued progress in the field of civil rights and by the exercise of self-discipline prevent damaging incidents so costly to our nation from occurring." Dr. John A. Hannah, Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights, took the view that "the balance of power in the world rests with one-third of the world's population not allied militarily or philosophically with either the Soviet Union or the United States, most of whom are non-white."

The American Ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, expressed deep regret to the Soviet Prime Minister, during his visit to this country, for the treatment received by Negroes and explained that progress was being made in eliminating this evil. The Department of Labor apologized to a Nigerian official after he was told by a Kansas City, Missouri, restaurant manager not to return there to eat because of his color. He was a guest of the United States Government, traveling with a group of ten international labor leaders making a tour of factories and industries.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE PRESS

THE TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE STUDENT MOVEMENT

(A Sociological Analysis)

The students, staff, and faculty of Tuskegee Institute as individuals are involved in the current movement at Tuskegee Institute. This involvement ranges from sentiments held about expressions and actions to expression and action on the part of members of the Tuskegee Institute community.

The Social Science faculty considers it a responsibility to undertake a description and analysis of the sequence of events and to put these in a perspective that may reduce the confusion that obtains about the movement.

The movement should be considered in its three dimensions:

1. The ideological
2. The mass movement
3. Adaptation peculiar to the local situation

Ideological Considerations

Positive and aggressive action for unrestricted citizenship for Negroes has become a major concern for most Negroes. The principle of unrestricted citizenship surely is advocated by every teacher whose subject matter in any way permits its consideration. In addition to its advocacy in formal instruction, members of the Tuskegee Institute faculty have, as individuals and through their group affiliations, sought to further it. There has been continuing concern on the part of the Tuskegee Institue faculty about the apparent weakness of the ideological commitment of students with attendant emphasis upon their becoming more strongly commited.

The Mass Movement

Organized effort to implement the principle of unrestricted citizenship has taken many forms with personal involvement depending upon indivi-

dual disposition to play different kinds of roles. The wish "to do something about the matter" and the idea that each individual has a responsibility to act in general. What to "do" again is a personal matter with advocates of various forms of action recruiting partisans and sympathizers for their chosen action pattern. Many of these modes of action failed to excite the enthusiasm of students in any considerable numbers. They were too deliberate, undramatic, sometimes indirect, and just not attractive to youth as vehicles for these expressions.

Direct action on segregated public facilities, particularly discriminatory food services in public establishments, happened to provide a form of action about which students could be enthusiastic. After experimental successes with this expression in Kansas and Oklahoma, it was used and widely publicized in the South. Regradless of its being an effective instrument for implementing the principle of unrestricted citizenship, it certainly was an activity with appeal for young people. It is an activity that involves movement, an espirit among the participants, the excitement of risk, and the satisfaction of disturbing a prevailing order of things. As nothing else has done, marching through the streets and occupying establishments attracted attention to the students both locally and far and wide through the mass media. Expressed public opinion was generally sympathetic to the students. As mass behavior, such action of the students should have sympathetic understanding.

As students at one institution after another demonstrated in this way, others felt they too must become identified with the movement and follow this attractive pattern of identification with a cause and enjoy the satisfactions it offered as an activity, its effect being of whatever significance.

Adaptation Peculiar to the Local Situation

The Tuskegee community presented some limitations to application of the marching and occupying formula.

1. There are no food services in tax-supported facilities (county courthouses) or commercial establishments otherwise inviting Negro patronage in the city of Tuskegee.

2. An extended boycott of the city's commercial establishments would make entry to them awkward since, even if they had food services, the demonstrators were non-customers in this period.

Without specific objects such as those toward which other students could direct their action, the circumstances to which the marching and occupying formula was fashioned did not fit. However, the attraction of the activity pattern w s such that the students felt compulsion to use it.

The march by Tuskegee students was not a sudden isolated act. There was a sequence of events into which it fitted. Discussion by student groups about their relation to the struggle for unrestricted citizenship rights led some students to take the initiative in stimulating student involvement. On January 30 a rally was staged on campus to get students to write members of Congress in support of a bill providing for federal voting registrars. Shortly afterwards, their initial move toward more aggresive action off campus, stimulated by student development elsewhere, was discouraged by Institute officials. An undercurrent of unrest persisted, not offset through conferences which sought to channel the students' concern into what was considered rational expression. There were manifestations of rejection of elders' advice common, in general, to youths their age as well as intra-institutional stresses emerging from the participants' evaluation of the roles of the students, faculty, and administrative officials exercising over their actions, developing in an unaccustomed forthright ex-

change of opinion at a time of crisis. Concurrent events, within the student leadership and off campus, appeared to stiffen the students' position to one from which they could not recede, ending in failure of conciliation. Despite warnings of risks involved and counter-suggestions of intellectual expression in preference to hasty mass action, the students were unable to find modes of expression that would offer them the satisfaction this one did, -- parading to town and back in defiance of the administration's opposition.

Intra-institutional stresses and tensions may be anticipated as such a movement develops. Differences of opinion become emotionally charged as people choose positions, not entirely in terms of the issue in controversy. People act in such circumstances as the persons they are and the status positions they occupy. There are those who are cautious, who would rationalize what is a highly emotional situation. On the other hand, there are those who express sentiments related to their basic anxieties, their long-smoldering desire for change in a rigid pattern of statuses and roles, and seize an opportunity to relieve personal frustrations through a fortuitous channel for aggression. For some a welcome excuse arises for emotional explosion to relieve boredom.

The student movement can not escape the several divisions of opinion among faculty and staff. As the controversy continues over student action, it should be borne in mind that the controversy itself involves the whole of Tuskegee Institute. There is now present an opportunity to observe the interaction processes at Tuskegee Institute, to give careful consideration to basic stresses in the Tuskegee Institute structure that are laid bare in such a situation as this one. The teaching and learning opportunity, recognized by the President of Tuskegee Institute should be seriously taken,

especially by the faculty and staff who obviously have much to learn if the controversy disturbs their self-incrustation. The students will learn from the experience but what they learn will depend upon the ability of the faculty to learn and, presumably, intellectually rather than emotionally interpret the total experience.

Following the march to the city of Tuskegee, the students met again on the campus where it was obvious that a new leadership was taking the helm. Similar to occurences in other sections of the country such as Tallahassee, Florida, where there was a bus boycott by the Negro community members, the leadership of such a movement takes new dimensions after action is instituted. In the Tallahassee situation the new leaders which arose after the boycott had begun were characterized as aggressive, active, and autocratic in comparsion with the more conservative leadership who started the original action. In the Tuskegee situation a similar occurrence took place. The new leaders were characteristically more aggressive, action oriented, and autocratic. On the following Monday evening a student rally of approximately 800 students was held in the Academic Building. At this meeting the leadership began to take some formal structure. Speeches in a fiery manner were delivered; joyous enthusiasm was demonstrated. The platform was occupied by 15 students who had together initiated the meeting and had worked with a faculty advisor as to tactics and procedures. Modes of action proposed at this meeting were 1) a student boycott of the downtown merchants; 2) further marches and public demonstrations: 3) voiced dissatisfaction with the "Exploitation" of the students by the Negro merchants

of the community; and 4) support of the Alabama State students in their program.

On Wednesday of that week three meetings were held which had pertinence to the development of a real movement. At a faculty meeting the administration took the position of commending the students in their "concern," but not in their particular action or, as a matter of fact, in any other proposed actions of similar nature. The reaction of the faculty to this position was somewhat curious. Considerable confusion with respect to what was taking place was manifested in the statements. The final statement approved by the faculty included the word "support" as well as "commend." That evening a faculty, staff, and student meeting was held in Logan Hall to hear the president's final statement. Paraphrasing the sentiments of the administration and the faculty, the President attempted to communicate to the students the hope that the movement and interest would continue, but that responsible thought be given to future actions. That night the students held another rally at which time the officers of the self-appointed committee of leaders were announced and "approved by acclamation." At this meeting three statements of purpose were given and the group announced that a name had been chosen: SCRAM or Student Civil Rights Active Movement. The program outlined for the week included: meetings with the Negro merchants to attempt to lower prices; a future program to include not only civil rights action, but also "Student Rights" action; a meeting with leaders of the Alabama State students to cooperate in further action there; a car pool to be organized to transport students to Columbus and Montgomery shopping centers for their shopping convenience. Approximately 500 students

attended this meeting. (The enthusiasm was considerably less than the rally on the previous Monday.)

The next Sunday the vesper service originally scheduled was cancelled for a panel discussion and a version of "Meet the Press prepared by the Campus Digest staff. SCRAM members declined to participate in the questioning of the panel members for the stated reason that they would not participate in any meeting without first knowing the questions which would be posed. This meeting was organized and directed by students who were not members of SCRAM. Questions were raised as to the ultimate purposes, motives, and democratic nature of the movement in its present form.

On Tuesday, March 7, negotiations for the use of Logan Hall having failed, SCRAM held a rally off campus at Greenwood Baptist Church. Approximately 700 students heard Dr. Martin Luther King and Rev. Ralph Abernathy speak in support of the student movement here and elsewhere in the southern region. Dr. King also directed a donation to the local movement, and an offering was taken. Following the talks by Dr. King and Rev. Abernathy, Mr. Charles Taylor, president of SCRAM, announced that there would be a student boycott of classes at Tuskegee the next day in sympathy with the Alabama State students. This announcement brought forth applause which had followed statements by speakers throughout the emotionally charged meeting. The next day, however, the effectiveness of this procedure was minimal. At best, fewer than 20% of the students stayed away from classes and little was seemingly done to prohibit students physically or psychologically from attending classes as usual.

On Wednesday morning a full-page advertisement appeared in the Atlanta Constitution stating the purposes, goals, and aspirations felt

in common by the associated students of the Atlanta Negro colleges. This advertisement was endorsed by the local administrations and by various student groups of long standing. In response to this approach, SCRAM published a half-page advertisement in the Southern Observer pledging its support to such intellectual approaches and attempting to bring the observations and protestations into local and state perspectives.

The major question now being posed by students and faculty of Tuskegee Institute is "Shall I support the movement in its present form or not?" There is no easy answer to such a question and no answer shall be attempted here. Our major concern is in discerning enough of the structure and history of the situation to the present time in order to facilitate individual decisions on this matter.

The question we raise, as social scientists: "Is this a genuine social movement?" i.e., is this something of long term importance? Will it last? Does it have significance for me in my present situation? Are its goals and values significantly identified with my own goals and values?

A social movement has been defined as a "collective ready for action by which some kind of change is to be achieved, some innovation to be made, or some previous condition to be restored." It is not necessary that a large number of persons support directly such a position, but it is necessary to the success of the movement that at least a great degree of sympathy be expressed or latent in the population in which the movement is attempting to manipulate.

Any social movement can be characterized by its goals and means. In a social movement, some form of social change is always explicitly indi-

cated in its objective. At the same time, many movements are also oriented toward ends which are implicit rather than expressed, ends about which the participants or sympathizers may be nurtured by leaders who hope for personal power and prestige, whether or not they sincerely believe in the explicit aims embraced by their followers; in other cases, secrecy is maintained by the functionaries reflective of their fear that the sympathizers and/or followers are not "ready for," or will be alienated by their specific goals, and/or other means. A movement with only general goals such as brotherhood, civil rights, etc. may be hard put to maintain enthusiasm among its adherents. Therefore, certain manipulations and certain immediate satisfactions have to be accomplished for a movement to survive, even in its infancy. In the Tuskegee situation such a process is in action, or at least appears to be.

A social movement has four characteristic stages of development: social unrest, —in this case, student unrest for civil rights action and local internal problems; popular support, —in this case, the rally and march to the town section of Tuskegee; formal organization for survival, — in this case, the developing committee and action by other student groups of both short and long duration; and institutionalization, —yet to be seen. In the process of moving from stage to stage, which is necessary to the substenance of any collective action, considerable confusion and tactical errors are to be expected. Furthermore, the potential for misdirection from the original purposes or goals is great. The form of the organization is also potentially quite contrary to the desires of the population being challenged.

People join movements in search of security, unequivocal values and definite—even dogmatic—answers to their questions and desires for change.

It is not surprising that minority group members are easily activated by any movement which obstensibly has as its purpose the elevation of the rights of the entire group.

Idealogically speaking, the follower should constantly alert himself in the developmental stages of any movement as to consistency of the present form of the movement with his individual and/or group ultimate goals.

Note

The foregoing statement was prepared by a committee of the Division of the Social Sciences in March, 1960, and approved in April by a majority of the faculty for circulation among the members of the faculty within the Division, and among other interested citizens.

C. G. Gomillion
Chairman
Division of the Social Sciences

May, 1960.

Reports to LWD's files

July 19, 1960

Mr. C. G. Gomillion
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Mr. Gomillion:

Thank you so much for the copies of the excellent analysis of the student movement. Would that more social science faculties were as aware of their responsibility to deal with the major social developments in their area.

I am also glad to have a copy of the souvenir program and related materials.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

July 5, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.-Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed are two copies of a statement in which you might be interested. We are grateful to you and to the Southern Regional Council for the valuable data you have assembled, analyzed, interpreted, and released. We have found the releases very informative.

Sincerely,

C. G. Gomillion

C. G. Gomillion
Chairman

CGG:bhm

RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH - 1960

Forty-seventh Annual Report to the American People on Developments in Race Relations

January 26, 1961

L. H. FOSTER, *President*
TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

INTRODUCTION AND ASSESSMENT

Race relations in the South* came closer to a much needed base of respect for the individual and his rights in 1960 than in previous years. This was true despite the tension which arose from continued conflict between the proponents of segregation and those who pressed for desegregation. The principle of desegregation—which is the absence of racial restrictions on opportunity and personal dignity in public affairs—was unquestionably strengthened, even though it was strongly resisted in some quarters.

With increasing frequency and accentuated sternness, court decisions reaffirmed the constitutional rights of citizens; and the courts seemed extremely reluctant to accept further unreasonable delays in beginning desegregation.

Many communities began desegregation when they realized that seemingly vague possibilities of economic boycotts or closing some public facilities were actually very specific and imminent certainties. The States of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, and South Carolina rarely experienced constructive approaches to desegregation, and adamant resistance was widely evident.

New voluntary organizations added their efforts to the swelling chorus of comments and to the direct action by many groups working either for or against desegregation. Several segregationist organizations and many public officials continued to defy court-required desegregation. Concurrently, however, the constructive efforts of church, business, educational, and other citizens' groups combined to exert an over-all influence which was more impressive than the obstruction of segregationists. Practical demonstrations of the justice and simplicity of desegregation—such as lunch counter openings in several Southern cities—encouraged further thoughtful approaches, notably in Houston and Atlanta.

In most sections of the South, desegregation successes were sporadically and incompletely reported, thereby preventing a full understanding of how easily desegregation actually worked in many situations. The press gave wide coverage, however, to those conflict situations where resistance to desegregation was even temporarily effective.

School desegregation proceeded smoothly in most communities which faced this experience for the first time in 1960. New Orleans was the outstanding exception, and there public school desegregation was confused and delayed by the underlying rural-urban conflict of a rapidly urbanizing society. The real possibility of effective school desegregation was well demonstrated by the calm which prevailed in Little Rock, Arkansas, following several years of turmoil.

The influence of the Federal Government was reflected in the work of the Federal Civil Rights Commission, and several other agencies advanced employment opportunity and protected citizenship rights. These actions, which were in both the local and national interest, emphasized legal and economic factors; but the moral underpinnings of the entire human rights struggle were largely neglected. Such a limited approach continued to distress many American citizens and to amaze the leaders of numerous other countries. United Nations representatives had excellent opportunities to view America's weaknesses in human relations at home while all the nations—working together right in this country—were successfully promoting human dignity and peace throughout the world.

Citizens who had long suffered public segregation and discrimination were immensely heartened when both the major political parties forthrightly discussed and later adopted platforms which promised to correct many inequities. This development offered new hope for significant advances in the citizenship status of every American and, thereby, foretold a finer quality of race relations than had been experienced by America in earlier years.

The major new ingredient in race relations in the South was the impact of young people in asserting human rights, in which they exhibited a high measure of moral insight, courage, and dignity. The example of Negro college students in the South encouraged a country-wide re-examination of the moral consequences of the continuing delays in implementing desegregation. Leadership of Negro college youth appeared to reawaken on many college campuses throughout the nation a desire to grapple in serious conscience with major social issues—an interest which seemed to have been largely dormant since the close of World War II.

The three great contributions of the students through their sit-ins were in emphasizing the urgency of practical desegregation action, pro-

* As used here, the South includes the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which practiced legal segregation in education before 1954.

viding the initiative for constructive discussions among community leaders, and demonstrating in pilot situations that desegregation is possible without long delays.

As we stated in our 1958 report, until Negroes enjoy the opportunity to give of their talents in planning and building for the total advancement of their communities, the South will hardly be able to move out of a position of economic disadvantage, cultural limitation, and emotional distress. White and Negro citizens together must chart the way. All of America—not just the South—now suffers the national and international consequences of delay in achieving a democratic society in the South.

Since 1954, the Tuskegee Institute annual reports on race relations have had as their frame of reference compliance or non-compliance with the desegregation principle as enunciated by the United States Supreme Court in the School Segregation Cases. Recognition has also been taken of the influence of voluntary groups, leaders in various areas and mass media of communication, especially the press. This frame of reference has been applied to education, employment, recreation, registration and voting and other political activity, and transportation.

In 1960, race relations were greatly affected by the revolt of Negro college students. Due to the significance, pervasiveness, and influence of this movement, it is included in this year's report. Two more indices have been added—the general areas of civil rights and public accommodation.

FEDERAL ACTION

Legislative. The only civil rights legislation passed by Congress was the *Civil Rights Act of 1960,* signed by the President on May 6. It provides penalties for obstructing court desegregation orders; makes the crossing of State lines to avoid prosecution for damaging property a Federal crime; restricts transportation of explosives; requires preservation of voting records and provides penalties for their destruction; authorizes a system of referees in disputed voting rights cases; also authorizes the Federal Government to provide, when otherwise unavailable, schooling for children of military personnel.

Executive. The Department of Justice through the Attorney General of the United States moved vigorously against suspected violators of the civil rights of Negroes. The Attorney General appeared before the United States Supreme Court and personally defended the Federal Government's authority to protect Negro voting rights. He asked the High Court to over-rule a lower court which had declared a portion of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 unconstitutional, thus voiding a Departmental suit against invalid registration practices in Terrell County, Georgia. The Department's Civil Rights Division initiated moves to preserve these rights in the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

The *United States Commission on Civil Rights* expanded its work to include alleged discrimination in the fields of law enforcement and the administration of justice; and investigated voting complaints in several counties in Alabama, Georgia and Louisiana; and in Louisiana, it reopened hearings interrupted by legal action against it.

"The United States Department of Labor ruled that an international union in establishing a trusteeship over its Memphis, Tennessee, local, in order to require integrated meeting hall facilities, had done so to effectuate a legitimate objective of its constitution, and had not thereby violated the 1959 Labor-Management Reporting Act."

Both the Democratic and Republican Parties adopted strong planks on civil rights at their national conventions, but on this issue those of the Democrats seemed to be the stronger. In employment, the Democratic Party called for a Fair Employment Practices Commission; on voting, it promised to support action to eliminate literacy tests and poll taxes as requirements for suffrage; on housing, action to end discrimination in Federal programs was promised; on education, it called for desegregation plans by every school district in the South by 1963; and on the filibuster, it promised "procedural changes to prevent minorities from blocking action by majority vote." Both parties made pledges to support the sit-ins.

Southerners tried to tone down civil rights pronouncements at both conventions, but failed; and only two States in the South actually withheld electoral votes from the party's nominee. Alabama withheld six of its eleven and Mississippi withheld eight, its total number.

Judicial. Three important reversals in the area of civil rights were made by the *United States Supreme Court*: (1) Struck down the 1948 robbery conviction in Colbert County, Alabama, against Jesse Blackburn, a Negro citizen, sentenced to a twenty-year prison term for the crime; (2) reversed the decision of a local court in Louisville, Kentucky, which convicted and fined a Negro citizen for loitering and disorderly conduct; (3) threw out the convictions of two Arkansas officers of the NAACP who refused to submit lists of members and contributors under municipal ordinances.

The Court's educational decisions (1) upheld lower courts which set aside the seizure of the public school system of New Orleans by the Governor of Louisiana and returned it to the local school board; (2) upheld decisions that the Delaware Board of Education continue its grade-a-year desegregation in 1960, must submit another plan for full integration in 1961 and admit Negro litigants suing for admission in 1956 to their current grade level in 1960; (3) refused to halt racial integration in Houston, Texas, and in New Orleans, but upheld an order postponing the start of integration in New Orleans; (4) ruled that Norfolk, Virginia, cannot use academic tests in assigning Negro pupils unless such tests are also

used in assigning white pupils; (5) declared new legislative acts of Louisiana to be without merit; and (6) struck down Act 10 of 1958 requiring all Arkansas teachers to list annually organizations to which they had belonged or to which they had contributed during the past five years.

In employment, the Court upheld lower court rulings that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers had not violated the injunction against discriminatory practices by limiting the working hours of senior Negro firemen to provide more employment for junior white firemen; and in the area of recreation, dismissed an appeal of five Negroes convicted of trespassing on a golf course leased by the City of Greensboro, North Carolina, to a private operator.

Registration and voting rights were further safeguarded when the Court upheld key sections of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 by throwing out a Georgia Federal judge's ruling that this law gave the United States Attorney General unconstitutional powers to seek injunctions against alleged violations of voting rights; reversed decisions of lower courts that under the same Civil Rights Act the State of Alabama, the Board of Registrars of Macon County and two individuals as members of the Board were not suable and remanded the case to the District Court for reinstatement because the Civil Rights Act of 1960 expressly authorizes such action; ordered voting privileges restored to 1,377 Negroes stricken from registration rolls in Washington Parish, Louisiana; unanimously reversed lower Federal Courts and ordered a trial of the case involving the changing of the city limits of Tuskegee, Alabama, by which nearly all of the Negro voters were gerrymandered outside of the city by the State Legislature; and upheld Civil Rights Commission rules.

The United States Circuit Courts held that Negro children in Tampa, Florida, transported over ten miles to an all-Negro school when they lived only two blocks from a white school were entitled to have their case heard on its merits, whether or not they had followed procedures in the Pupil Placement Law; it condemned continuation of separate geographical attendance areas for white and Negro pupils in Alexandria, Virginia, but upheld the School Board's refusal to admit five Negroes to white schools on the basis of residence and academic standing, because the criteria were not unconstitutional facially or in application.

In other education decisions, the Court ruled that Alexandria, Virginia, and the Dollarway School Board in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, had administered the Pupil Placement Law illegally and warned that Negro children seeking admission to white schools may not be given different tests from those taken by white children before they are admitted, nor could the use of criteria applied only to Negroes seeking transfers or enrollment and not to white children be sustained.

It affirmed a decision that the ordinance of Montgomery, Alabama, enforcing segregation in public parks is unconstitutional; that segregation practiced at the Greenville, South Carolina, airport was State action, and that Birmingham, Alabama, by delegating to a franchised bus company the power to adopt seating rules and making the violation of such rules criminal, also made the bus company a State agent.

Included among education decisions handed down by the *United States District Courts* were the following: The Norfolk School Board was relieved of any responsibility of dealing with the State Pupil Placement Board because the Board's transfer policy was unconstitutional; that Atlanta, Georgia, must desegregate by May 1, 1961; that Dade County, Florida, Negro pupils must be allowed to apply to enter the school they wish to attend. It ordered a Negro boy admitted to a predominantly white high school in Harford County, Maryland, under the same conditions that would apply to a white child; but held in a Little Rock, Arkansas, case that no student is entitled to attend a school simply because he lives closer to it, and that future action must be filed by Negro pupils as individuals, not as class action. The Court also decided that Louisiana's school segregation laws were unconstitutional.

In the area of public accommodations, the Court permitted segregation in some instances on property owned by the public and outlawed it in other instances. Refusal to serve Negroes by a privately owned restaurant operating at Atlanta, Georgia, airport terminal in space leased from the city was ruled a violation of equal protection rights; discriminating against Negroes by a theatre operator who leased a building from the City of Frederick, Maryland, also was held unconstitutional. But the Court held that a cafeteria located in the Harris County, Texas, Courthouse, under lease, could be segregated, and refused to grant a preliminary injunction involving denial of service in a restaurant at Moisant International Airport, leased from the City of New Orleans. However, it did order Danville, Virginia, to extend full library privileges to Negro citizens.

Among the counties ordered to make voting records available to the Attorney General under the Civil Rights Act of 1960 were East Feliciana Parish, in Louisiana, and Montgomery and Macon Counties in Alabama. In a consent judgment, local officials of the Democratic Party in Fayette County, Tennessee, agreed to stop excluding Negro voters from primary elections; and the Registrars of Terrell County, Georgia, were ordered to cease rejecting applications of Negro college graduates and teachers on the basis of illiteracy.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS NON-COMPLIANCE

Legislative. Only the States of Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina at the end of 1960 maintained complete segregation in their elementary and secondary schools.

Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia continued to pass laws to prevent or to mini-

mize desegregation. With desegregation imminent, Louisiana bolstered up old laws and passed new ones.

"The Louisiana legislature's Un-American Activities Committee, recently established, began an investigation of Louisiana State University after one of its professors labeled legislative action on segregation a 'national scandal.'" And another bill cut off State welfare funds from 23,000 dependent children. The apparent purpose was to force adults into abandoning efforts to desegregate.

Two ordinances were enacted by the Prince Edward County Board of Supervisors to promote development of private schools. A bill to strengthen the city's law against racial and religious discrimination on municipal construction projects was defeated by the St. Louis Board of Aldermen on June 8 for the second time in less than three months. A new church law passed March 24 by Mississippi permits two-thirds of the adult local membership of a congregation to petition Chancery Court for removal of trustees over their church properties. It applies when "there exists a deep-seated and irreconcilable hostility or tension between them and any or all of the said trustees or others exercising authority over the properties." A similar law was passed by Louisiana on July 7. Louisiana's Legislature also passed a law requiring the operators of public transit facilities to adopt and enforce regulations for the seating of passengers.

Louisiana and Mississippi passed bills which would discourage Negroes from making voting complaints. Other Mississippi bills permit presentation of documentary evidence by persons challenging other voters, and approved a proposed amendment to the State Constitution requiring electors to "be of good moral character." A Kansas City, Missouri, ordinance forbidding racial discrimination in operation of hotels, motels, and restaurants was declared unconstitutional by a state court.

Executive. The Governors of Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana reaffirmed their opposition to desegregation in education, and the Extension Service Center of the University of Alabama at Montgomery, and the University of South Carolina again turned down Negro applicants.

School boards seemed to be exerting all of the influence they have to keep desegregation at a minimum: Little Rock, Arkansas, decided not to extend gradual desegregation to the junior high grades in 1960; the Dollarway School in the same State was given $5,000 of State money to cover expenses of defending itself against law suits; Dade County, Florida, continued to approve transfers of white pupils from the Orchard Villa Elementary School; Charlotte, North Carolina, is charged with permitting "token integration," then moving schools to areas that make them inaccessible to Negro children, and Oklahoma City replaced white faculties with Negro teachers where student bodies were almost entirely Negro.

Negro children admitted to a previously all-white school in Roanoke, Virginia, were barred from attending a Symphony Orchestra Concert with their classmates; in Norfolk, the City School Board told the Federal Court that a Negro girl in the seventh grade should be returned to a Negro school because of "pressure and frustration in her studies."

Burke, Tift and Laurens Counties in Georgia took steps to set up private schools after the Sibley Commission reported.

Forty-three percent of the employment opportunities advertised in the Baltimore area were closed to Negroes in violation of the law, according to a survey conducted by the Baltimore Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

For swimming off the public beach at Biloxi, Mississippi, policemen arrested a Negro, Dr. Gilbert Mason, and the Hopewell City, Virginia, public pool was leased by the City Council to a private group for continued operation on a segregated basis.

Segregationists continued to withhold voting rights from Negroes. In Louisiana, FBI agents were refused access to the rolls of the Ouachita Parish Register of Voters; and the State Attorney General ordered the East Carroll Parish Registrars to deny similar access to their records. This official also made efforts to ward off referee suits in State parishes by the United States Attorney General.

The three members of the Election Commission and the Registrar of Voters of Fayette County, Tennessee, resigned, claiming they were "harassed" by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Many persons riding on public conveyances in the South, whether interstate or local passengers, were forced to conform to segregation laws. If they refused they were subjected to assault, arrest, and fines. There were such cases in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, Tennessee and South Carolina.

Judicial. In February, the State of Tennessee charged, in Circuit Court, that Highlander Folk School in Grundy County was being "operated as a public nuisance and in non-conformity to its charter." It petitioned that the nuisance be abated, the charter revoked, and the corporation dissolved. The case is still in the courts.

The State Supreme Court of Delaware reversed a lower court's ruling granting relief from discrimination in a Wilmington restaurant situated on space leased in a public parking building; and Federal agents were barred by a circuit judge at Montgomery, Alabama, from seeing voting records in Alabama counties by an injunction handed down June 6.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS COMPLIANCE

Legislative. On March 21, 1960, Kentucky created a Commission on Human Rights empowered to encourage fair treatment for all; the Sibley Study Commission appointed by the State Legislature proposed a "freedom of choice" program of education patterned largely on the Virginia plan; and Kentucky and Delaware enacted laws on employment.

The Board of Estimates of Baltimore voted unanimously to include a non-discriminatory employment provision in all city contracts with private firms. The City Council added enforcement provisions to its ordinance against discrimination by giving such powers to the Baltimore Equal Opportunity Commission. Discrimination against Negroes in eating places in Kansas City, Missouri, became unlawful on January 15, with the passage of a civil rights ordinance. It applies to restaurants, hotels, or motels within the city limits.

Executive. For the first time since its creation, Virginia's Pupil Placement Board voluntarily assigned Negroes to white schools, and the Attorney General of Texas ruled that the Houston schools would not lose State aid if they integrated because integration was forced by Federal Courts.

The Orleans Parish School Board in Louisiana, instituted "token" integration despite legal action by the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government to prevent them from doing so.

Alleghany County in western Maryland became that State's first school district to have 100 percent integration of both students and teachers; the Oklahoma State Employment Service announced it was closing separate offices for Negroes in three cities, and Negroes were admitted to a previously all-white city operated swimming pool, marking the second lowering of racial bars in less than three weeks in Charlotte, North Carolina.

After months of litigation, Macon County Alabama, submitted to a Federal Court order on November 21 and surrendered its records to representatives of the office of the United States Attorney General investigating discrimination against Negro citizens desiring to become registered voters.

Judicial. The Georgia Supreme Court upheld a Fulton County (Atlanta) Superior Court judge's denial of an injunction which would have kept Atlanta from collecting city school taxes because of Federal Court desegregation orders; and the County Circuit Court ruled unconstitutional a Virginia law requiring school boards to hold referendums on the proposed sale of school property if ten percent of the citizens voting in the preceding presidential election petition for such sale.

VOLUNTARY GROUP ACTION

Organized Proponents of Civil Rights. Groups working toward an integrated society stepped up their efforts during 1960. The variety of their interests and the intensification of their work showed the seriousness of their purpose.

A number of civic groups in New Orleans favored keeping the schools open. Most vocal was *Save Our Schools.* Other organizations desiring the schools to be preserved were the *Committee for Public Education;* the *Edward Hynes School PTA;* the *Independent Women's Organization; United Clubs, Inc.,* and mothers of the *A. H. Wilson School Club.*

Young Negro business and professional men, called the *Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action* (ACCA), released a report listing inequities in the city which need to be corrected; the Chairman of the *Regional Council of Negro Leadership* in Mississippi after a survey of forty-eight of eighty-two counties submitted reasons why Negro voting is lax.

The *American Veterans Committee* charged on September 16 that Negro servicemen are subjected to racial discrimination in Southern VA offices, in on-the-job training opportunities, and that the Federal Government pays tuition to school boards which segregate Negro children. The *Fayette County Civic and Welfare League* and its corresponding organization in Haywood County, Tennesee, asked the President to declare the region a disaster area as a result of an "economic squeeze" resulting from activities in connection with registration and voting.

Neighbors Unlimited, a bi-racial organization in Tulsa, Oklahoma, sought to build good-will, mutual concern and understanding between white and Negro residents of the John Burroughs Elementary School area. A similar group in Baltimore, Maryland, *Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc.,* a city-wide organization, sought to promote acceptance of integrated residential areas and thereby halt the flight of white families from the city. An Executive Director was appointed to promote the program.

The Tuskegee Civic Association continued its efforts to protect civil rights and to extend political opportunities by cooperating with state and regional agencies as well as with officials of the Federal Government. During the year it "stepped up" its campaign to get Congress to enact legislation providing for Federal Registrars; and in May saw some of the fruits of its labor incorporated in the Civil Rights Act of 1960.

Economic groups won victories against bias in hiring and other discrimination by picketing and boycotting. Several national and local labor groups opposed discrimination in employment and in education. The *Southern Hotel* in Baltimore opened all facilities to Negroes and the *Memphis Transit Company* discontinued segregated seating. The year saw the organization of the "pro-Negro but not anti-white" *Negro American Labor Council.*

In education, a new group, the *National Organization of Women* (NOW) was formed by sixteen national organizations to promote integration in the schools. Other developments included the revoking of charters by the *American Federation of Teachers* of locals in the South which refuse to desegregate, opposition by white school teachers and supervisors to the proposed Amendment 52 to the Arkansas Constitution which would eliminate guarantees of a free public school system; warning by thirty-three educators from eight Southern States that closing of public schools means the "collapse of our democratic society."

In higher education, the student legislative body of Duke University urged the admission of Negroes as students; and a cooperative boarding house for men at the University of Texas voted to accept its first Negro resident.

Various human relations groups asked the President and Congress to speed public school desegregation and to withhold Federal aid from school districts refusing to comply with the Supreme Court's decisions. Federal and state action were also urged to open public schools where education is denied to Negroes. Other groups observed that school desegregation should be taken out of the hands of the courts and placed in the hands of responsible educators.

Twenty-two integration leaders from eleven Southern States also asked the President to strengthen the position of the United States representatives in the United Nations by making a firm statement in support of the struggle of Southern Negroes for Constitutional rights. Several groups sought to bring about "peaceful coexistence" of the races in neighborhoods undergoing change, as in Oklahoma City and Baltimore. Others held Institutes to prepare young people for entering integrated high schools and colleges; and filed a suit to enjoin the police from intimidating and seeking to intimidate Negroes working for immediate and complete integration.

A member of another group was jailed for failure to turn over to a Grand Jury the names of contributors to his organization; and the NAACP continued to work for a completely integrated society.

Significant political action was taken. Sixteen civic, religious and civil rights organizations in the South sponsored a *Volunteer Commission on Civil Rights* in Washington. Persons who had been denied the right to vote in five states presented their stories to Congress and to the nation.

And to increase the number of Negro voters in order to get more attention from both political parties, twenty Negro leaders issued a call in September for a "non-partisan crusade" to register one million new Negro voters before the November 8 election. The day following the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1960, the Haywood County, Tennessee, *Elections Commission* opened registration books for a period of six days to permit Negroes to register. A drive to increase Negro voter registration from 21,000 to at least 51,000 was the goal during midsummer of the *Non-Partisan Registration Committee* of Louisville, Kentucky.

Among professional groups, the *American Nurses Association* gave the Georgia State Nurses Association "encouragement" and two years to admit Negro nurses and the *Southern Sociological Society* resolved to meet in the future only in cities where desegregated hotel and dining facilities would be available to its Negro members.

The *Atlanta Bar Association* voted to continue public schools under some plan permitting limited integration. Several teachers' associations adopted resolutions on behalf of education for all children. In agreement with them was the *Southeastern Louisiana Chapter of the National Association of Social Workers.*

Religious groups of several denominations favored keeping the schools open in Georgia and in New Orleans. *The Christian Index*, a Baptist Convention magazine, said closing the schools was second only to closing the churches. The *Arkansas Methodist Student Movement* advocated ending all racial segregation in Methodist colleges in the State as well as in state-supported institutions, and the *Cumberland Presbyterian Church* told Bethel College at McKenzie, Tennessee, to begin admitting qualified Negro ministerial students.

Approximately 100 Episcopalians meeting in Raleigh from all parts of the country formed the *Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity.* In accordance with the policy of the Church, it stated that any form of segregation or separation based on distinctions as to race, color, national origin or class in either the Church or the general community is contrary to the will of Christ and must be resisted by the Church and its members.

A former Negro church and a former white church merged into one congregation in Oklahoma, and delegates to the *West Virginia Methodist Conference* voted in favor of integrating white and Negro members.

Fears of various kinds often have been given by Southerners as their reasons for opposing the erasing of color lines. A ten-page brochure entitled *The Myths of Racial Integration* prepared by the *American Jewish Congress* analyzes and answers nine such fears as they relate to education and housing.

Organized Opponents of Civil Rights. Groups opposing civil rights do not appear to have been as numerous in 1960 as in 1959, but a scheduled talk on "The Moral Issues of Integration" by Harry Golden of Charlotte, North Carolina, before the Greenville, South Carolina, *Kiwanis Club* was cancelled.

Merchants, landlords, banks, and insurance companies denied services to persons who wished to vote or who had obtained the right to vote in Fayette and Haywood Counties in Tennessee.

The *Board of the Young Men's Business Club* urged that public schools in New Orleans and in Louisiana be kept open, but the general membership commended the actions of State officials to maintain segregated schools.

Certain educational groups continued to make efforts in the direction of establishing private schools. Gestures in this direction were made in Macon, Savannah, Tifton, Dublin, Waynesboro, Sumter County, and the Leslie-DeSoto area in Georgia. In Louisiana, twenty-four private school cooperatives had been chartered or were being organized at the end of August. Roanoke, Virginia, received a charter for a private school but Negroes continued to refuse to cooperate with *Southside Schools, Inc.*, a group of whites offering to set up a private school for Negroes in Prince Edward County.

In higher education, Wake Forest College students at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, voted against integration.

The *Methodist Church,* after a four-year study, decided not to change its administrative policy of keeping its Negro members under a separate jurisdiction; and the *Board of Trustees* of Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas, voted to continue admitting only white students.

Activities of the *Ku Klux Klan* included the burning of hundreds of crosses, flogging, holding of rallies, demonstrations and parades and other anti-social behavior, in cities and towns of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia, and Texas. Evidence of the work of *White Citizens Councils* was seen in this organization's continued opposition to desegregation in any form and offers of inducements to families to boost its membership. Attempts were made to revive the *National Association for the Advancement of White People in Louisiana.* There was the bombing of a public school in Atlanta, Georgia and riotous objection to desegregation of two public schools in New Orleans.

While the national interest in implementing the principle of equality has been well established by Federal Court decisions and by pronouncements of certain Federal Government and other political leaders, few Southern State governments or leaders indicate they plan now or ever to recognize the primacy of the national interest. So slow is the movement toward the achievement of full citizenship goals and so little interest has been shown by Americans generally in the state of the relations between the races, it now appears, in retrospect, it was almost inevitable that youth would rebel against these conditions.

THE SOUTHERN STUDENTS' PROTEST MOVEMENT

No section of the country in 1960 was left untouched by the protest of college students against racial bias. It was initiated by four students on February 1 at the A. and T. College of North Carolina at Greensboro, and was aimed directly at a five-and-ten cents store nearby, which denied them the use of its lunch counter while welcoming them to all other counters where goods were sold. In this way, a movement began which caught and held the attention of other students, North and South, and of citizens in all walks of life.

Focussed on the South and on Southern practices, it was by no means confined to the region. Many economic institutions against which their protest was directed were owned by corporations elsewhere and operated on a national scale.

Non-violent techniques used were not new. They had been successfully employed by Gandhi in India, by African Nationalists seeking to throw off colonial government, by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and by Dr. Martin Luther King in desegregating public buses in Montgomery, Alabama. NAACP Youth Council members had also used them with some success in Oklahoma and in Kansas. But their application to a chain store lunch counter was new, and marked the beginning of the only major youth movement America has known. Its spread seemed almost instantaneous. In the four months from February through May, it moved into every Southern and Border State and into approximately eighty-nine communities.

Many reasons were given for this seemingly sudden interest by Negro youth in racial barriers which limited opportunities of Negro citizens. But an examination of them revealed that this interest was not sudden. Negro youth had long chafed under their suppressed status and had always resented the limitations which prevent them from becoming full-fledged Americans. Sit-down techniques with their non-violent aspect appealed to them. Call to action seemed imperative, regardless of parental advice or of college, local, or state authorities. Students at private institutions, in the main, had the sympathetic understanding of faculty and administration; but students in public colleges, where the power structure, local or state, firmly upholds a segregated society, felt the full weight of executive, judicial and legislative force.

First directed at breaking down segregation at lunch counters in drug stores and in department stores, demonstrations, popularly known as sit-downs or sit-ins,* later included protest against expulsion of fellow students and threats of expulsion for further protests against segregation wherever it existed, as well as exclusion from services extended to the public by government and private establishments.

The White House was picketed by hundreds of students. They demonstrated at a governor's mansion, at city halls, court houses and jails. They held meetings on the steps of State Capitols, when not prevented from doing so by police officers, and at the National Capitol. Boycotting and picketing were employed against businesses which denied equal service. Campaigns against segregated churches were conducted and intermittently throughout the summer "wade-ins" to secure equal use of publicly owned beaches. College students paraded before polling places in many cities on election day.

Demonstrations were too numerous to tabulate, but by May forty-one had occurred in South Caroline alone, involving 4,037 students. Of these, 586 had been arrested and 492 convicted.

No obvious organizational structure appeared to exist among the demonstrators, but it soon became evident that coordination of the movement was necessary and first efforts toward this end began during the Easter vacation period, resulting in a permanent organization, the *Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.*

The President of the United States was "deeply sympathetic" and deplored violence to prevent citizens from enjoyment of rights guaranteed by the Constitution. He advocated "bi-racial conferences in every city and every community of the South" to deal with the problem.

* These terms will be used interchangeably.

The Department of Justice became interested and on June 1 the Attorney General invited business executives to discuss appropriate means whereby local communities would voluntarily work out desegregation of lunch counters and working facilities, with the assistance of local groups and merchants. In addition, the Department of Justice brought suit to open the Mississippi Gulf Coast beach to Negroes, but the United States District Court, in cases brought before it by students expelled from Alabama State College, ruled such expulsions were justified and necessary so the college could operate and be operated in a proper manner; and that the right to attend a college is conditioned by compliance with rules and regulations.

There were scattered efforts by local and state governments to comply with the students' demands. The City Council of Rockville, Maryland, unanimously passed a resolution calling for the opening of all Hi-Boy Restaurant facilities on a non-segregated basis. Governor Leroy Collins was the only Southern governor to speak out on the moral issues of lunch counter demonstrations. He and the Governor of Oklahoma appointed Statewide commissions and the Florida executive encouraged communities to appoint bi-racial groups. A number of cities followed the suggestion of the President of the United States and of Florida's Governor and appointed local committees. Some committees were successful but some were not.

Sentences pronounced by most local courts were for the purpose of quashing demonstrations; on the other hand, a few decisions of local judges appeared to be in favor of the demonstrators. A Recorder's Court in Durham, North Carolina, dismissed charges against two Negro students after they had insisted on eating at a downtown drink and sandwich shop. In Petersburg, Virginia, ten demonstrators who attempted to use the section of the public library reserved for whites were also cleared of trespassing charges. Students in Danville won their suit, but the city closed the library.

Some state executives—governors, mayors, boards of education, and other officials—sought to intimidate or punish students or refused to confer with them. Students were arrested, jailed, fined, suspended or expelled from school. Faculty members were fired and in at least one instance jailed.

Students were charged with trespassing, disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace, unlawful assembly, vagrancy, intimidating a witness, littering while distributing leaflets, riotous conduct, jeering at white people, refusing to disperse at the order of an officer, disrobing in public; with criminal mischief, assault and battery, contempt of court, breach of the peace, loitering, interfering with public worship, entering a religious service without permission, refusing to pay excessive charges for services, entering a laundromat and destroying a "white only" sign, violating state law against picketing, and violating an anti-mask statute. But none was charged with violating segregation statutes.

To seek equal rights in the South is costly. Not only must those in the forefront of the struggle bear their share of taxes to pay officials in public office but they also must pay fines for breaking laws they believe to be both unconstitutional and evil. An attempt to list all of the fines and other punishment meted out to Negro students would not be possible, but it may be noted in the Upper South the range reported was from a low of $10 and a suspended sentence to $50; while in the Lower South the range reported was from a low of $50 and costs to $600 or 150 days in jail.

The State Supreme Courts in Florida and Louisiana declined to review cases of students sentenced for taking part in demonstrations. In one instance, the Florida court transferred the case to a lower court. In Louisiana, a 60-day stay of execution of the sentence was made so appeal could be made to a higher court.

Solid assistance for Southern Negro students came from numerous organizations. They were racial and interracial, civic, educational, economic, national, regional and local. Some instructed students in methods of non-violent resistance; some raised funds to help pay fines imposed and provided legal defense; others permitted their members to sit-in and march with students and to boycott commercial establishments resisting desegregation.

In the effort to create a social or civic climate favorable to the desegregation efforts of Negro youth, leadership was provided by several college boards of trustees, by presidents and professors and by the National Student Association, by the Negro press and by some white editors. Officers of national, regional, state, and city human relations organizations and influential religious, professional and social groups were foremost in these efforts.

Varying types and degrees of opposition to the sit-in demonstrations were provided by different kinds of economic, educational, religious and other voluntary groups and by White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan—relatives of some Negro demonstrators were released from employment; some commercial firms closed lunch counters; insecticide and left-over food and water and other objects were thrown at demonstrators; over-charge for service was made; pronouncements encouraging or comforting those opposing the efforts of the demonstrators were issued. Intimidation or threats were not uncommon. There was an instance of a youth being burned with a cigarette and another was mutilated. Crosses were burned. KKK parades were held and charges that demonstrations were Communist-inspired came from Southern sources.

Acts of violence were kept at a minimum because of restraint on the part of most Negro participants in demonstrations. While some Negroes were reported as originating overt acts, white men and youth almost invariably were the aggressors. Extremes in violence included shootings, bombings and near-bombings, and rioting and near-rioting in cities of Florida, Georgia, Mississippi and Tennessee.

October 10, 1961

Dr Luther H. Foster, President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr Foster:

I was delighted to read of your election as head of the United College Fund.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

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LHD
MI
file

June 15, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your memorandum of June 13 about the dates of the 1962 Annual Meeting of the Council. I hope I shall be able to attend.

The resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Council is a beautiful tribute to the life and work of our good friend, George Mitchell.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:p

June 27, 1962

Dr. Saunders E. Walker
Chairman
Convocations Committee
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Walker:

It is no inconvenience at all to send you the enclosed biographical data sheet for Mr. Dunbar.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF HUMANITIES

June 26, 1962

RECEIVED
JUN 27 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

It was nice of you to forward measurements for your cap and gown. They will be delivered to the room assigned you at our Dorothy Hall, our guest house.

I would appreciate having biographical data (brief statements) for use in announcing your appearance and in introducing you to the Tuskegee audience. I hope that compliance with this request will not put you to any inconvenience.

Yes, Sending today

Very truly yours,

Saunders E. Walker

Saunders E. Walker
Chairman
Literature and Languages

SEW:pg

file
Tuskegee Inst.

June 21, 1962

Dr. Saunders E. Walker
Chairman
Convocations Committee
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Walker:

Thank you for your letter of June 13. It would be a great convenience for me if you could reserve a cap and gown.

I expect that I shall drive over, but if my plans change I shall let you know.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF HUMANITIES

June 13, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

By now you have Dr. Foster's letter of June 7, offering details on the Summer Commencement Exercises to be held on August 10. I need add only that I shall be pleased to meet you at the Columbus, Georgia, airport if you come by plane. Also, I should add that the speaker wears the academic cap and gown. If you wish us to rent these and reserve them for you, please complete and return the enclosed form.

Your presence will be much appreciated by many of us who know you personally and who appreciate the fine program of the organization you represent.

Very truly yours,

Saunders E. Walker

Saunders E. Walker, Chairman
Convocations Committee

Enclosure
SEW:pg

RECEIVED
JUN 14 1962

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June 7, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

We are delighted that you will deliver the address at our Summer Commencement Exercises on Friday, August 10, at 7:00 p. m. We know you will bring an inspiring message to members of the graduating class and their families, as well as to other students and members of our faculty. Thank you for accepting our invitation.

The program is usually about one and one-half hour in length, and our speaker uses about twenty-five to thirty minutes of that time. Any subject which you choose will be satisfactory. As I indicated on the telephone, most of the persons in attendance will be in-service teachers from Southern states. They and their families would be greatly assisted by a larger understanding of some of the matters in which you and others at Southern Regional Council are interested.

Details of the program will be sent to you by the Chairman of our Convocations Committee.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:p

Tuskegee Institute — file

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF HUMANITIES

August 6, 1962

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I have sent your cap and gown to Dorothy Hall Guest Home, the building in which you will reside during your stay on campus this weekend. Upon arriving, kindly have the receptionist telephone my office or my residence. She will know the numbers. We eagerly await your arrival.

Very truly yours,

Saunders E. Walker

Saunders E. Walker
Chairman
Literature and Languages

SEW:pg

RECEIVED
AUG 7 1962

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

SUMMER COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

Founded by
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

LOGAN HALL

FRIDAY EVENING, AUGUST TENTH

NINETEEN HUNDRED SIXTY-TWO

SEVEN O'CLOCK

O MASTER, LET ME WALK WITH THEE

O Master, let me walk with Thee
In lowly paths of service free;
Tell me Thy secret; help me bear
The strain of toil, the fret of care.

Help me the slow of heart to move
By some clear winning word of love;
Teach me the wayward feet to stay,
And guide them in the homeward way.

Teach me Thy patience; still with Thee
In closer, dearer company,
In work that keeps faith sweet and strong,
In trust that triumphs over wrong;

In hope that sends a shining ray
Far down the future's broadening way;
In peace that only Thou canst give,
With Thee, O Master, let me live.

—WASHINGTON CLADDEN

PROGRAM

PROCESSIONAL: "Grand March" (Aida) ---------- *Verdi*

HYMN: "O Master, Let Me Walk With Thee" ---------- Audience

INVOCATION ---------- The Reverend G. E. Penson
Pastor, Westminster Presbyterian Church
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

ANTHEM: "All Creatures of Our God and King"--arr. by *Robert Shaw*

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
DR. LESLIE W. DUNBAR
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

MELODY: "We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder" -------- (Traditional)

COMMISSIONING OF ROTC GRADUATES

CONFERRING OF DEGREES

REMARKS ---------- President L. H. Foster

MUSIC: "The Tuskegee Song" (*Dunbar-Smith*) -------- Audience

BENEDICTION ---------- The Reverend G. E. Penson

ORGAN POSTLUDE: "Sonata," No. 2 ---------- *Hindemith*

CANDIDATES FOR GRADUATION

August 10, 1962

CANDIDATES FOR COMMISSION AS SECOND LIEUTENANTS, UNITED STATES ARMY RESERVE

CRAWFORD, WILLIE FRANKLIN, Infantry
ERKINS, MOSES, Infantry
ROYAL, REGINALD PERCELL, Ordnance
SEALS, AL LAVERT, Artillery
TALLEY, GENE AUTRY, Signal Corps

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ERKINS, MOSES

BIOLOGY

TALLEY, GENE AUTRY

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SEALS, AL LAVERT
ROSS, ELIZABETH CECELIA

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CUNNINGHAM, ROY EDWIN
DANDY, LEROY DEVOR
HANDSOM, ERNESTINE

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AVERHART, JESSE MACK
BAPTISTE, BARBARA JEANNE
BARNES, W. J. ANTHONY
BISHOP, DELORIS DELL
BRIDGEWATER, MILTON
BUTLER, MERTIS HODGE
COLLINS, ADELL DELORES
CRAWFORD, WILLIE FRANKLIN
DELEVEAUX, WINIFRED GWENDOLYN
GRIFFIN, IVY EDWINA
HARRISON, DOROTHY WILLIAMS
LYAS, JOSEPHINE
TRIPP, WILLIE BELLE

ENGINEERING

PARKER, E. TYREE

HOME ECONOMICS

BOLDEN, SUSIE L.
ROBINSON, EUDORA GUINEVERE
SMALLWOOD, MARIETTA E.
SAMUELS, GEORGIA RAY

INSTITUTION MANAGEMENT

MILNER, MINNIE FRANKLIN
TAYLOR, EVELYN ELVIRA

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ARCHITECTURE

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BONAPARTE, CHARLES

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ROBINSON, JOHN V., JR.
ROYAL, REGINALD PERCELL

NURSING

CLEVELAND, FANNIE
DUBOIS, FANNIE PRENTICE
PORTERFIELD, JEAN
SMITH, MARY E. BANKHEAD
SPEARS, POLLY DENEFIELD
THOMAS, FANNIE BRANHAM
WATSON, ARDELLE R.
WILLIAMS, CHARLIE TAYLOR
WILLIAMSON, LOUELLA IRVING
YATES, HATTYE SCOTT

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

CRAWFORD, JAMES BENJAMIN
LIGHTFOOT, JAMES

INTERNSHIP IN HOSPITAL DIETETICS

BAKER, VERLYN J.
BROWN, JOYCE COLLINS
DANZY, GERTRUDE L.
EMERSON, CLAUDIA ELOIS
GAYLORD, LILLIAN O. H.
FELTON, DOROTHY YVONNE
FITTS, MARZETTA LUCILLE

MASTER OF EDUCATION DEGREES

AGRICULTURE

ALEXANDER, ROBERT FORD
BECKHAM, GEORGE ALFRED
BRIGMAN, THADDEUS B.
CANADY, ROBERT LEE
COBB, NIMROD
DUNCAN, ALFONZA
GALLERSON, FRANK J.
MATTHEWS, HENRENE
RICE, WILLIAM M.

EDUCATION

BULLARD, ANNETTE HARRIS
CARTER, ADOLPHUS DELANO
CORBITT, WARREN G.
COWARD, DONA HENDLEY
COWARD, THOMAS
DAVIDSON, BERTHA JOYCE
DONNAN, ANNETTE WEST
DOWDY, FRED, JR.
ELLINGTON, CARRIE B.
ELSBERRY, ETHEL BULLS
FREENEY, FLOSSIE ELMA
FRYE, MARY LOUISE
GASTON, ANNIE MAE
GOODEN, RULENA MAE
GRANT, JOANNE T.
GRESHAM, JULIUS R.
GRIMMETT, RUTH EARLEE NUNN
HAIRSTON, MARGARET ANN
HARRIS, LUCILE TAYLOR
HENRY, ELOISE P.
HUGHES, CARMEN WILKINS
JENNINGS, BETHEW BERTRAND, JR.
MAHORNEY, GLORIA GRAVES
MARTIN, CARRIE B. LAND
McCREE, LILLIE PEARL
McWHORTER, LEONA ARGRATERS C.
MURRAY, RUTH CLARICE BACCUS
NICHOLS, MOTON
PITTS, WILLIE MAE WRIGHT
POOLE, MARY SLEDGE
ROACHE, SIPIO, JR.
ROBBINS, HIAWATHA DIANE
ROBERSON, CORA MAE BROWN PETERSON
ROBINSON, HYWEEDDA GRAY
RUMPH, MARIE
STANBACK, OSCAR
STANBACK, ROSA SMITH
TEMPLE, JEANETTA ODESSIA
TOLBERT, MATTYE WILLIAMS
VERNON, DELMARIE MOSS
WILLIAMS, BERNESTINE CORDY
WILSON, ILLEAN NAYLOR BOYD

SCIENCE EDUCATION

SMITH, CHARLIE JAMES
WILSON, FRANK L.

HOME ECONOMICS

BONNER, JOHNNIE LOU
CARMICHAEL, DELOIS LOFTON
COMBS, CELESTINE YVONNE
GILLIARD, EVELYN NELSON
GRANVILLE, ROSSINNI SWAIN
GRAVES, BESSIE
HARRIS, MARIE GARSIDE
McCALL, DOROTHY L. ROBINSON
NUNNALLEY, ERNESTINE MACK
REYNOLDS, SOLONIA ELIZABETH
ROBINSON, LILLIE McCRAY
RUMPH, ELMYRA JEANETTE
STEPHENS, LAFRANCES WILLIAMS
WARD, MILDRED MAYE
WILLIAMS, ARSULA E. McLEOD

MASTER OF SCIENCE DEGREES

AGRICULTURE

BROWN, GLADSTONE EMMANUEL
Thesis: The Effects of Various Concentrations of Gibberellic Acid on the Development of Tomato Plants.

DEBOSE, ALFONSO
Thesis: Some Factors Influencing the Absorption and Translocation of Strontium in Plants.

McDONALD, VINCENT ROY
Thesis: A Demographic Profile of Human Resources in the States of Alabama and Georgia, 1950-1960.

STRETE, DENNIS BHAGWANT KUMAR
Thesis: A Study of the Chemical and Physical Properties of Two Related Coastal Plain Soils—Norfolk and Gilead.

CHEMISTRY

BENNETT, PRENDIS ODELL
Thesis: The Possible Effect of Gibberellic Acid On Microorganisms.

GAINER, FRANK EDWARD
Thesis: A Study of the Flowing Mercury Electrode.

LEE, DONALD ARTHUR
Thesis: Comparison of the Chlorinated Products of 1,4-Oxathiane and 2,6-Dimethyl-1,4-Oxathiane.

WILLIAMS, JOSEPH LEE
Thesis: Micro Determination of Surface-Active Agents, and Studies on Surface Tension-Detergency Relationships.

KELLEY, JAKE C., JR.
Thesis: A Study of the Partial Catalytic Hydrogenation of Selected N-Substituted Indoles.

HOME ECONOMICS

ADAMS, FIDELIA JO ANNE
Thesis: Variations in Electrolyte Balances of the Human Body Produced by the Ingestion of Varied Amounts and Kinds of Dairy Foods.

JONES, LUCILLE BEATRICE
Thesis: Urinary Excretion of Amino Acids.

THE TUSKEGEE SONG

Music by N. Clark Smith

Tuskegee, thou pride of the swift growing South,
We pay thee our homage today,
For the worth of thy teaching, the joy of thy care;
And the good we have known 'neath thy sway.
Oh, long-striving mother of diligent sons,
And of daughters, whose strength is their pride,
We will love thee forever, and ever shall walk
Thro' the oncoming years at thy side.

Thy hand we have held up the difficult steeps,
When painful and slow was the pace,
And onward and upward we've labored with thee
For the glory of God and our race.
The fields smile to greet us, the forests are glad,
The ring of the anvil and hoe
Have a music as thrilling and sweet as a harp
Which thou taught us to hear and to know.

Oh, mother Tuskegee, thou shinest today
As a gem in the fairest of lands;
Thou gavest the heav'n-blessed power to see
The worth of our minds and our hands.
We thank thee, we bless thee, we pray for thee years
Imploring with grateful accord,
Full fruit for thy striving, time longer to strive,
Sweet love and true labor's reward.

—Paul Laurence Dunbar

August 16, 1962

Dr. L. H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

Dear Dr. Foster:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of August 14. I always enjoy coming to Tuskegee and last week was an especially pleasant occasion. And thank you also for your kind words about my address.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

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ROBERT W. WOODRUFF

August 14, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We were delighted to have you as our Commencement speaker last Friday evening. Your message was so informative and inspiring, and it fitted the occasion splendidly. Several persons have asked about copies of the address and we will reproduce it.

Kind regards and best wishes for the success of your very important program at the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:cd

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

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September 26, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am writing in behalf of trustees, faculty and students of Tuskegee Institute to invite your participation in a seminar-conference and convocation on our campus October 25-26, 1963, which will deal with basic problems of disadvantage that affect all citizens--both white and Negro. The attached memorandum describes the purposes of the conference.

Major papers will be presented on Friday by several authorities in their fields:

America and the Negro--an analysis of the Negro's position in American life, with emphasis on the concept that his disadvantages are fundamentally those of the total society and solution depends upon a removal of total disadvantages in the society as well as particular problems which face the Negro.

Education for Civic Participation--an analysis of the role of education in leading all citizens, both lay and office-holders, to a full understanding of democratic ideals and the ways by which these are most effectively achieved.

The American Population--a description of population changes with special emphasis on the problems associated with high mobility, urbanization and inequitable opportunity at points within the nation.

The American Economy--the present position and future outlook of the American economy, with special attention to concerns which affect the Negro in this economy.

These major papers will be heard by an audience of about 500 persons, including 60 invited especially to spend the second day in helping set the broad outlines and the specific focus for a follow-up conference in the spring and a second annual conference in the fall of 1964.

We hope you will be one of the 60 special participants and help us establish this new series of annual conferences as a truly useful forum for analysis, interpretation and report to the American people on developments in the elimination of disadvantage in the American society. Our planning committee hopes very much you can be with us.

Among the persons already scheduled to participate in the seminar-conference are: Mr. Basil O'Connor, President of The National Foundation; Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Professor of Economics, Columbia University; Dr. Donald Bogue, Professor, University of Chicago; Dr. Frederick Jackson, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation; Dr. Roger D. Heyns, Vice President for Academic Affairs, University of Michigan; Dr. Vivian Henderson, Visiting Professor, North Carolina State College; and Dr. James Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council.

We are prepared to take care of your travel expenses if these cannot be provided through your own agency. We shall, of course, provide hospitality while you are with us at Tuskegee. It would help greatly in our planning if we could hear from you soon.

Kind regards, and please come if you possibly can.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF/abr
Attachment

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

TUSKEGEE CONFERENCE-SEMINAR ON DISADVANTAGE
(October 25-26, 1963)

Developments involving civil rights, especially the participation of Negroes in American life, have been greatly accelerated in the post-war years and notably so in the past few months. These developments may be expected to continue. The issues represented are so compelling and the stakes for all America are so high that they demand the mobilization of the full range of all constructive resources.

Tuskegee Institute has an historical commitment to help the advancement of full democracy in America. In addition to its teaching and research responsibilities, Tuskegee has always sought to mobilize leadership to promote constructive public action. The Institute has, in crisis and out of crisis, sought the heightening of sensitivity to human issues of the region and the nation for more than three-quarters of a century.

There is now need for interpretation of recent and current developments and for projections based upon them--projections which will serve as guidelines for continuing efforts to make basic human and civic rights for all Americans a reality.

In recognition of the need and in keeping with its historical commitment, Tuskegee Institute assumes its share of responsibility in convening the first in a series of seminar-conferences, each of which will represent an effort to provide opportunity for continuing analysis, interpretation, and reporting to the nation on the progress in eliminating disadvantage. Major areas of focus will be education, economics, and civic participation, with a particular concern for the immediate needs of Negroes in the transition to a full desegregated public life in America.

(9-23-63)

MAJOR PAPERS TO BE PRESENTED ON FRIDAY:

America and the Negro--(Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Professor of Economics, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University)
An analysis of the Negro's position in American life, with attention to the concept that his disadvantages are fundamentally those of the total society and solution depends upon a removal of total disadvantages in the society as well as particular problems which face the Negro.

Education for Civic Participation--(Mr. James M. Dabbs, President, Southern Regional Council)
An analysis of the role of education in leading all citizens, both lay and office-holders, to a full understanding of democratic ideals and the ways by which these are most effectively achieved.

The American Population--(Dr. Donald J. Bogue, Professor, University of Chicago)
A description of population changes with special emphasis on the problems associated with high mobility, urbanization and inequitable opportunity at points within the nation.

The American Economy--(Dr. Vivian Henderson, Visiting Professor, North Carolina College, Raleigh, North Carolina)
The present position and future outlook of the American economy, with special attention to concerns which affect the Negro in this economy.

Eliminating Disadvantage Through Education--(Dr. Carl L. Marburger, Director, Great Cities Project, Detroit, Michigan)
A consideration of some of the problems and opportunities associated with the development and operation of educational programs to meet the special needs of young people who suffer from various kinds of disadvantage.

October 3, 1963

Dr. Luther H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Foster:

Thank you for the invitation to the conference at Tuskegee Institute October 25 and 26.

This is a very important occasion, and I shall be pleased to attend.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

TUSKEGEE CONFERENCE ON DISADVANTAGE

October 25-26, 1963

INFORMATION SHEET

REGISTRATION

The headquarters for the conference will be Dorothy Hall Guest House, Tuskegee Institute. Registration will begin at 7:00 p. m. on October 24; participants may also register on October 25, beginning at 7:30 a. m.

PLACE OF MEETINGS

General sessions on October 25 will be held in Willcox Auditorium, and workshop sessions on October 26 will be held in Margaret Murray Washington Hall--both buildings are located directly across from Dorothy Hall Guest House.

HOUSING

Conference speakers and participants will be housed at Dorothy Hall Guest House.

FOOD SERVICE

Meals will be available in the Pine Room of Dorothy Hall Guest House.

Tuskegee Institute
Alabama
October 8, 1963

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

TUSKEGEE CONFERENCE ON DISADVANTAGE

Friday and Saturday - October 25-26, 1963

To be Held in Conjunction with the Annual Meeting of the
Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees

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First of a series of seminar-conferences to analyze, interpret, and report to the American people on developments in the elimination of disadvantage for all Americans, in the areas of education, economics, and civic participation, and with a particular concern for the immediate needs of Negroes in the transition to a fully desegregated public life in the United States.

TUSKEGEE CONFERENCE ON DISADVANTAGE

Developments involving civil rights, especially the participation of Negroes in American life, have been greatly accelerated in the post-war years and notably so in the past few months. These developments may be expected to continue. The issues represented are so compelling and the stakes for all America are so high that they demand the mobilization of the full range of all constructive resources. It is important that a competent analysis be made of these developments in order to affect constructively the changes which will occur subsequently.

Tuskegee Institute has an historical commitment to help the advancement of full democracy in America, and it has always had a particular concern for disadvantaged peoples. In addition to its teaching and research responsibilities, Tuskegee has always sought to mobilize leadership to promote constructive public action. Since its founding in 1881, the Institute has sought the heightening of sensitivity to human issues of the region and the nation.

There is now need for interpretation of recent and current developments and for projections based upon them--projections which will serve as guidelines for continuing efforts to make basic human and civic rights for all Americans a reality. While current issues have to be dealt with, the focus must be on the demands of a fast-approaching "tomorrow."

In recognition of the need and in keeping with its historical commitment, Tuskegee Institute convenes the first in a series of seminar-conferences, each of which will represent an effort to provide opportunity for continuing analysis, interpretation, and reporting to the nation on the progress in eliminating disadvantage. Major areas of focus will be education, economics, and civic participation, with a particular concern for the immediate needs of Negroes in the transition to a fully desegregated public life in America.

Purposes of the Conference

1. To identify the present-day gap between the Negro's position as it is and as it should be.

2. To identify the steps which can and must be taken now to eliminate this gap so the Negro can have substantially equal status with other American citizens. Immediate action is required, also, to build mutual confidence and hopeful outlook, thereby assuring the perspective, determination and competence needed for long-range efforts to make a better America.

3. To identify the bolder and more creative long-term steps which must be taken by various groups--such as educational, legal, civic, religious--to eliminate from American society all disadvantage which is imposed by racial prejudice and by the inadequate operation of social forces to advance the total welfare.

Anticipated Outcome of the Conference

Strengthening of present approaches and the development of new insights in order to achieve greater perspective in dealing with certain fundamental human concerns--educational, economic, and civic--which are now seriously shackled by misconceptions and timidity that grow out of racial prejudice.

Usefulness of the Conference

The reported results will be made available to the general public. Special focus will be placed on the opportunities which confront leadership at all levels in the American society.

Conference Participation

Representatives from the following areas have been invited to attend the general sessions of the conference:

1. Education

2. Communication media

3. Community leadership

4. Government--national, state and local officials

5. Tuskegee trustees, special friends and faculty

Attending the workshop sessions will be about 60 especially selected leaders from the fields of education, business, labor, communication media, and civic affairs. A special workshop group will be comprised primarily of young people.

CONFERENCE PROCEDURES

1. General sessions--Basic papers will be delivered at general sessions on Friday morning and afternoon by authorities in their fields.

2. Workshop sessions--Five groups of approximately 15 persons each will discuss different aspects of the question in depth and suggest timely application of the ideas presented in the major papers. They will project a format for a special session to be held at Tuskegee early in December to plan the approach and structure for future conferences; and they will suggest means of effective communication of the work of these conferences in the years ahead. Two conferences are contemplated in the immediate future--one in the spring of 1964, which will be focused on the role of educational institutions in eliminating disadvantage in our American society; and another conference in the fall of 1964 to deal with the full range of concerns--educational, economic, and civic.

3. Report--Basic facts, interpretations, discussions and audience comments will be prepared by a reporting committee:

   (a) A brief report will be prepared shortly after the conclusion of the conference.

   (b) The major papers will be published early in 1964.

PROGRAM

General Sessions
Willcox Hall
Friday, October 25, 1963
9:30 a. m. to Noon

Presiding	Dr. L. H. Foster President Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Policy in Advancing Democracy . . . . The commitment of Tuskegee Institute to further the advancement of a non-racial public life for America.	Dr. Basil O'Connor Chairman, Tuskegee Institute Board of Trustees
America and the Negro . . . . . . Comprehensive description of the American scene and the position of the Negro therein, emphasizing the view that the Negro's disadvantages are fundamentally those of the total society and that solutions depend upon a dual attack--on the total situation and through identification and removal of disadvantages which now impinge adversely upon aspirations of Negroes in America.	Dr. Eli Ginzberg Professor of Economics Graduate School of Business Columbia University

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Coffee Recess
- - - - - - - - - -

Education for Civic Participation . . . . . . The role of education in leading all citizens to a full understanding of democratic ideals and the ways by which these are most effectively achieved through civic participation, with special emphasis upon the role of formal educational institutions.	Mr. James M. Dabbs President Southern Regional Council

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Lunch 12:30 p. m.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

General Sessions
Willcox Hall
Friday, October 25, 1963
2:00 p. m. to 5:00 p. m.

Presiding . . . . . Dr. R. W. Brown
Vice President
Tuskegee Institute

The American Population . . . . . Dr. Donald J. Bogue
Professor
University of Chicago

Population changes, present status, and future outlook, associated with high mobility, urbanization, and inequitable opportunity at points within the nation

The American Economy. . . . . Dr. Vivian Henderson
Visiting Professor
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

The present position and future outlook for the American economy, with the growing influence of automation and special emphasis on the potential of individuals for productive contribution to a dynamic economy.

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Coffee Recess

- - - - - - - -

Eliminating Disadvantage through Education . . . Dr. Carl L. Marburger
Director
Great Cities Project
Detroit, Michigan

Promising projects which have been undertaken to improve the educational level among disadvantaged young people and the extent to which such projects can have a lasting impact.

The Tuskegee Program. . . . . Dr. L. H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute

How Tuskegee Institute now pursues and proposes to promote further the advance of American democracy through its educational, research and public services.

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Dinner 5:30 p.m.

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Workshop Sessions
Saturday, October 26, 1963
9:00 a. m. to Noon; 1:30 p. m. to 3:00 p. m.

GROUP I - EDUCATION - FORMAL EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES
Room 3, Washington Hall

Discussion Leaders

Dr. Joseph H. Douglass
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Roger D. Heyns
Vice President for Academic Affairs
University of Michigan

Dr. Herman Long
Secretary for Race Relations
United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
Fisk University

Staff Observers

Dr. Charles Parrish, Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville

Dr. R. W. Brown
Vice President
Tuskegee Institute

Participants

Dr. James Colston, President, Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tennessee
Dr. Samuel E. Duncan, President, Livingstone College, Salisbury, North Carolina
Dr. John B. Eubanks, Professor, School of Education, Tuskegee Institute
Dr. Maxwell Hahn, Executive Vice President, The Field Foundation, New York City
*Dr. Grace Hewell, Project Coordinator, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C.
Dr. W. A. Hunter, Dean, School of Education, Tuskegee Institute
Dr. Frederick Jackson, Executive Associate, Carnegie Corporation, New York City
Dr. William Hugh McEniry, Jr., Dean, Stetson University, DeLand, Florida
Dr. Samuel M. Nabrit, President, Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas
Mr. C. S. Stone, Chicago Daily Defender, Chicago, Illinois
Miss Marian Judkins, Tuskegee Institute student

Recorder: Mrs. W. M. Miller

*Invited

(Several persons, not listed above, have been invited to participate)

Workshop Sessions
Saturday, October 26, 1963
9:00 a. m. to Noon; 1:30 p. m. to 3:00 p. m.

GROUP II - EDUCATION - INFORMAL EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES
Room 14, Washington Hall

Discussion Leaders

Dr. James H. Dumpson
Commissioner of Welfare
New York, New York

Mrs. Mabel Smythe
Principal
New Lincoln High School
New York City, New York

Dr. Carl Marburger
Director
Great Cities Project
Detroit, Michigan

Staff Observers

Dr. Hylan Lewis
Health and Welfare Council of
the National Capital Area
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Stanley Smith
Chairman
Division of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute

Participants

Mr. P. F. Ayer, Executive Secretary, Council of the Southern Mountains, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky
Mr. Lisle Carter, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C.
Mr. William Cope, Jr., United Negro College Fund, New York City
Mr. Neil Davis, Editor, Lee County Bulletin, Auburn, Alabama
Mr. Douglas H. Ewing, Chairman, Education Committee, Radio Corporation of America, Princeton, New Jersey
Mr. John Gandy, Graduate School of Social Work, Toronto University, Canada
Mr. Robert Hendrick, Assistant Registrar, Virginia State College, Petersburg
Dr. E. L. Jackson, Director, Department of Physical Education, Tuskegee Institute
Mrs. Helen Hill Miller, Washington, D. C.
The Reverend John Morris, Executive Director, Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
Mrs. Georgia Poole, Associate Professor of Education, Tuskegee Institute
Mr. Solomon Banks, Tuskegee Institute student.

Recorder: Mrs. S. W. Williams

Workshop Sessions
Saturday, October 26, 1963
9:00 a. m. to Noon; 1:30 p. m. to 3:00 p. m.

GROUP III - ECONOMICS
Lounge, Washington Hall

Discussion Leaders

Dr. Vivian Henderson
Visiting Professor
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Mrs. Irene B. Taeuber
Senior Research Demographer
Princeton University

Mr. Arthur Chapin
Special Assistant to the
Secretary of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Staff Observers

Mr. Lucius Williams
Resident Auditor
Tuskegee Institute

Mr. Jimmy King
Assistant Professor of
Business Administration
Tuskegee Institute

Participants

Mr. Berkeley G. Burrell, President, National Business League, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Joseph E. Davis, President, Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association, New York City
Mr. Earl B. Dickerson, Supreme Life Insurance Company of America, Chicago, Illinois
Dr. George Dowdy, Professor of Agricultural Economics, Tuskegee Institute
Mrs. Mary N. Hilton, Special Assistant, President's Commission on the Status of Women, Washington, D. C.
Mr. M. Carl Holman, Information Officer, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Calvin Miller, Division of Social Sciences, Tuskegee Institute
Mr. L. D. Milton, President, The Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. J. A. Parker, President, Alabama Exchange Bank, Tuskegee, Alabama
Mr. Jesse Turner, Executive Vice President, Tri-State Bank, Memphis, Tennessee
Dr. Samuel Z. Westerfield, Jr., Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D. C.
Mr. Moreland G. Smith, Senior Partner, Sherlock, Smith and Adams - Architects, Montgomery, Alabama
Miss Doris Lockhart, Tuskegee Institute student.

Recorder: Mrs. Margaret Welch

(This group will be augmented by three additional persons)

Workshop Sessions
Saturday, October 26, 1963
9:00 a. m. to Noon; 1:30 p. m. to 3:00 p. m.

GROUP IV - CIVIC PARTICIPATION
Room 4, Washington Hall

Discussion Leaders

Dr. Harold Fleming
Executive Vice President
The Potomac Institute
Washington, D. C.

Dr. Butler A. Jones
Ohio Wesleyan University
Delaware, Ohio

The Honorable Marjorie Lawson
Judge
Washington, D. C.

Staff Observers

Dr. Paul Puryear
Director
Social Science Research
Tuskegee Institute

Mr. James M. Dabbs
President
Southern Regional Council
Maysville, South Carolina

Participants

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. C. G. Gomillion, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Tuskegee Institute and President, Tuskegee Civic Association
Dr. J. H. M. Henderson, Head, Department of Biology, Tuskegee Institute
The Reverend Norman C. Jimerson, Executive Director, Alabama Council on Human Relations
Senator Leroy Johnson, Georgia State Senate, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. Donald J. Matthews, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina
*Attorney Charles Morgan, Jr., Birmingham, Alabama
*Dr. L. H. Pitts, President, Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama
Mr. Ted Poston, New York Post, New York City
*Mrs. Edward Vinson, Past President, Georgia League of Women Voters, Atlanta
Mr. Whitney Young, Executive Director, National Urban League, New York City
Mr. John B. Duncan, Commissioner, Washington, D. C.
Miss Bessie McDowell, Tuskegee Institute student

Recorder: Mrs. Gertrude Anderson

*Invited

Workshop Sessions
Saturday, October 26, 1963
9:00 a. m. to Noon; 1:30 p. m. to 3:00 p. m.

GROUP V - YOUTH

Discussion Leaders

Dr. Melvene Hardee
Secretary-Treasurer
Inter-Association Coordinating
Committee of Student Personnel
Organizations
Florida State University

Mr. Eli Cohen
Executive Secretary
National Committee on
Employment of Youth
New York City

Mrs. Dorcas D. Bowles
Dean of Women
Tuskegee Institute

Staff Observers

Mr. P. B. Phillips
Dean of Students
Tuskegee Institute

Mr. O'Neal Smalls
President
Institute Council on Campus
Life
Tuskegee Institute

Participants

Students from twelve colleges in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Tennessee and Florida will participate in this workshop.

Mrs. Lois Reeves, Director, YMCA-YWCA, Tuskegee Institute
Dr. T. S. Williams, Dean, School of Veterinary Medicine, Tuskegee Institute

Recorder: Mrs. E. W. Palmer

CONVOCATION

White Hall Lawn

Saturday, October 26, 1963

3:00 p. m.	Academic Procession - from Dorothy Hall	
3:25 p. m.	Introduction of Speaker	
3:30 p. m.	Address	The Honorable Lucius D. Battle Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs Washington, D. C.
4:00 p. m.	Conferring of Honorary Degrees	

DINNER SESSION

Pine Room, Dorothy Hall

6:00 p. m. Honoring Board of Trustees, National Advisory Council for the National Fund for Tuskegee Institute, and Conference Participants. A brief report of Conference findings will be given.

TUSKEGEE CHOIR CONCERT

8:00 p. m. Logan Hall

CHAPEL SERVICES

Sunday, October 27, 1963

10:00 a. m.	Sermon	Dr. Ralph Sockman, Minister Christ Church New York City

CONFERENCE STAFF

Coordinator	Dr. R. D. Reid, Professor of History, Tuskegee Institute
Assistant to Coordinator	Dr. A. P. Torrence, Dean of Academic Affairs Tuskegee Institute
Workshop Coordinator	Dr. Lewis Jones Fisk University
Public Relations Director	Dr. H. A. Wilson, Director of Institutional Development Tuskegee Institute
Editor	Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman Professor of History Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Rec'd 10/14/63

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

File

October 11, 1963

Dear Participant:

We are enclosing the following materials in connection with the TUSKEGEE CONFERENCE ON DISADVANTAGE:

Tentative Conference Program

Travel Information Form

General Information Sheet

Tuskegee Race Relations Report

Economic Status of Negroes: In the Nation and in the South - by Vivian W. Henderson

Fact Sheet - Voting and Politics in the South with Reference to the Negro Citizen - by Herman H. Long

If you have not already sent us a Travel Information Form, we should appreciate your returning this as early as possible in order that we may arrange to meet you either at the airport or at the railroad station.

The latter three enclosures listed above will be used as frames of reference for the workshops. In addition to these, you will receive the following publications from the National Education Association:

Education and the Disadvantaged American

Social Responsibility in a Free Society

We hope you will be able to read these materials before the Conference and bring them with you when you come to Tuskegee.

All of us at Tuskegee Institute are looking forward to your being a guest on our campus on October 25-26 for these sessions.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster

L. H. Foster
President

November 14, 1963

Dr. Luther H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute — Lee
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Foster:

Paul Anthony has shown me your letter of October 31, and he joins me in thanking you for your kind words.

I told a lady from Tuskegee, who was here for Mrs. Tilly's meeting and who was remarking to me on your fine conference, that I had been too embarrassed to write you a proper note of apology for failing to get there. I don't know that I have yet got over my embarrassment, but I should write to tell you how much I regret not being able to come. We have facing us a difficult situation with the state of Georgia on our tax status, and some discussions connected with it came to a head just at the time of the Tuskegee conference, and I didn't have much choice. I could have come over on Saturday, but it seemed to me not right to put in such a late appearance. I can tell you more about this when you are over here, but you will like to know that on November 8 we had a formal hearing with the state officials, and Mr. Haas, our legal counsel, felt encouraged, though we have

not yet got a decision. This has to do with our liability for unemployment compensation taxes which the state is trying to collect from us, and not only for the present, but retroactively for the last seven years.

With very best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

H. K. LOGAN, BUSINESS MANAGER

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Tuskegee Institute

FOUNDED BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, 1881

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

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ALABAMA
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ROBERT W. WOODRUFF

October 31, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We had a splendid Conference on Disadvantage at Tuskegee Institute last weekend. Dr. Dabbs read an excellent paper on "Education for Civic Responsibility" and Dr. Vivian Henderson read a paper on "The American Economy." Others participating in the general sessions of the Conference were: Dr. Eli Ginzberg, Professor of Economics, Columbia University; Dr. Carl Marburger, Director, Great Cities Project in Detroit; Dr. Donald J. Bogue of the University of Chicago; and Mr. Basil O'Connor, Chairman of our Board of Trustees and President of The National Foundation.

Dr. Henderson's study, Economic Status of Negroes, published by SRC, was very helpful as a frame of reference for our Economics Workshop. I want you to know how much we appreciate the special price which you gave Tuskegee when we ordered copies of the publication.

We shall send you a copy of the proceedings of the Conference when they are ready for distribution.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:p

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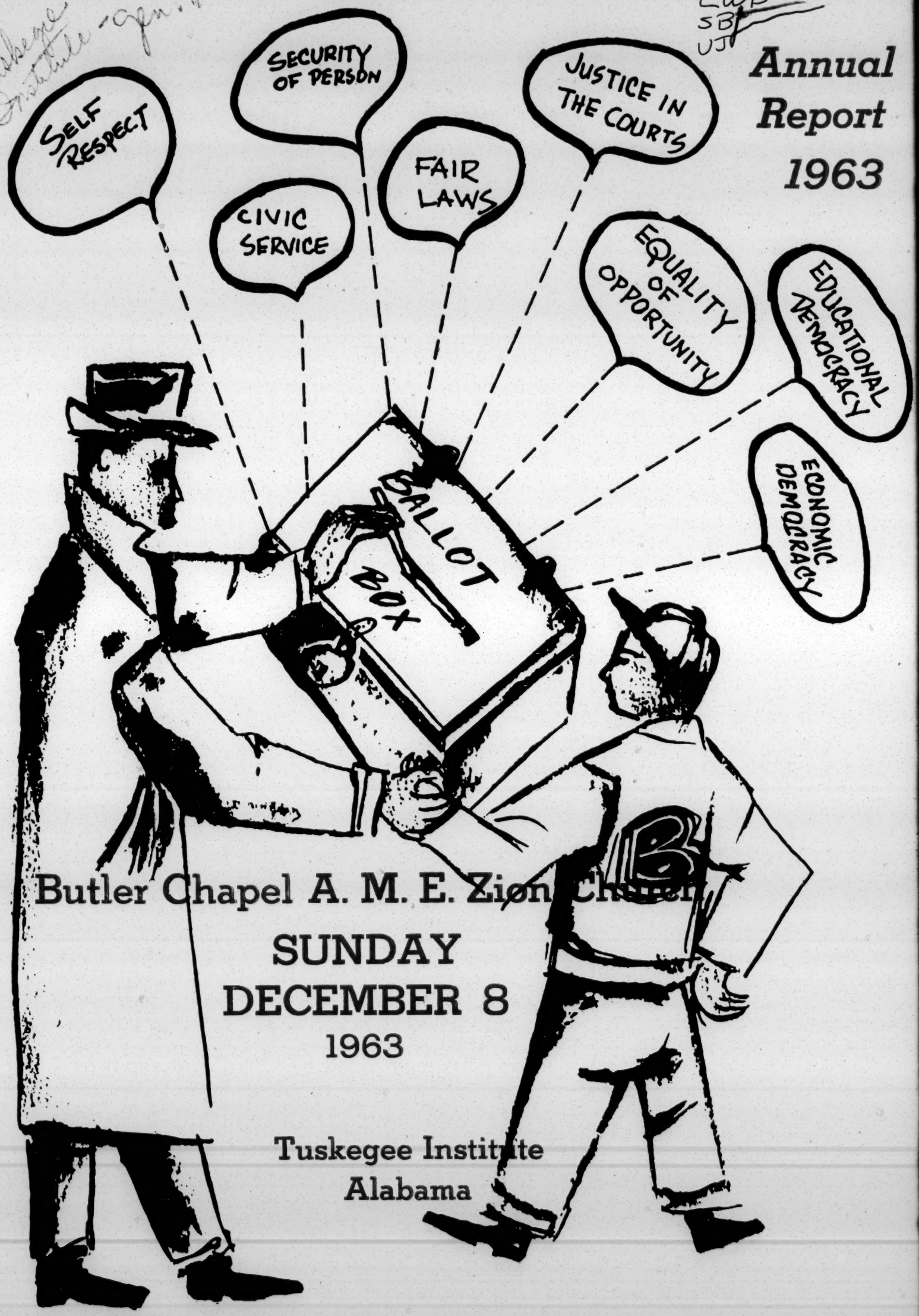
VJ

TUSKEGEE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Annual Report 1963



Butler Chapel A. M. E. Zion Church

SUNDAY
DECEMBER 8
1963

Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

"SO MUCH FOR SO LITTLE EFFORT"

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

1963

As I have reported on several occasions, the Tuskegee Civic Association is a civic education organization. A major function of the Association is the assembling, analysis, interpretation, and the dissemination of civic data, which, if used intelligently, might stimulate and facilitate responsible civic behavior.

During the year, the Association presented five special programs in observance of as many special occasions. In observance of the one hundreth anniversary of the issuance of the Proclamation of Emancipation, the Association presented as guest speaker Dr. Lucius H Pitts, president of Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama. On Race Relations Sunday, in February, Dr. George W Starling, professor of History, Tuskegee Institute, was the speaker. In May, in recognition of the efforts of Africans to gain independence, the Association presented Mr. Douglas Mujana, of Southern Rhodesia, a student who is majoring in social science, Tuskegee Institute. In June, as guest speaker for the observance of the sixth anniversary of its Crusade for Civic Democracy, the Association presented Mr John Doar, first assistant to the Chief of the Civil Rights Division of the United States Justice Department. In observance of American Education Week, and of National Achievement Week, in November, the Association listened to Dr. C R Dowe, basileus of the Iota Omega Chapter, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity, Tuskegee, and to Mr. Jerry C Carter of Shreveport, Louisiana, a student in sociology, Tuskegee Institute. On the other regular meeting Sundays, regular programs were presented.

At the Tuesday evening meetings, January - April, inclusive, the Association continued the study of the structure and the functioning of the governments of Tuskegee, Macon County, and Alabama, which was begun in October, 1962.

The Association is grateful to all persons who participated in any way on the programs presented during the year. Thanks are extended to the pastors, officers, and members of all of the churches in which TCA meetings have been held.

During the year, as in former years, the Association, through its officers and some members, has cooperated with other civic and political education organizations, such as, the Alabama Democratic Conference, the Alabama State Coordinating Committee for Registration and Voting, the Highlander Research Center, the Penn Community Center, and the Southern Regional Council.

Special assistance has been given to those parents whose children were admitted to the Tuskegee Public School which, in August, was ordered to desegregate in September. The Association is appreciative of the civic service which is being rendered by these parents and their thirteen children. Thanks are also due the officials and the agents of the United States Department of Justice who worked diligently to see that the orders of the Court were obeyed, and that the lives of the chldren were protected. Also deserving of commendation are the Macon County School Board, the County Superintendent of schools, the Principal of the Tuskegee Public School, and those teachers who continued to teach the Negro students after all the white students withdrew. Recognized and congratulated are those few white citizens who encouraged, and urged, their fellow citizens to accept the decision of the Federal Court, and keep their children in school. Theirs was not an easy task.

It seems that this report is mainly one of thanks. This year, it could hardly be otherwise. That which the Association has done has been made possible by the generous contributions of service and money of many persons and groups. Thanks are extended to all persons and groups purchasing life memberships, annual memberships, patrons tickets and advertisements for the sixth anniversary souvenir program as well as to all who contributed at the Tuesday evening meetings, and through the mail. We are especially grateful to the Alabama Association of Women's Clubs, which repeated its annual donation of fifty dollars. Very special thanks are given to Dr. John I Ingle, professor of dentistry, School of Dentistry, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, who, at the suggestion of Dr. CliftonO Dummett, U. S. Veterans Hospital, Tuskegee, contributed $200.00.

Alyhough the Association failed in its efforts to stimulate and facilitate the registration of 1000 voters this year, it is grateful to the Voter Education Project, and to all others who helped the Voter Franchise Committee.

Again, as president of the Association, I must recognize and commend Mr William P Mitchell, executive secretary, for the many hours of effective services which he has given to the Association and to the community without any financial compensation. Appreciated, also, is the service rendered by other officers and committee members.

C. G. Comillion

C. G. COMILLION
President

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

For fourteen consecutive years you have elected me to serve the Association as your secretary. For an equal number of years.I have endeavored to perfom the task and responsibilities entrusted to my keeping. During this span, we have witnessed the TCA grew from a membership ranging from 125 fourteen years ago up to 1700. This phenomenal growth has carried with it its attendant responsibilities.

During the se 14 years, our assets have increased from $250.00 to an amount in excess of $22,000.

While trying the best we know how to carry on here, we have been called on often to assist our neighboring counties. While this additional responsibility has demanded more and more of our limited energies we would want it no other way. We have derived great satisfaction from assisting these people and have, in turn, learned from them.

We continue to work with and assist, the Alabama Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting and have each year made our financial contribution of $300.00 to this organization.

During the year it was necessary to purchase another typewriter; to have our equipment covered by insurance, and to review our surety bonds with the view of making them commensurate with the liabilities of your secretary and treasurer.

On November 2, it was necessary that we move our office to temporary quarters in order that the office building in which we held space may be renovated and enlarged. We were successful in obtaining temporary quarters approximately four hundred feet from where we were, in the Perdue home. We are expected to remain here until February or March, 1964.

As we look to the future, we are still of the opinion that our life membership program offers the greatest opportunity to make us financially affluent. We shall continue to try to increase our fully-paid life members to 1000 - lookingforward to the time when the interest accruing to this account will substantially defray our operating expenses. There are 335 fully-paid life members on roll to date as compared with 270 oneyear ago. There are 192 partially paid members. There is presently $10,184.67 in this account - $368.16 representing interest accrued during the past 12 months.

As has been our system during the past six years, we have not prepared a detailed accounting for your perusal. However, we continue to invite you to inspect and constructively criticize the handling of your funds. These reports and accounts will be made available to any member of the Association upon request.

William P Mitchell

WILLIAM P MITCHELL
Executive Secretary

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

Seventy-four solicitors enrolled 871 regular members during our 1963 membership campaign. In addition, 21 new life memberships were added to our rolls during this drive. Thirty-two partially-paid life members paid out, and 56 partially-paid life members made additional payments on their $25.00 obligation. A total of $1,671.00 was collected during our drive.

While our regular membership goal of 1200 was not reached, we take this opportunity to thank all of our citizens who made it possible for us to obtain the degree of success attained in our campaign during 1963. We are indeed grateful to all who assisted us in any way.

We are again, calling upon you to assist us in reaching our goal for 1964, which is 1200 regular $1.00 memberships, and 50 new life memberships.

We are asking persons who have paid some on their life membership, to pay out if at all possible during this month-long membership campaign, or to make at least another $5.00 payment on their obligation.

Our drive this year, commences Sunday, December 8, 1963, and concludes Sunday, January 12, 1964.

Nettie B. Jones

(Miss) NETTIE B JONES, Chairman
Membership Committee

REPORT OF THE
VOTER FRANCHISE COMMITTEE

Period: December 1, 1962 - November 30, 1963

The ballot used intelligently can do more good for more people with an expenditure of less effort and resources than any single instrumentality. This has been our credo as we have gone about working to cause the registration of all qualified citizens of Macon County.

It was early during this reporting period that we discovered that we had reached the unregistered within our immediate environs and hub of activities which are located principally in Precinct #1, who would respond to the usual appeals. While we recognize that there are still many hundreds of people in this precinct who are not registered voters, there were and are even more voters in the out-lying communities of Macon County who needed to be reached and urged to register. We sought, during the past 12 months, to reach these people.

Our registration goal for this reporting period was one-thousand. A total of 819 applications were accepted from Negroes; 150 were known to have been rejected. We have no report from 111. Five hundred Fifty-eight were actually registered. A detailed report indicating registration by months and dates follows on succeeding pages.

In our effort to reach and appeal to people in Creekstand, Franklin, Fort Davis, Armstrong, Roba, Hardaway, Warrior Stand, Chesson, Notasulga, Milstead, Fitzpatrick, Cotton Valley, Shorter, La Place, and Shady Grove, it was necessary that we travel over 5000 miles. We distributed 29,000 handbills, sent 1438 notices to 50 churches and 19 Masonic Lodges. We made 105 radio appeals; held over 200 voter registration clinics, and used more than 4000 sample registration forms in conducting these clinics.

It was in June that the Voter Education Project of the Southern Regional Council approved a $3,000.00 grant to us to assist financially in this undertaking. Because of this grant, we were able to employ three part-time

persons - two field workers and a clerk, to work with voter registration. It was stipulated that this grant would run from June 1st. through November 30th. However, because some money remained at the close of this period, permission was granted to continue to use the funds remaining for voter registration as long as they lasted, but not beyond March 31, 1964. This financial assistance enabled us to serve many more people than was possible under our system of using only volunteer workers.

In our all-out effort to get rural Macon County population to register, we discovered that a wide variety of roadblocks to registration existed in the non-urban areas that were not in evidence in Precinct #1. We were to learn that these persons were not as literate. Indeed, many were illiterate. Many were those who feared that the local whites would not look with favor upon their becoming registered and upsetting the status quo. Some would openly make such statements to us while other more sophisticated persons would simply not take part in our voter registration clinics and in our other efforts to assist them in becoming registred voters. These latter persons were to be found in the back pews of the churches and on the periphery of a gathering under the shade trees and environs of the General Stores as we carried our voter registration programs to rural Macon County. Many of these fears were unfounded and fancied. Ours, then, was a program of reassurance and an allaying of these fears to the skeptics as well as to appeal constantly to them to become registered voters.

Then, too, there were some who were callous from the years of plantation-life indoctrination; some were indifferent and apathetic, while others did not know what the word "register" was, and plainly said so. Some even asked, "Do I have to register?" Then, too, many Negroes in rural Macon County do not have their own transportation. This presented a problem of their getting to and from the board of registrars. We were able to eliminate this problem in

most instances, by designating some local persons who had transportation to carry and bring them. We would pay their mileage.

The mainstay of our voter registration efforts here has always been, continues to be, those members on the Voter Franchise Committee who give their time gratis; who travel over the county in their personal cars and refuse to be refunded even for gasoline. Although I run the risk of being guilty of impropriety by failing to list the names of some members on this Committee, I feel compelled, nevertheless, to mention D L Beasley, Charles W Chisholm, Bennie Davison, Mr and Mrs Frank Bentley, Sill V Adams, Robert Knight, C G Gomillion. J A Watkins, Leon Lumpkin, Otis Pinkard, and John W Mindingall as a group of dedicated persons who have caused the registration of more people in this county than any other persons. These members, because of their abiding interest in, and dedication to, the program of causing the registration of the fellow citizens, deserve the plaudits of all who want to see civic democracy become a reality in Macon County, Alabama, and the South.

We are grateful, as always, to all who helped in any way in our voter registration program, and are especially grateful to the ministers for the use of their churches for the dissemination of voter registration information.

As your committee looks to next year with the knowledge that only 550 Negroes were known to get registered during this reporting period despite our concerted efforts, especially after June 1st., we must set a more realistic goal of 250 for 1964.

William P Mitchell

WILLIAM P MITCHELL, Chairman
Voter Franchise Committee

	MADE APPL.	REC'D CERT.	PER CENT	NO REPORT		MADE APPL.	REC'D CERT.	PER CENT	NO REPORT
Dec. 3, 1962	21	14	66	0	July 2, 1963	25	21	84	0
Dec. 17, 1962	22	13	59	0	July 3, 1963	28	17	60	0
Jan. 7, 1963	16	14	87	0	July 5, 1963	49	35	74	3
Jan. 21, 1963	12	9	75	1	July 6, 1963	32	28	88	0
Feb. 4, 1963	24	17	70	1	July 15, 1963	66	59	89	0
Feb. 18, 1963	9	7	88	0	Aug. 5, 1963	61	40	65	6
March 4, 1963	9	7	88	0	Aug. 19, 1963	33	21	64	3
March 18, 1963	18	12	66	1	Sept. 2, 1963	22	15	68	4
April 1, 1963	18	13	72	0	Sept. 16, 1963	24	15	62	1
April 15, 1963	22	20	91	0	Oct. 7, 1963	21	16	76	1
May 6, 1963	30	27	90	0	Oct. (Precinct)	31	7	23	11
May 20, 1963	7	7	100	0	Oct. 21, 1963	62	47	76	9
June 3, 1963	14	9	64	0	Nov. 4, 1963	36	0		36
June 17, 1963	24	21	88	0	Nov. 18, 1963	33	0		33
July 1, 1963	50	47	94	1	TOTAL, BOTH COLUMNS	819	558	68	111

NOTE: There are 111 persons who made an application for a certificate of registration from whom we have not had a report. Conceivably, when the reports from these persons are in it will affect the per cent of persons receiving certificates.

REPORT OF THE
PUBLIC EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Apart from its concern for a desegregated public school system, this Committee has also been fully aware of the great need to ameliorate the deplorable conditions existing in the Negro public schools of Macon County, both high schools and elementary schools.

The Committee is working very closely with interested parents in one community with tangible results. It has investigated the conditions in some of the schools, and is continuing its investigations in other schools. These investigations, it is hoped, will facilitate a more objective analysis of the situation. This is, of course, preparatory to the making of appropriate recommendations structured to bring about increased awareness from the citizenry concerning conditions which are handicapping the educational preparation of the children of the community.

There has been a noticeable increase in this awareness. The Committee is, therefore, optimistic about future steps of amelioration.

Stanley H. Smith

STANLEY H SMITH, Chairman
Public Education Committee

REPORT OF THE COMMUNITY WELFARE COMMITTEE

During the past year some increase in services rendered by city and county officials has been noted. While there is still much to be desired, we are pleased to report this increase.

Among the physical improvements have been:

1. The installation of the treffic light at Greens Fork. This much-needed facility was secured after lengthy negotiations, extending over a period in excess of one and one-half years. This was necessitated by the fact that Highway 80 is a State road and all improvements to, or work on State Highways must be cleared through the Highway Department.
2. The ball diamond in the Community Park was laid out and lighted; and while there is still work to be done on the park, it was used during the summer months by the youth of our communities.
3. Garbage collection services have been extended in several areas of the community with some sections receiving this service twice each week. We have been promised that equal services will be extended - including the entire area within the existing city limits.
4. Lagoon type sewerage system has been approved which will afford sewer service to all the residents within the city limits and to the Greenwood area. Plans and specifications for this work have been let out for bids.
5. Three streets un the Greenwood area have been paved. An effort is presently being made to secure funds to pave the other streets in this area.

6. Brown Street and Railroad Avenue have been approved for paving. Work on these streets have been delayed pending the approval of sites for the housing development.

For approximately eight or nine months, a Bi-racial Committee on Community Affairs has been meeting at least once each month. This Committee's functions have been confined to identifying community problems and making recommendations to city and county officials. While this group does not have official sanction as yet, it's work has been effective.

A Negro deputy has been hired by the Sheriff's Department, and two police-women have been added by the Tuskegee Police Department. One is stationed on Franklin Road, while the other works at Lake Street and the Atlants Highway.

There are other areas in which our efforts have been directed but have not borne fruit. We appreciate the cooperation of our citizenry during the past year, and we look forward to even greater gains during the year ahead.

K. L. Buford

K L BUFORD, Chairman
Community Welfare Committee

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COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Rec'd 2/21

February 19, 1964

file

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

On April 10-11, 1964, Tuskegee Institute's second seminar-conference on Disadvantage will be held on our campus. As you may know, our first conference took place on October 25-26, 1963. Within a few weeks we expect to have available for distribution paperback books which will include the major addresses and other pertinent information relating to the October conference.

The theme for our April conference is "The Role of Adult Education." Participants will discuss in workshop sessions action programs that might be undertaken by institutions of higher learning, civic groups, and community agencies in the area of adult education. Three workgroups are expected to discuss and make recommendations regarding the Role of Adult Education in promoting civic participation, economic competence, and vocational advancement.

While we plan to schedule general sessions on Friday and Saturday, April 10 and 11, which will be attended by approximately four hundred educators, community leaders, and representatives of governmental agencies, the major work of the conference will be accomplished by the workgroups. Not more than thirty persons will attend the deliberations of each of the three workgroups. A dinner session is scheduled on Friday evening for one hundred persons.

We believe that our April conference can be an important influence in identifying action programs that should be launched to assist disadvantaged adults. We are convinced that many colleges and community groups have not fulfilled their responsibilities in this area.

Our conference committee invites you to deliver a position on "Promoting Civic Participation through Adult Education," or a similar topic, which would serve as a basis for the discussions and recommendations

Pinkerney - action programs for colleges develop people this area

of Workgroup I. A period of approximately thirty minutes will be allotted to each position paper which will be delivered on Friday morning. In event you find it possible to accept our invitation - and we hope that you can, we shall provide for your travel, honorarium, and hospitality on our campus.

Kindly let us hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours very sincerely,

Robert D. Reid
Conference Coordinator

RDR:bsc

File
Tuskegee Institute

March 9, 1964

Dr. Luther H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Dr. Foster:

Thank you for your letter of February 3 and the attached correspondence with Sears, Roebuck. Most interesting.

I hope to see you in April at your conference.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

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February 3, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I thought the meetings of the Southern Regional Council were excellent both in terms of their informative content and the opportunity for people in the several communities to exchange ideas about program possibilities. Thanks to you and the staff for working this out. Incidentally, I thought Roy Wilkins' address was exceptionally fine and appropriate for these times.

Mention was made at one of the sessions of the need to exert more influence on the national corporations so they would take larger initiative in improving their employment and other policies which now often operate unfavorably on members of minority groups.

I had a very interesting exchange of correspondence with the Chairman of the Sears, Roebuck and Company Board last summer and some follow-up with the Manager of the Southern Region. For whatever these may be worth, I am enclosing copies of some of the letters.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster

L. H. Foster
President

LHF/cb

Enclosures

CONFIDENTIAL FOR MR. LESLIE DUNBAR

C
O
P
Y

August 14, 1963

Mr. L. E. Oliver
Vice President, Southern Region
Sears, Roebuck and Company
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Oliver:

It was good of you to visit us at Tuskegee last Thursday afternoon so we could talk further about some of the current and hoped-for developments in broadening opportunity for Negro citizens on the Southern scene.

Sears, Roebuck and Company--as a great national corporation--can make impressive and constructive contributions to the development of full opportunity for all citizens on the basis of their individual merit and to finer understanding throughout the communities in which it serves. I am confident that this responsibility will be accepted with increasing appreciation of the urgencies which today confront all Americans in these affairs.

We at Tuskegee are deeply interested in these concerns and want to be just as helpful as we possibly can. Please let us know if there is any way in which we can be useful in the months ahead.

Kind regards to you, and best wishes also to Mr. Greenway, whom we were delighted to see again.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF/p

CONFIDENTIAL FOR MR. LESLIE DUNBAR

C
O
P
Y

August 13, 1963

Mr. Austin T. Cushman
Chairman of the Board
Sears, Roebuck and Company
925 South Homan Avenue
Chicago 7, Illinois

Dear Mr. Cushman:

We had a very nice visit last Thursday from Mr. L. E. Oliver, Sears' Regional Vice President from Atlanta, who came over with Mr. Greenway, their Public Relations Officer.

I thought we had a very wide-range and useful discussion of the needs and possibilities for providing Negroes a larger opportunity on the Southern scene. This had been the subject of my letter to you on May 30 and you had graciously indicated in response that Mr. Oliver would follow-up the concern of Sears, Roebuck on these matters as soon as his schedule permitted.

The essence of our American democratic ideal would be greatly enhanced by a broad acceleration of the efforts by Sears, Roebuck to provide only one standard of customer and employee consideration--wherever the Company does business. Mr. Oliver told me of some of the ways in which the Company has been moving ahead and I want to commend individual officers, as well as the Company, for these constructive actions. As I view this total picture, however, it seems that more might be done and that the posture of the Company could be more clearly one of positive and constructive leadership in these matters.

Mr. Oliver asked specifically what I thought might be done. It seemed to me that a clear statement of Sears' policy should be enunciated, providing for racially nondiscriminatory relationships of the Company with all its customers and with all its employees--both prospective and active. If such a policy is clearly enunciated, widely publicized within the Company, and arrangements made for follow-up, I believe some splendid results would follow.

I am deeply grateful for your personal interest in the question raised in my letter of May 30. We, at Tuskegee, are deeply concerned about these matters and if there is anyway we can be useful as Sears goes forward with its program we shall certainly want to do so.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF/cb

CONFIDENTIAL FOR MR. LESLIE DUNBAR

C
O
P
Y

SEARS, ROEBUCK AND CO.
Executive Offices
Chicago 7

AUSTIN T. CUSHMAN
Chairman of the Board

June 7, 1963

Dear Dr. Foster:

I want to acknowledge your thoughtful letter of May 30. I have read it not once, but many times and fully understand your comments.

Your conclusion that Sears has to some degree shirked its humane opportunities concerns me deeply. I have, therefore, taken the liberty of forwarding your letter to Mr. L. E. Oliver, Sears Vice President in charge of the Southern Territory. Mr. Oliver's offices are in Atlanta and I have asked him to make an appointment to see you the next time he is in the Tuskegee area. I feel that there is much to be gained from a discussion between you and Mr. Oliver. I am confident that you will be hearing from Mr. Oliver shortly.

With sincere appreciation for your interest in Sears, I am,

Sincerely,

/s/ A. T. Cushman

Dr. L. H. Foster, President
Tuskegee Institute
Alabama

CONFIDENTIAL FOR MR. LESLIE DUNBAR

C
O
P
Y

May 30, 1963

Mr. Austin T. Cushman
Chairman of the Board
Sears-Roebuck and Company
925 South Homan Avenue
Chicago 7, Illinois

Dear Mr. Cushman:

I drove to Montgomery a few days ago--a relatively short trip of about forty miles--to make a couple of purchases at the Sears-Roebuck Retail Store. I have usually liked to trade at Sears, both by mail and in the local stores, although my visits to the Montgomery store have decreased considerably in recent years because of the oppressive racial restrictions on one's public movements which are so objectionable to any Negro.

I was greeted by a courteous young salesman in the store, but as I prepared to say what I wanted to buy, I looked up and saw a sign designating racially separate rest rooms. This kind of rigid segregation and dehumanizing public notice thereof has been going on in Montgomery for a long time. Many other Southern cities are increasingly enlightened and have adopted policies of one-standard non-discriminatory service for all their customers. My response to the young salesman was a very polite: "No, I've changed my mind; I don't want anything now."

On my way back to Tuskegee, I drove quite accidently by the site of the new Sears Retail Store for Montgomery. It is obviously to be quite an impressive market, which will render a magnificent merchandizing service to the people of Montgomery and vicinity. I wondered as I drove by whether there is to be any change of policy when the new store opens: Will all customers really be treated alike? Will there be an opportunity for any qualified youngster to find employment in the Sears organization through its Montgomery outlet--some of the Sears Roebuck Foundation scholarship students now enrolled at Tuskegee, for instance? Will each customer sense a spirit of uplift or a feeling that he is being humiliated as he shops at Sears?

Sears is a great American corporation. Sears has prestige, imaginative merchandizing policies, considerate employee personnel policies, some carefully worked out external public relations, and an almost enviable record of economic success. Sears does not have to make its money by following practices which even appear to demean any human being anywhere. As a matter of fact, it is undoubt dly in both the long and short term interests of stockholders that Sears itself take the initiative to help bring about a proper respect for people in each of the communities in which it does business. It is not right that a great corporation such as Sears should bow to the custom of indecent treatment of Negroes just because this has been the local custom.

Racial segregation and discrimination in the public sector of American life are a cancer which erodes the essence of our American democracy. The issue is crucial and it is not merely a local concern. We have a superseding national interest, which must be acknowledged and implemented. A great national corporation such as Sears has a role to fulfill--an opportunity to use the strength and character which have come to it through effective merchandizing in a bountiful American economy which rests upon genuine democratic ideals. This corporate resource can be used in the positive and constructive advancement of our society wherever the opportunity presents itself.

Montgomery is but one place where Sears has an opportunity to acknowledge its larger social responsibility to all the people of the community and to the nation of which Montgomery is a part. I am confident that this great company will not be unaware of its opportunities in this regard, although I must say that in the past it has seemed to be unduly reluctant to comprehend and to respond to many of its human opportunities.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF/p

File
Tuskegee Institute
gen.

March 24, 1964

Dr. Robert D. Reid
Division of Social Sciences
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dr. Reid:

I have your two letters of March 12 and 19. Perhaps I can answer them by this one.

I expect to drive over to Tuskegee; arriving in the afternoon of Friday, April 10. I shall stay over on Saturday as long as I can, but will need to be home Saturday evening, if this is satisfactory with you.

I have, over the last few months, given several talks more or less aiming at the same thing. In each case I spoke from notes. When I received your invitation to talk at Tuskegee I decided then that I would use this occasion to draw these talks, and there have been four or five of them, together into written form. In other words, that I would take from my notes what seemed still worth saying, and offer it to you all. Knowing what I have to do betw een now and April 10, I doubt very much that I will be able to get an abstract to you; enclosed, however, are newspaper clippings covering two of the talks. Perhaps these will be suggestive

to you. I shall, however, have a manuscript with me when I come over. I would like as a title, "The American Adventure."

You were kind enough to ask me for an estimate of my travel expenses. I think they will be little other than transportation to Tuskegee. Would it be all right if I submitted that to you after the occasion?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures

Tuskegee Institute

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3/23/64

March 19, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Kindly fill out the enclosed form in order that we may complete arrangements for you hospitality at our seminar-conference on disadvantage, April 10-11, 1964. We expect to have a splendid conference and we look forward to meeting you on our campus.

Yours very sincerely

Robert D. Reid
Conference Coordinator

RDR:f
enc.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
DIVISION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

March 12, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are delighted that you can deliver the dinner session address at our April 10-11, conference on " The Role of Adult Education." Plans for the conference have been finalized, and we expect a representative group of educators, civic leaders, and government officials on our campus. The dinner session is scheduled for Friday evening, April 10, at 6:00 o'clock. We hope that it will be possible for you to attend one of the workgroup sessions after you arrive on our campus.

I would be grateful if you will send me an estimate of your travel expenses in order that we may include them with your honorarium. Should you come by plane or train, we would meet you at Chehaw, Alabama or the Columbus, Georgia Airport.

We hope to prepare our conference programs by April 3, and we would like to receive the subject of your address and, if possible, an abstract of it. Our conference proceedings will be published. If you can spare me a copy of your address, I would be most appreciative.

Yours very sincerely,

Robert D. Reid
Conference Coordinatoe

RDR:f

TRAVEL SCHEDULE TO TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE FOR
SEMINAR-CONFERENCE APRIL 10-11, 1964

Name: _____

Address: _____

Air

Date of Arrival at Columbus, Georgia _____

Time of arrival at Columbus, Georgia _____

Flight Number _____

Date of Departure from Tuskegee Institute _____

Time of Departure from Columbus, Georgia _____

Flight Number _____

Train

Date of arrival at Chehaw, Alabama _____

Time of arrival at Chehaw, Alabama _____

Date of Departure from Tuskegee Institute _____

Time of departure from Chehaw, Alabama _____

Transportation expenses ~~(if to be borne by Tuskegee)~~ $_____

_____
Signature

(3 - 19 -64)

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Rec'd 4/18/64 Feb

April 15, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

All of us were so glad that you could be with us for the Second Conference on Disadvantage, held at Tuskegee Institute last week end. Your address at the luncheon was, as we knew it would be, a splendid and scholarly discussion of the opportunities and responsibilities of Negroes in our society. Thank you for being with us and for helping us to make our Conference such a success.

For this and for the many other ways in which you express interest in what we are doing at Tuskegee, we are deeply grateful.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

Luther

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:p

file
Tuskegee Inst.

June 18, 1964

Dr. Luther H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Luther:

Better late than never -- maybe. I have only now seen the fine note about you in the Saturday Review of May 16. It was a very deserved tribute.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

6/24/64

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA
LUTHER H. FOSTER

fil

June 24, 1964

Dear Leslie:

It was thoughtful of you to write about the article which appeared in the May 16 issue of Saturday Review. Thank you so much.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

File: Tuskegee Inst.

September 14, 1964

Dean Richard Wasserstrom
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Dean Wasserstrom:

Would you have available a reprint of your "The Obligation to Obey the Law" 10 U.CLL.A. Rev. 780?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA, 36088

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

September 24, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are enclosing a copy of "The Obligation to Obey the Law", requested in your communication of September 14, 1964.

Yours very truly,

R. Wasserstrom /7

Richard Wasserstrom
Dean

Enclosure

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

H. K. LOGAN, BUSINESS MANAGER

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✓ MB
BB
SW-file

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December 31, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Just a note of further clarification regarding the Tuskegee Charter and our admissions practices.

There was a charter provision which seemed, in the light of events up to the passage of the Civil Rights Bill, to raise real doubt about Tuskegee's legal freedom to admit white students--especially in the kind of adverse political climate of this state in recent years.

Our Trustees finally concluded, however, that we could no longer delay issuing a clear-cut formal statement of the Institute's policy, and that we would take whatever risks seemed associated with this action.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster

L. H. Foster
President

LHF/abr

MA
SW-file

December 28, 1964

Dr. Luther H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Luther:

Thank you for your letter of December 22. The report, as noted in its first sentence, confines itself to formerly all-white schools. I am delighted to know, however, that you all now have an explicit policy. I have been under the impression that you had some sort of statutory or charter bar to doing this.

Best wishes for the New Year; it was good seeing you last month at the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

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December 22, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have just read the SRC report, "Desegregation in Higher Education," issued in December 1964.

Tuskegee Institute is not listed on page 1 in the category of desegregated non-public higher institutions in Alabama. For several years we have enrolled a few white students, and we now have a clearly stated policy on this matter:

> No person shall be denied admission to or permission to continue in attendance at Tuskegee Institute by reason of race, color, religion or national origin.

Season's Greetings!

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:p

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

February 15, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Here is a draft of the pamphlet on tenant contracts. I have attempted to make it simple, forthright, and readable. You, of course, may make free use of the editorial pencil. If there are amplifications and revisions you want me to make I shall undertake those.

I have drawn on Attorney Cottan's manuscript, but felt the difficulty of reading a document written as his is and was perhaps influenced in the opposite direction to too simple and direct a statement. You are the judge.

I went ahead and finished it because I am going to Columbia for my doctoral exams at the end of the month and must do some refresher studying.

Let me have your reaction as promptly as is convenient.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis.

Lewis W. Jones
Acting Director

1 Encl: New Tenancy Contracts for Southern Farms

ns I believe that this standard lease form of the USDA is as good as may found. A sufficient number of copies could be ordered from the USDA to be inserted in the pamphlet.
I read "A Protestant Program" and articles which I felt had little to contribute except a general orientation. L.

February 21, 1955

Mr. Lewis W. Jones
Director of Research
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Many thanks for the manuscript. It is miles nearer to what it ought to be than ever the Cotton manuscript achieved. I have read it through once. But I still do not think it is the kind of document which would start a wide-spread movement in the South to do something about farm leases.

I need more time to read it some more and think about it in detail before I can say what needs changing. But you are on the way. Generally speaking, it seems to me that the first half of the manuscript is a more careful job than the second half, but the second half has more bite than the first half. From which I draw the conclusion that a final draft could skimp on history and go heavy on present need.

Anyway, we are very grateful to you for working hard in a time of pressure.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

cc: HCF ✓

NEW TENANCY CONTRACTS FOR SOUTHERN FARMS

By

Lewis W. Jones
Director of Research
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute

February, 1955

NEW TENANCY CONTRACTS FOR SOUTHERN FARMS

By

Lewis W. Jones

I. History of the Unwritten Farm Lease

In 1950 there were 905,322 farms in the Southern states operated by tenants. This number was more than one-third of all farms cultivated in the South. Nearly three-fourths (73 per cent) of these tenants paid a proportion--60 per cent, 50 per cent, or 25 per cent--of the products they harvested as rent for the land they cultivated. The racial identities of these "share tenants" and "share croppers" were 55 per cent white and 45 per cent colored. According to long and unfortunate custom most of these tenants held occupancy and had use of the land under one-year tenure arrangements by verbal agreement between the tenant and the landowner.

Spawned in Desperation. Types of farm tenancy in the South and the verbal agreements under which farm land is rented have become generally uniform with the mutual obligations of landlord and tenant defined by tradition, custom, and law. These mutual obligations specifying the responsibilities and the benefits of each party to a farm leasing agreement are of dubious economic and moral worth. The extent to which such agreements are binding depends upon interpretation of land tenure laws and the economic and social status of the parties involved. The history of the development of the present types of leasing arrangements under verbal agreement is sufficiently well known for their origin in expediency and their becoming fixed in custom to be recognized. This history is a record of an economic

device that has proved to be one of the misfortunes of the southern agricultural economy.

The present tenancy arrangements resting on verbal agreement covering a single year were brought into use originally by the logic of necessity in most abnormal circumstances. These circumstances were the economic and social conditions that obtained in the South immediately following the Civil War. The shift from a slave labor system to a free labor system in southern agriculture was made in the utmost confusion. Many wars ending in conquest gave to the enriched conquerors a rationale for impressing the labor of the conquered to exploit their newly gained economic resources. To the contrary, the Civil War left the agricultural lands of the South in possession of an impoverished land-owning class among the defeated. The only resource of this group was land which was worth little without labor or money to hire labor to till it.

The slaves who had been freed in the course of the war found themselves at its close desperately in need of the essentials for sustaining life--shelter, food, and clothing. The imperative of the situation was that former master and former slave established some sort of cooperation for their mutual benefit. This cooperation involved the former slaves returning to lands they had tilled and there to make use of familiar skills in the production of familiar crops. The former masters reassumed the management and supervisory functions with which they were familiar. Necessary to the resumption of the production of the South's staple crops to feed raw materials to the North's industries was the agreement of former masters and former slaves to resume their productive functions. The conditions of this agreement were those involving a farm tenancy system.

This farm tenancy system was not immediately forthcoming. In the first years following the war the arrangements and agreements between landlord and tenant were many and diverse. The Federal Government, through the Freedmen's Bureau, sought to provide some safeguards in supervising the contractual agreements between desperate landowner and destitute farm worker to prevent restoration of virtual slavery. By the time the special census on cotton was made in 1880 certain tenancy arrangements were taking form and getting wide acceptance in use. From the county by county reports in this census there were still a considerable variety of arrangements and agreements being used in different parts of the South. The illiterate and powerless ex-slaves were invitingly available for exploitation. In this period when the forms of farm tenancy were being crystallized conceptions were being formed that were destined to obscure their economic significance. The chief and most unfortunate conception to evolve was that the most disadvantaged tenure status, "sharecropping" was a Negro status. Once established this concept was to persist and protect this tenure status, with all of its evil consequences for land and man, long after there were more white than Negro sharecroppers.

Coming of Age in Inequity. The makeshift and temporary arrangements made when landlord and tenant first entered into agreement in time assumed some general uniformity. The general legal sanctions for the tenant system and the several forms of contractual agreement had been for the most part incorporated in state statutes enacted before 1880. Amending and supplementary statutes enacted since that time have not modified the basic law governing landlord-tenant relationships. The basic law in most

of the states of the South provides for the execution of written agreements between landlord and tenant covering leasing and crop liens. However, oral contracts governed by the basic common law are not prohibited and have been recognized as being binding by the courts.

Statutes enacted and incorporated in the common law of the states following the Civil War were not invented for that period. The tenancy laws of the southern states are basically British common law and in their present provisions date from the reign of Queen Anne who ruled England between 1702 and 1714. The landlord's rights and prerogatives were safeguarded while the tenant had few rights that were recognized at all to be safeguarded.

These laws fitted well the political mood and temper of the post Civil War period. Restoration to political power of the former slaveholder class who had been joined by a new landowning group interested in immediate profits from investment in land insured the continuance of these archaic laws. The former slaveholders felt a need to have tenants in a position as close to the old slave status as was practicable. The new commercial farmers cared little whether the labor they used in exploiting their farm lands was black or the whites who now came off the infertile sands to compete for an opportunity to till the rich lands. There was a mood of urgency on the part of landowners to get profit quickly and laws that gave them the control and domination of labor appeared to be essential to efficient and profitable operation of the South's agricultural lands. No instrument could serve their purposes better than oral agreements which the provisions of the old common law governed, implicitly but legally.

Land use arrangements under oral agreements rooted in a common law became a device to exploit the land and the men who tilled it. Here was rooted that social weed that was to stifle the economy and make of democracy in the South a dwarf growth.

The economic, political, and social consequences of the South's tenant system belong to a later sociological discussion. Suffice it here to be said that historically a time of reckoning came when a President of the United States should brand the South "the Nation's economic problem number one." Uneasiness and concern about the "farm tenancy problem" resulted in the appointment of a Farm Tenancy Committee by President Franklin D. Roosevelt whose report in 1937 in figures and tone expressed alarm. In the introduction to its report the Committee could say, "For the past 55 years, the entire period for which we have statistics on land tenure, there has been a continuous and marked decrease in the proportion of operating owners and an increase in the proportion of tenants. Tenancy has increased from 25 per cent of all farmers in 1880 to 42 per cent in 1935." In its findings the Committee could conclude that, "Farm leases in the United States generally represent little more than oral agreements" and that "the year-to-year lease is prevalent." Eighteen years have passed since this report was made and the problems of the farm tenant have not been solved. Economically and legally they remain today basically the same ones that plagued tenant farmers in 1880 and in 1937.

II. Lessees--Farming Somebody Else's Land

The prevailing arrangements under which land is cultivated by those who do not own it have been classified and reported on by the census since 1880. The number of farmers and the amount of land they till under these several classes of tenure tell a story that has something to say about the influence of the arrangements on southern agriculture.

Farm Tenants--Numbers. In the following tables the simple numerical facts are given to show the tenure of farm operators in the South at each census since 1880.

Table 1. Farm Tenants in The South, 1880-1950

			Tenancy Class	
Year	All Tenants	Cash Tenants	Share Tenants	Share Croppers
1880	553,848	*	*	*
1890	706,343	*	*	*
1900	1,231,144	*	981,676	*
1910	1,536,752	453,060[1]	*	*
1920	1,591,121	219,188	651,224	561,091
1930	1,790,783	239,032	*	776,278
1940	1,449,293	254,351	479,044	541,291
1950	905,322	119,855	314,346	346,765
			Per Cent of All Tenants	
	All Farms			
1880	36.2	*	*	*
1890	38.5	*	*	*
1900	47.0	*	*	*
1910	49.6	30[1]	*	*
1920	49.6	14	41	43
1930	55.5	13	*	37
1940	48.2	17	32	38
1950	34.1	13	34	35

*Data not comparable with later figures.

[1] Includes standing renters.

In actual numbers and in proportion farm tenants have been declining since 1935. This fact has not been due to agricultural policy or to reforms that affected the tenancy status. Rather it has been due to economic changes, the three most important of which have been crop acreage control, mechanization of farm production, and shift from row crops to agricultural enterprises that require fewer workers per production unit.

In those circumstances where tenant farming continues to be feasible and expedient one-third of the farmers continue to be tenants. The following table shows on what types of farms, in terms of the major crop produced, that tenants were operators.

Table 2. Tenant Operators of Farms According to Type of Farming*

	Tenant Operators	
Type of Farm	Number	Per Cent of All Operators
Cash Grain	162,479	37.8
Cotton	375,727	61.7
Other Field Crops	191,035	46.7
Vegetable	9,986	21.5
Fruit and Nuts	4,979	6.1
Dairy	90,117	15.0
Poultry	12,892	7.3
Livestock other than Dairy and Poultry	170,159	21.1

*For the United States since figures for the South are not available.

From this table it is immediately apparent that those types of farms that prevail in the South, Cotton and other field crops, are those most frequently operated by tenants.

Farm Tenants--Conditions of Tenure. To understand tenancy it is well to have the general types found in the South described. A classic description may be given of each type and leave recent modification in the current confused situation for later discussion. The following description is taken from the 1937 report of the President's Committee:

> "Cash renting is a form of renting in which the landlord furnishes only the real estate, usually paying the taxes and the money cost of the upkeep of the farm. The tenant furnishes the working capital, bears all operating expenses, and receives all the income after paying a fixed amount of cash as rent. The landlord usually does not assume any of the risks of the operation of the farm and undertakes no responsibility for management, except such supervision as he may desire to supply to prevent depletion of land and deterioration of improvements.
>
> "Crop-share renting is the most common method of leasing in the country as a whole. Under this system the landlord furnishes the real estate and usually pays the taxes and the money cost of upkeep. He may also cover certain expenses incidental to production, depending upon the type of crop produced, the fertility of the land, and the customs of the community. Under these circumstances the share rent is paid in the form of a specified proportion of the major crops produced. Often a smaller share rent is paid on very intensive crops, such as cotton and tobacco, than on less intensive crops, such as corn and small grain. Crop-share renting is particularly well adapted to and usually fosters a single cash-crop system of farming. It generally provides, moreover, very little opportunity for the production of livestock, and necessitates the sale off the farm of most of the crops produced, thereby contributing to soil depletion. Crop-share renting is most common on corn, wheat, cotton, and tobacco farms.
>
> "Share cropping is a fourth form of share renting, and is very common in the Southern states. Under this system the tenant or cropper contributes nothing but the labor of himself and his family. The landlord supplies all other requirements, and in many instances advances credit to cover the food, clothing, and incidental expenses of the cropper

> and his family during the production season. In a number of Southern States, as has been noted, croppers are legally classified as laborers rather than as tenants, and therefore do not have legal possession of the land nor rights of ownership in the implements, work stock, or the crop itself until after it has been divided by the plantation operator. The majority of croppers work under close supervision of the landlord. They receive for their labor a share of the crops produced, usually one-half of the cotton and one-third of the grain crops.
>
> "Standing rent is used in the case of relatively few farms, mostly in the South. A stated amount of the principal crops is paid as rent. This type of rental payment is most prevalent in Georgia and South Carolina, where all classes of share tenants are legally laborers. Under this system of renting the landlord receives the same amount of crops produced regardless of how large or how small the crop may be. Consequently, he is contractually free from the risk of loss due to bad seasons or bad management, and also of the necessity of assuming responsibility for the management of the farm. Obviously, this system is very similar to cash renting, differing mainly in the fact that the rent received by the landlord is subject to variations due to changes in prices of the products grown on the farm."

The debate has never ended between apologists for the share-cropper system who insist that croppers are laborers who received "deferred wages" and those who insist that they are operators.

III. Lessees--Rights and Responsibilities in the Common Law

It has been suggested above that in the absence of written leases the oral agreement between landlord and tenant is legal only as it is construed in the common law. Whatever promises are made by the two to each other only those sanctioned under the law may be considered as valid and binding. Without ever having read the law the tenant who enters into an oral agreement with a landlord is held accountable for understanding his obligations as he has come to know them in custom and practice. The general provisions of the common law as it regulates the tenancy status may be enumerated briefly.

Whose Land and Buildings? Land and buildings are the property of the landlord, not to be altered, improved, or destroyed by the tenant. Texas and Louisiana law have provisions for the landlord's compensation of tenants for improvement of buildings.

Whose Crops? With variations in specific requirements and penalties, the crop is under lien to the landlord and may not be sold until rent and other indebtedness to the landlord have been paid.

Staying How Long? All oral agreements are for one year. Some state laws forbid their being made for longer periods. Notice of the termination of the year-to-year oral lease varies from one month to six months in the several southern states.

The Lien. The major alteration in the old British and American Common Law in the legislation enacted in the South following the Civil War was conditions of the landlord's lien. The landlord's lien for rent and advances to the tenant takes priority over all other liens. In some states

the law allows the landlord to take for unpaid rent everything the tenant owns except "beds, bed clothes, and wearing apparel."

There are differing penalties for breach of contract by the tenant. The landlord's interest in the tenant's crop is protected by specification in the laws from state to state, but the tenant's interest is given the barest concern.

Widespread and frequent use of these laws resulted in an unhealthy economy and an unhappy society.

IV. Economic Depletion

When tenancy reached its height in the period within which the 1930 census was taken and reported 55 per cent of all farm operators in the South to be tenants, southern agriculture had come to its low point in depletion of soil fertility and farmer insecurity. In the areas of greatest tenant farmer concentration one-crop production was the inflexible rule--cotton, tobacco, sugar cane. Cotton covered the most extensive acreage and occupied the greatest number of people and represented the arch-type of tenancy of one-year duration by oral agreement--with all the evils attendant thereto.

In the cotton region every cultivable acre was planted to cotton. As soil fertility decreased and the top soil washed away more and more chemical fertilizers were applied to the land. Single cash crop farming according to the oral agreement allows the tenant neither land nor time to grow food or feed crops. So pervasive was cash crop production that it came to be believed that the land would not grow food crops and that tenant farmers had neither the will nor know-how to grow them. The welfare of the farmer

was tied to the abundance of yield and the market of the single crop.

Whatever other influences were operative in maintaining single crop production the key was production credit. Cotton farmers, great and small, owner and tenant, all used credit for operating capital. Sharecroppers were provided credit in the form of advances or "furnish" from the landlord. The "managing tenants", cash tenants and share tenants, secured credit from landlords, merchants, or banks. The conditions of credit being given were simple: the amount of credit provided was based on the acreage planted to cotton and the anticipated return. This credit system had a stranglehold on landlord as well as tenant but our concern here is with the tenant. In the case of the sharecropper and the share tenant whose rent was a proportion of the harvest, landlords were understandably interested in maximum production. In the case of cash renters or standing renters the landlord always "got his first."

For money advanced and goods provided with payment deferred until crops had been harvested ~~it is not overstatement to say that~~ interest rates were extortionate. These debts had to be paid if the tenant remained under contract with the landlord and must be paid if the tenant decided to move to another landlord. Law and custom penalized the tenant who sought to move and escape payment of debt.

In Woofter's[2] study of the cotton plantation in 1934 it was reported that 10 per cent or almost a dollar per crop acre was spent for fertilizer. A reconnaissance survey by the Soil Erosion Service of seven southeastern states showed 10,900,000 acres essentially destroyed for further tillage. Woofter could conclude that an appreciable proportion of the cotton

production is carried on below the "margin" and much more is almost marginal activity. In years of good yield and prices, small profits are realized on this land, but in bad years losses are severe. In such a meagerly productive enterprise where the margin between profit and loss was so precarious the landlord's jealous protection of his interest may be expected.

Under the pressure of the system the oral agreement between landlord and tenant became very general and vague in stated commitments and to depend upon "understanding" of the dictates of custom. The tenant secured a house to live in and land to cultivate. Every dictate of his landlord throughout his tenure was a part of his contract. The crop was delivered to the landlord who sold it and reported to the tenant the result of the sale. This accounting of their joint enterprise by the landlord, peculiarly known as "settlement", by custom took place in December prior to Christmas. The landlord kept the records on return from crop sales together with debts incurred by the tenant during the year. He reported to and paid the tenant what his records showed to be due him or reported to him how much his remaining indebtedness was. The renewal of the tenant's oral contract was usually made at the time with the simple expression of hope that the tenant did better next year.

Johnson, Alexander and Embree[3] could succinctly sum up the effect of such a system on the efficiency of the tenant as a producer and its effect on the production machinery.

> "Since the tenant has no legal claims on any improvements he may make, he has no interest in conserving or improving either the land or the buildings. On the contrary, just as it is to his advantage

to rob the soil of its fertility, so he is tempted to burn for firewood rails from any nearby fence or planks from the porch floor or from an outhouse--if the place happens to be distinguished by having any movable materials that have not already succumbed to the ravages of time and tenants. The tenant is not likely to trouble to make any repairs that are not absolutely necessary, and these few will be so made as not to outlast his stay on the place.

"Under a system which does not encourage labor and thrift men easily develop habits of improvidence. As matters now stand, the tenant who really works on his place, who labors to restore the soil, who repairs and builds is merely inviting his landlord to raise his rent. If he should use all his time and energy in improving the place on which he lives, with the hope of ultimately raising his own status, the tenant would have no recourse if his landlord demanded a higher rent or notified him that he would have to leave the next year. It may be argued that landlords generally would not follow any such course; but the absence of any laws on the statute books of the southern states protecting tenants in improvements made by them is a final answer to such arguments. Those who say that legal protection for the tenant is unnecessary, that we have too many laws, will have difficulty in justifying the crop lien laws which protect the immediate interests of the merchants and landlords, but ignore the immediate interests of the tenants and the long-time interests of every one in the region.

"Is it any wonder, then, that the soil is exhausted, buildings not fit for habitation, and the tenants themselves thoroughly inured to habits and attitudes that, if undisturbed, will keep them impoverished? There can be no general prosperity among any class for long in such an environment."

V. Social Erosion

When the tenancy system described flourished in the South nothing else did. The tenant status was not restricted to an economic position; it was, and, where it survives, is a social position. It influences the whole order of life. The tenant home was a house, shabby and not lovely to look at standing in a field of cotton. Ordinarily it stood alone without outbuildings--barns or chicken houses, not a pig sty. Weather-beaten and often delapidated the tenant house afforded poor protection and practically no comfort. The landlord did not improve his property and the occupant dared not. Overcrowded and meanly furnished, the tenant house was a poor excuse for a home.

The family occupying the house had few of the characteristics commonly ascribed to American family life. The father was not head of his household, the role of the patriarch so familiar in descriptions of the American rural family was not to be played by the father of the tenant family. The fortunes of his family were not ~~as~~ his to determine; his landlord assumed that prerogative. In the oral agreement by which he secured the land to cultivate he committed the services of the members of his family. In the negotiations between landlord and tenant the children were counted as members of a "plow force" or a "hoe force"--how many sons who were able to plow and how many daughters were able to hoe the crop. When the landlord had leased the tenant sufficient land to keep his family labor force occupied each individual was expected to constantly be about his task. Children were not expected to be in school when their labor was needed in the crop. Landlord and tenant both understood this and the tenant

family became first and primarily a production unit. In 1950, 47 per cent of the"unpaid family workers" in American agriculture were on southern farms.

The tenant father had little to say about what his family ate or the clothing they wore or when they had a doctor's services. The landlord also decided this. In the oral agreement under which the tenant assumed occupancy of the farm the landlord decided what his "furnish" should be. This is how much credit he could take up at the commissary or in later days how much money would be advanced monthly for family maintenance during the period of crop cultivation. The plantation that issued a private currency and aluminum coins accepted only at the commissary has almost, but not entirely disappeared. In the case of illness the impoverished tenant secured a "script" from his landlord, a note to a physician acceptable to the landlord, in order to secure medical care.

If the father could not make the above decisions for his family it is hardly to be expected that he should determine their education. Regardless of school terms and teachers and facilities he could not send his children to enjoy even the meager provisions. So the tenants' poverty and ignorance come to be repeated in his children who sat in school only a few weeks each school term. Rejections for Army service on educational grounds in World War II in areas of high rates of tenancy pointed painfully, but graphically to this condition.

For many tenants respect for law and government could not develop where fear ruled and the landlord's word was in effect law. It was not

enough that the economic cards had long ago been stacked against the tenant in economic matters he and his children learned that the landlord's legal privileges extended far beyond land tenure contracts. An obstreperous tenant could too easily be charged with a criminal offense by his landlord while a tenant in the landlord's favor could indulge in a criminal act with impunity under the landlord's protection. More than one or two plantations in the South were off-limits to duly authorized peace officers.

The seed of the social status of the tenant was planted in the legal dependence implicit and explicit in his oral contract regulated by tenancy and lien laws. No point appeared at which his independence and responsibility could begin. So, his home, his school, his church, and his recreation remained below any standards that American society generally expects and respects. In such a cultural and social matrix the individual personality formed would be expected to be lacking in educational, economic, and social efficiency.

VI. Upheaval

A succession of circumstances in the last twenty-five years have profoundly disturbed the old economic order in the South and have shaken the foundations of the social order. Taking them as they appeared these have been (1) the depression of the 1930's; (2) the New Deal program for Agriculture; (3) mechanization of farm production; and (4) new land use.

The great depression not only did not spare the southern agriculture but hit it a blow that shook its foundations. When the market price of cotton dropped to five cents per pound in June, 1932, not only an epoch but a whole era ended. Landlords found themselves unable to meet their customary meager responsibilities to their tenants. When tenants knew acute hunger and landlords faced foreclosure and banks that financed cotton farmers closed it appeared that the cotton system had devoured itself.

The New Deal program for southern agriculture that was introduced with the plowing up ten million acres of growing cotton in 1933 marked the beginning of new and uncertain order. Richards,[4] in his book on Cotton in The Agriculture Adjustment Program shows how the federal legislation setting it up sought to provide some safeguards for the tenants' interests without chances of much success. Against the tenants equitable share as provided for by the legislation were the state laws and the ambiguities of the oral agreements in which the tenants' rights were obscured. Regardless of what the AAA law said it was inescapable that with smaller acreage planted to cotton that there should be fewer tenants used to produce it. Production practices would be changed with subsidies being paid to plant the acreage retired from cotton to soil improvement crops and food and feed crops..

When World War II came the effects of the depression and the New Deal agricultural program on farm tenancy became apparent. When labor for industrial production had been sought from the South in World War I all means, legal and illegal, peaceful and violent, had been used to restrain labor from leaving southern farms where they were considered as being needed also. When agricultural workers took advantage of the opportunities for industrial employment during World War II there were protests and grumbling by some landlords and large cotton producers but no excitement and no frenzied efforts to restrain them comparable to the behavior during World War I.

Only to be fully realized after the war was the fact that the industrial revolution had quietly come to southern agriculture. The use of tractors for plowing of crops was spreading rapidly. Tenants grumbled that landlords had certain soil preparation and crop cultivation tasks done by tractor drivers and charged the tenants for this work on their acreages. In the early thirties announcement was made that a cotton picking machine had been invented and found to be workable in experimental tests. Airplanes had been discovered to be useful and effective in the control of cotton pests. In those areas where the terrain was suited to the use of machines the plantation map changed for the first time. Tenant houses, scattered about in the fields, were moved out of the way of the machines.

On the lands retired from cotton production under crop control policies of the Department of Agriculture the grasses planted were discovered to have greater value than the subsidy paid to sow them. And, in 1936, President Roosevelt dramatized the possibilities of livestock production

in the South by having drought threatened cattle in the Middle West moved to pastures in the South. The "black belt" stretching across the southeast and long sacred to cotton came to be planted to grasses to graze beef and dairy herds. More tenant houses were torn down or moved to make way for pastures in which much less labor was needed than had been needed to grow cotton on the same acreage. Not only had the southern region undergone change under the influence of machines and livestock production, the individual large production unit everywhere also underwent change. The old cotton plantation abandoned single crop farming and divided its acreage between cotton and livestock using machines in the production of cotton and grasses.

In 1950 the number of tenants in the South was 926,153 fewer or less than half the number there were in 1935 and of this decrease 369,491 were sharecroppers. However, the tenancy problem was by no means solved. The 900,000 tenants remaining faced problems no less serious than those the greater numbers of tenants in other years had known.

VII. The Present Status of Tenancy

Under the changed conditions described tenants are faced with rather acute and pressing problems. In the first place, the competition for farms by tenants is keener than ever before. The opportunities for securing a farm to rent are fewer and of three kinds: (1) on partially mechanized farms, (2) on cotton lands that do not lend themselves to the use of machines, and (3) on livestock farms. The process of transition is not complete and there is considerable confusion about tenancy and the redefinition of the tenancy status.

Where there has been partial mechanization fewer workers are needed and the use of child laborers is not as universal as it formerly was. To operate machines a more intelligent and efficient tenant is desired. As one landlord, watching a man maneuver a cotton picking machine,remarked, "that man's got to be smart; he's sitting on $8000 of my money." Another qualification now required is responsibility. With fewer tenants many plantation commissaries have been closed and the practice of cash monthly advances is followed leaving no room for the old type exploitation for credit granted the tenant. It is common practice for the tractor driving tenant to be paid a regular wage for his tractor work while his family produces a crop with his occasional assistance. For landlord and tenant the old order may not have entirely passed but it is hardly recognizable.

Where tenants are used on livestock farms there is even greater difference than on partially mechanized farms. Tenancy on livestock farms may not be said to have yet become firmly patterned. Among the variety of arrangements two types may be described. One type has the landlord provide

pastures and milking facilities while the dairy herd belongs to the tenant who pays the landlord one-fourth of his milk proceeds for rent. Another type has the landlord provide the same thing and own half of the herd and receive half of the milk proceeds. The seasonal rythm of activities, the daily order of work, and everything else about livestock production are far different from those characteristic of cotton production.

On the cotton lands that have not lent themselves to extensive use of machines the old order is most nearly intact and the least fortunate tenants must compete for places on such farms. All kinds of arrangements and tenure conditions ranging from the classic patterns of tenancy to modifications in great variety are to be found here.

The laws regulating farm tenancy have not changed and the oral agreement is still the rule. However, if a truly healthy economy and a stable society are to emerge as order replaces the present confusion a different contractual arrangement must be introduced. There should be introduced into the changes in process a tenant-landlord cooperation designed to protect their common interests and their mutual rights and obligations.

Not in the South alone but over the United States generally there is interest in reform in leasing arrangements. This interest stems from a recognition of changes that have taken place in recent years and need for a reassessment of the input and outtake of landlord and tenant if the relationship between them is to be harmonious and satisfactory. Agricultural Experiment Stations in South Dakota, Iowa, and Minnesota as well as Mississippi have in recent years issued bulletins discussing farm leasing arrangements. If there is awareness of need for revision of leasing arrangements in areas where there have been changes that are relatively

minor when compared to the revolutionary changes in the South there should be serious consideration of stabilizing the agricultural economy of the South on an equitable and satisfactory contractual base. Changes in the tenancy status in the South will require this sooner or later and the sooner the better.

VIII. What Should an Equitable Landlord-Tenant Contract Provide?

Regardless of what is to be produced on a farm landlord and tenant should not initiate bargaining negotiations in the spirit of jockeying for advantage at the expense of the other. Each should approach the negotiations in the spirit that the interests of both are inseparable. The operation of this farm should be planned and undertaken to insure mutually rewarding returns from the enterprise. Each party to the contractual agreement should be committed to making his stipulated investment in the enterprise of maximum value in anticipation of maximum return on it. Each party to the agreement should expect the other to respect his investment so as to guarantee the rightful return on it. Items to be considered and specified in a leasing contract are listed below:

1. Land Use.

   a. The total acreage to be leased should be specified and its area and boundaries adequately described.

   b. Allocation of land described to such uses as appear to be in the interest of most efficient long term productivity should be stipulated.

   c. Decision as to conservation and soil improvement practices to be followed should be made specifying payment for same and emoluments for same.

2. Buildings and Permanent Improvements.

   a. Farm buildings. In terms of the productive enterprises to be carried on, provision should be made for adequate housing, storage, and work space. Specification in the

contract should be made as to construction, repairs, and alterations agreed upon and the responsibility for these stipulated.

b. Fencing, watercourses, irrigation, terracing, etc., to be maintained, constructed or altered should be stipulated.

c. Family dwelling. If the tenant is to live on the farm the maintenance, alteration, improvement, and construction of dwelling and outbuildings for family use should be stipulated with responsibility for them specified and consideration or reembursement to either party for investment in such buildings stated.

3. Equipment and Machinery.

The provision of essential production equipment and machinery for such enterprises as agreed upon and the responsibility for providing the same should be stipulated.

4. Investment in Production.

Detailed specification should be made of the investment to be made by each party in each productive enterprise to be carried on on the farm and when and in what form it shall be made.

5. Financing Operations.

If production credit is to be required by the tenant the amount, source, security to be given, and period loan is to cover should be stipulated. Where waiver of landlord's lien is required the contract should so stipulate.

6. Rent.

The amount of rent, fixed or proportionate (shares), should be stipulated and dates of payment due indicated.

7. Farm Management.

The control of farm operations, purchases of production requirements and sale of products and method of accounting and reporting of accounts should be stipulated.

8. Length of lease.

A minimal five-year tenure should be stipulated with option to renew and option to purchase at anytime farm may be sold. The time of notice to be given by either party prior to termination of lease and specification of breach of contract on the part of either party for cancellation except by mutual consent.

A contract covering these stipulations when agreed upon should be in the form of a lease prepared in proper legal form preferably by an attorney.

Such a long-term written lease is good sound economics. The time required for soil improvement and pasture development requires that a tenant participating in these activities should do so with anticipation of sharing in the benefits from having done so. Both tenant and landlord would be relieved of the uncertainty and insecurity that expensive investments in livestock, machinery, or farm improvements are risky and taking a gamble. A contract entered into by self-respecting parties who respect each other is in the best tradition of free enterprise. A basic and continuous program for agricultural production may be followed.

The economic security of neither party is in jeopardy. Its far reaching influence on the stability of the rural community and its social institutions may be envisioned.

Such a lease as this one may be adapted and used for any one of the several types of tenancy arrangements practiced in the South. The share tenancies: "the third and fourth," "60-40", or "on halves", do not have to be onerous statuses that they have come to be identified as being. The fundamental reform to be achieved in the written long-term lease is the elimination of the abuses of the arrangements. If one-half tenancy is convenient and agreeable to both landlord and tenant, safeguards are taken to insure that each party assumes responsibility for making investment in production on which one-half of the proceeds is fair and equitable return. This should be done in a manner so as to preclude exploitation of landlord or tenant or abuse of the land by both. Involved is a business-like appraisal of the value of the investment of each--land, equipment, labor, production requirements and the share of total production costs borne by each.

The same principle should govern fixed rent whether paid in cash or kind. The question to be answered is whether or not the rent asked is adequate compensation for use of the land and will the productive enterprises carried on be those that will justify payment of the rental asked.

As the contract is being negotiated it should be demonstrated that each party is able to carry out his commitments under the contract. This includes what is to be undertaken and how it will be undertaken. Impossible contracts should be avoided. Specificity and detailed stipulations leave

nothing to chance that is within the competencies of the contracting parties. Any rental payment agreed upon should be a fair return, easily payable from the returns of the enterprise. The long term lease will permit large investments made initially to be amortized over a longer period. Purchases of machinery and equipment might be made with the cost of use prorated over the anticipated time span of its usefulness. Soil development and improvement costs need not be charged against a single year's operations. Such a contract entered into would mean that together landlord and tenant are going into business and it should never be forgotten that farming is a business that to be successful needs regulation by the principles and practices that apply to successful business.

IX. The Model Lease

The following lease form, taken from the United States Department of Agriculture is offered as a guide to landlord and tenants who may wish to have a working base for their discussions and agreement. The blanks are all important because there will be entered those specifications and stipulations that will make of it a contract meeting the specific needs of the negotiating landlord and tenant.

Form Agri.-1
(Revised 1949)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

STANDARD FARM LEASE

THIS LEASE is entered into this _____ day of _____, 19____, between

_____, landlord, of _____
(Address)

and _____, tenant, of _____
(Address)

1. DESCRIPTION OF PROPERTY.—The landlord hereby leases to the tenant, to occupy and use for agricultural and related purposes, the following-described property, located in _____ County, State of _____:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

and consisting of _____ acres, more or less, together with all buildings and improvements thereon and all rights thereto appertaining except as otherwise specified _____

_____

(All this property together is hereinafter referred to as the "farm.") The landlord warrants that he has the right to lease the farm, and will defend the tenant's possession against any and all persons whomsoever.

2. TERM OF LEASE.—The term of this lease shall be _____ year(s) from _____, 19____, to _____, 19____, and this lease shall continue in effect from year to year thereafter until written notice of termination is given by either party to the other at least _____ months before expiration of this lease or any renewal.

3. RENTAL RATES AND ARRANGEMENTS.

(A) *Crop-Share, Crop-Share-Cash, Cash, or Standing Rent and Arrangements.*—The tenant agrees to use the land and to pay as rent the shares of crops, cash, and/or quantities of crops as indicated below:

(1) Use of Land	(2) Acres	Kind and Amount of Rent To Be Paid		
		(3) Crop-share	(4) Cash	(5) Quantity of crop
			$	
For producing food for the family				
Woodland				
Farmstead and lots				
Total farm		xxxxxxx	$	xxxxxxx

Additional agreements relative to crops and land use: _____

_____

_____

_____

(B) *Livestock-Share Rent and Arrangements.*—It is agreed that the tenant (or the parties jointly) will engage in the commercial production of livestock, and as rent livestock and livestock products will be distributed or divided, according to the arrangements as indicated below:

(1) Kind of Livestock To Be Kept	(2) Number To Be Kept on Farm	Share Furnished by Landlord		Share Received by Landlord		
		(3) Livestock	(4) Feed produced on the farm	(5) Offspring or increase in herd	(6) Livestock sales	(7) Sales of livestock products

Additional agreements relative to livestock: _____

(C) *Payment of Rent.*—All rents agreed to, whether cash or share of crop or livestock receipts, shall be paid, distributed, or divided at the time and place as specified below: _____

4. OPERATIONAL EXPENSES.—The tenant will furnish all labor, equipment, and expenses for the operation of the farm except as indicated below:

(1) Item of Expense	(2) Furnished by Landlord	(1) Item of Expense	(2) Furnished by Landlord	(1) Item of Expense	(2) Furnished by Landlord

Additional agreements relative to operational expenses: _____

5. SOIL CONSERVATION AND CAPITAL IMPROVEMENTS.—To conserve the soil and to improve the farm, including the woodland, the two parties agree to carry out conservation practices and measures and to make other capital improvements, and to share contributions and costs necessary for completion of such practices and improvements as set forth below. The tenant shall be reimbursed by the landlord when the practice, measure, or improvement is completed, or will be compensated for its unexhausted value when the tenant leaves the farm, according to the schedule below:

(1) Conservation Practice, Measure or Other Capital Improvement	(2) Date To Be Completed	Percent To Be Furnished by Landlord and by Tenant						(6) Value Placed on Tenant's Contribution	(7) Rate of Annual Depreciation (Percent)
		(3) Materials		(4) Labor		(5) Machinery or trucking			
		L	T	L	T	L	T		
								$	

Additional agreements relative to soil conservation and capital improvements: _____

6. PAYMENT FOR PREPARING OR SEEDING LAND.—When the tenant leaves the farm, if the total acreages of prepared or seeded land are greater than at the beginning of his tenancy, he will be compensated by the landlord on the basis of the value of such excess acreages. If such total acreages are less than at the beginning of his tenancy, the tenant will compensate the landlord on the basis of the value of such deficiency, provided, the deficiency is not due to drought, flood, or other causes beyond the control of the tenant. The acreages at the beginning of this tenancy and the basis of payment are as follows:

_____

7. IT IS MUTUALLY AGREED THAT:

(1) The acres of crops and numbers of livestock shown above are those planned for the first year of this lease, and may be changed from year to year by mutual agreement.

(2) If it is impracticable in any year, from causes beyond the tenant's control, to grow the crops and to keep the livestock according to the plan shown, appropriate adjustments will be worked out by the two parties.

(3) Willful neglect, failure, or refusal by either party to carry out any major provision of this lease shall give the other party the benefits of any proceedings provided by law.

(4) This lease shall not be deemed to give rise to a partnership relation, and neither party shall have authority to obligate the other without written consent.

(5) The terms of this lease shall apply to the heirs, executors, administrators, successors, and assigns of both landlord and tenant in like manner as to the original parties.

(6) Any differences between the parties under this lease that cannot be settled after thorough discussion, shall be submitted for arbitration by a committee of three disinterested persons, one selected by each party hereto and the third by the two thus selected; and their decision shall be accepted by both parties.

(7) The landlord will furnish materials and the tenant will perform labor for normal maintenance and repairs, except that skilled labor which the tenant himself is unable to perform satisfactorily will be furnished by the landlord including the following: _____

_____

_____

_____

(8) The farm will be operated in compliance with governmental programs as follows: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(9) The two parties will buy and sell jointly owned livestock according to the following agreement: _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(10) At the termination of this lease all jointly owned livestock or other property will be divided or disposed of as follows: _____

_____

_____

_____

8. THE TENANT AGREES THAT:

(1) Crops will be grown in fields specified, and no pastures or meadow land will be plowed without written consent of landlord.

(2) He will maintain the farm during his tenancy in as good condition and repair as at the beginning, or as later improved, normal wear and depreciation from causes beyond the tenant's control excepted.

(3) He will operate the farm in an efficient and husbandlike way, will do the plowing, seeding, cultivating, and harvesting at the proper time and in the proper manner.

(4) He will keep in good repair all grass waterways, terraces, open ditches, and inlets and outlets of tile drains.

(5) He will not commit waste on or damage to the farm and will use due care to prevent others from so doing.

(6) He will take for fuel or use on the farm only dead or unmarketable timber or other timber designated by the landlord and will sell no timber without the landlord's written consent.

(7) He will permit the landlord or his agent to enter the farm at any reasonable time for repairs, improvements, and inspection.

(8) He will not assign this lease or sublet any part of the farm without the written consent of the landlord or rent additional land except _____

_____

(9) He will spread the manure on the farm as soon as practicable on fields agreed upon by the two parties, and will not burn cornstalks, straw, or other crop residues grown upon the farm except as follows: _____

_____

_____

_____

(10) He will keep adequate records in regard to:

_____

_____

_____

9. THE LANDLORD AGREES THAT:

(1) The tenant may buy without further authorization materials for normal maintenance and repairs in a total amount not to exceed $_____ within each year, and he will credit or reimburse the tenant for such expenditures.

(2) He will replace or repair the dwelling or any other building that may be destroyed or damaged by fire, flood, or other cause beyond the control of own expense. The tenant may at any time this lease is still in effect, or within a reasonable time thereafter, remove such improvements, provided he leaves in good condition that part of the farm from which they are removed.

(4) If he should sell or otherwise transfer the farm, he will do so subject to the provisions of this lease.

(1) Crops will be grown in fields specified, and no pastures or meadow land will be plowed without written consent of landlord.

(2) He will maintain the farm during his tenancy in as good condition and repair as at the beginning, or as later improved, normal wear and depreciation from causes beyond the tenant's control excepted.

(3) He will operate the farm in an efficient and husbandlike way, will do the plowing, seeding, cultivating, and harvesting at the proper time and in the proper manner.

(4) He will keep in good repair all grass waterways, terraces, open ditches, and inlets and outlets of tile drains.

(5) He will not commit waste on or damage to the farm and will use due care to prevent others from so doing.

(6) He will take for fuel or use on the farm only dead or unmarketable timber or other timber designated by the landlord and will sell no timber without the landlord's written consent.

(7) He will permit the landlord or his agent to enter the farm at any reasonable time for repairs, improvements, and inspection.

(8) He will not assign this lease or sublet any part of the farm without the written consent of the landlord or rent additional land except _____

_____

(9) He will spread the manure on the farm as soon as practicable on fields agreed upon by the two parties, and will not burn cornstalks, straw, or other crop residues grown upon the farm except as follows: _____

_____

_____

_____

(10) He will keep adequate records in regard to:

_____

_____

_____

9. THE LANDLORD AGREES THAT:

(1) The tenant may buy without further authorization materials for normal maintenance and repairs in a total amount not to exceed $_____ within each year, and he will credit or reimburse the tenant for such expenditures.

(2) He will replace or repair the dwelling or any other building that may be destroyed or damaged by fire, flood, or other cause beyond the control of the tenant as promptly as possible or make rental adjustments in lieu of replacements.

(3) Minor improvements of a temporary or removable nature (not provided for in Section 5 above) which do not mar the condition or appearance of the farm may be made by the tenant at his own expense. The tenant may at any time this lease is still in effect, or within a reasonable time thereafter, remove such improvements, provided he leaves in good condition that part of the farm from which they are removed.

(4) If he should sell or otherwise transfer the farm, he will do so subject to the provisions of this lease.

(5) The tenant may take for home use the following kinds and quantities of jointly owned crops, livestock, and/or livestock products: _____

_____

_____

_____

10. ADDITIONAL AGREEMENTS: _____

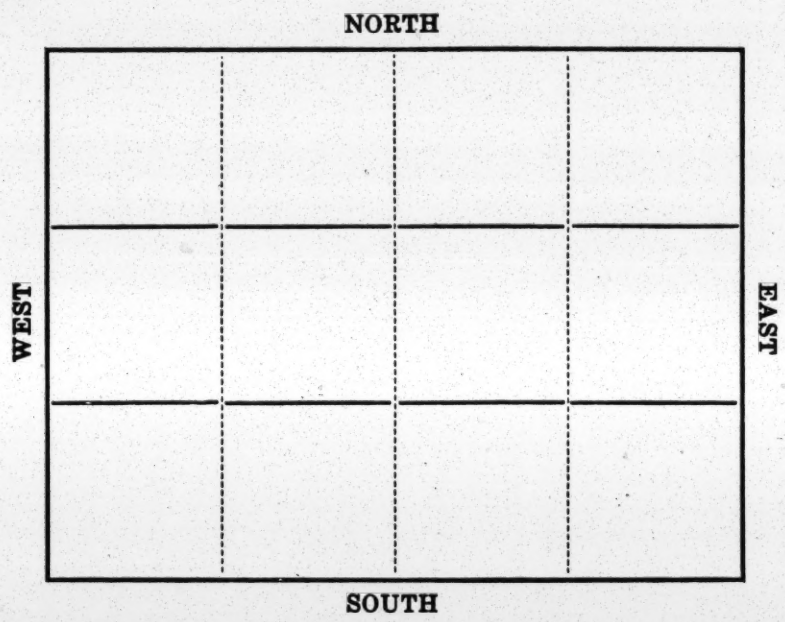
_____

_____

_____

_____

11. MAP OF FARM:



IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties have signed this lease on the date first above written.
Witnesses as to both signatures:

_____ _____ [SEAL]
(Landlord)

_____ [SEAL]

_____ _____ [SEAL]
(Tenant)

ACKNOWLEDGMENT (Proper form to be inserted):

STANDARD FARM LEASE

BETWEEN

_____
(Landlord)

_____
(Tenant)

For _____
(Common name or number of farm)

In _____ County

State of _____

USE OF STANDARD FARM LEASE

This lease is prepared especially for use by landlords and tenants in all types of renting—*crop-share, crop-share-cash, cash, standing,* or *livestock-share.* It is also adaptable for use with Institutional On-Farm Training for Veterans where renting of land is involved. Some changes may be necessary in order to adapt the general provisions to a specific kind of rent or to a particular farm. Most provisions that are likely to be wanted are included. Spaces are provided for writing in any particular details or special arrangements that a landlord and tenant may want.

Although it is desirable for the lease to continue in effect automatically, or for a period of years, changes in crops, acreages, livestock and certain other arrangements may be necessary from year to year. An *Annual Supplement* (Agri.-3, Revised 1949) to the *Standard Farm Lease* is available for this purpose. By using the *Annual Supplement,* details of farming can be changed from year to year without going through the work of preparing and signing a new lease.

Copies of this form, the *Annual Supplement* (Agri.-3, Revised 1949) and *Your Farm Lease,* Misc. Pub. No. 627, which contains detailed suggestions for filling out this lease, may be secured from the County Agricultural Agent, from the State Agricultural College, or by writing the U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C.

Prepared and Issued by
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

GPO 83-23559

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

ANNUAL SUPPLEMENT TO STANDARD FARM LEASE

FOR LEASE YEAR BEGINNING _____, 19____

BETWEEN _____, LANDLORD, AND _____, TENANT

DATED _____ DAY OF _____, 19____

This agreement supplements a lease which was heretofore signed between the above-named parties which continues in full force and effect during the lease year shown above. In view of the fact that the lease specifies crops, acreages, livestock, and certain other annual arrangements for the first year of the lease, the following changes are agreed upon by the two parties for the lease year beginning _____, 19____

LAND USE AND LIVESTOCK ARRANGEMENTS.—The parties agree that the rental rates shall continue as shown in the lease and the other arrangements shall continue, except as specified below:

LAND USE ARRANGEMENTS		LIVESTOCK ARRANGEMENTS	
(1) Use of Land	(2) Acres	(3) Kind of Livestock To Be Kept	(4) Number To Be Kept on Farm

Additional agreements relative to crops and/or livestock: _____

SOIL CONSERVATION AND CAPITAL IMPROVEMENTS.—To conserve the soil and to improve the farm, including the woodland, the two parties agree to carry out conservation practices and measures and to make other capital improvements, and to share contributions and costs necessary for completion of such practices and improvements as set forth below. The tenant shall be reimbursed by the landlord when the practice, measure, or improvement is completed, or will be compensated for its unexhausted value when the tenant leaves the farm, according to the schedule below:

(1) Conservation Practice, Measure, or Other Capital Improvement	(2) Date To Be Completed	Percent To Be Furnished by Landlord and by Tenant						(6) Value Placed on Tenant's Contribution	(7) Rate of Annual Depreciation (Percent)
		(3) Materials		(4) Labor		(5) Machinery or trucking			
		L	T	L	T	L	T		
								$	

Additional agreements relative to soil conservation and capital improvements: _____

_____

_____

GOVERNMENT AGRICULTURAL PROGRAMS.—The farm will be operated in compliance with governmental programs as follows: _____

_____

_____

ADDITIONAL AGREEMENTS: _____

_____

_____

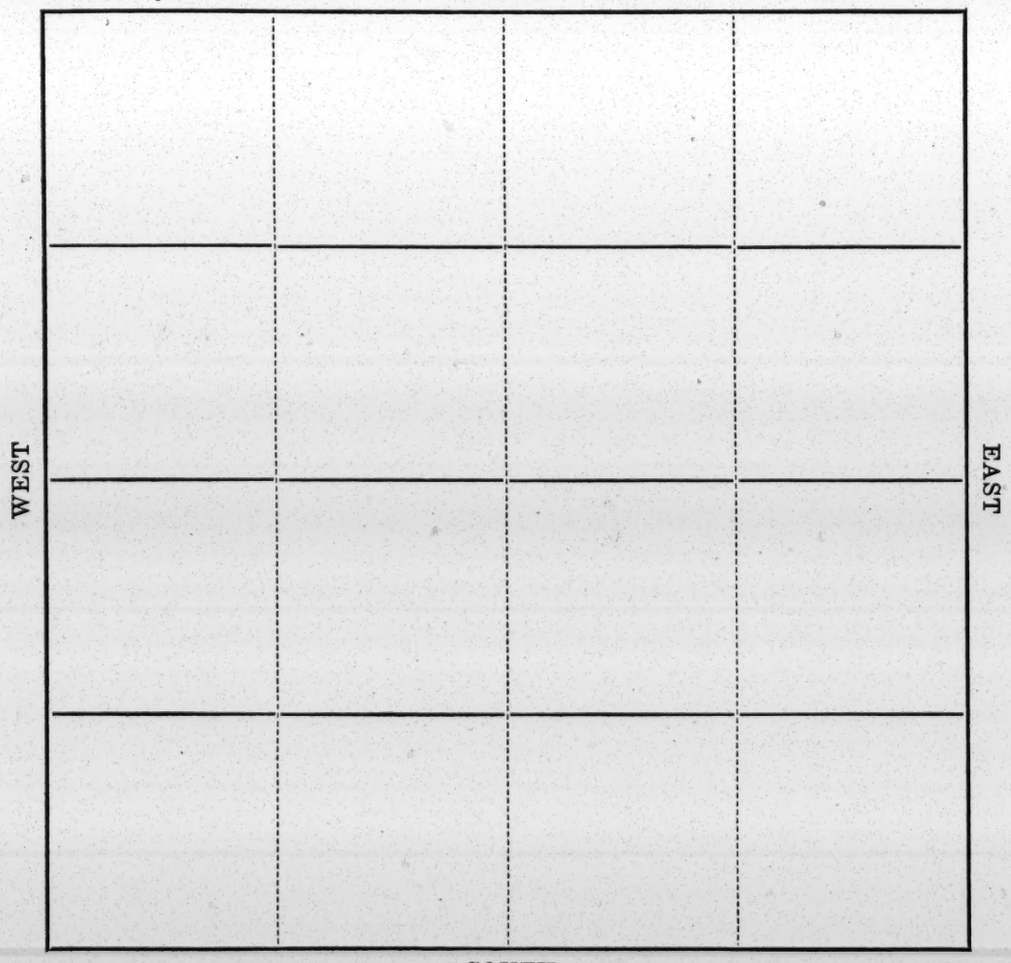
_____

_____

_____

MAP OF FARM: Year beginning _____, 19____

NORTH



SOUTH

WITNESSES AS TO BOTH SIGNATURES:

Signed this _____ day of _____, 19____

_____ _____ [SEAL]
(Landlord)

_____ _____ [SEAL]
(Tenant)

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—15191-1

X. Education and Equitable Contracts.

This proposal for new contracts freely entered into by the parties concerned places the responsibility for the stability of the enterprise and security of the parties on landlord and tenant. Its adoption appears to be feasible if the two recognize their common and mutual interests to be of greater importance than antagonistic self-seeking or temporary advantage. Its adoption would serve the common welfare better than would statutory legislation by the states impressing controls on them. A program of education is suggested in securing the adoption of this type of contract embodied in a written long-term lease. The various agricultural agencies--the Extension Service, Soil Conservation Service, Farmers Home Administration, Vocational Agricultural Education--all, might be enlisted in such a program of education. This educational program would be education in self-interest indistinguishable in this instance from the common good.

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RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

July 5, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue,N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear George:

I am back at Tuskegee in the process of becoming acclimatized again. An early session with you seems indicated as a part of my re-orientation. Let me know when we might talk, here or there.

Sincerely yours

Lewis

Lewis W. Jones

RECEIVED JUL 6 1956

July 18, 1956

Mr. Lewis Jones
Tuskegee Institute
Rural Life Council
P. O. Box 67
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Come ahead the 24th. We will get in some time together, and I will like it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dear George:

I am tentatively planning to come to talk with you in the afternoon of July 24th. If I am unable to get there I will let you know. Meanwhile let us plan to get to get together on the 24th.

Sincerely
Lewis.

7/16/56.

RECEIVED JUL 18 1956

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

COTTON MS.

Albert H. Cotton

Re. Farm land Tenure in South, and
legislative reforms

January 11, 1955

Mr. Lewis Jones
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Harold Fleming and I had talked over the 1954 report and reached some views on an alternative approach for later years. We started from the premise that the long series of Tuskegee reports is a most significant lever in moving public opinion, and we wanted Tuskegee to keep this effective force in full usefulness.

We thought the problem was to find a credible arithmetic measure of the degree of respect mustered in the South for equal human dignity. It seemed to us that the workable measure was violence used on grounds of race against human rights. We thought of three ready fields in which the sheer number of incidents would furnish some measure of this respect for human dignity:

1. Bombings and other violence in housing matters
2. Violence and indignities visited upon persons by police officials where race was an obvious factor
3. Violence upon private citizens by private citizens where race is a factor.
4. Maybe incidents prevented, or punished for.

Of course there is the problem of weighing each such incident, but in a large number of incidents statistics begin to tell over the character of the individual items.

We thought that a measure of this kind ought to be convincing and significant in its changes from year to year.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

January 10, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Dr. Foster has not yet returned from India but he is expected before the end of the month. I anticipate that a conference of the committee on the report will be held with him to review it and the reactions to it. I should like for you to put in writing the criticisms and suggestions that you gave me verbally over the telephone for consideration at such a planning session. If you don't want to do that I shall proceed to report on them as I received them.

Now, about the pamphlet on leases. Would you dictate briefly your ideas about it if only in outline form so that in planning the writing of it I would take care to cover what you anticipate would be useful? I am beginning to bring material together for it.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

Lewis W. Jones
Acting Director

ns

JAN 11 1955

January 13, 1955

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Here's a one-sheet job on land tenure done for a Methodist group. I think it contains the essential points.

Among the items which ought to be covered in a pamphlet are:

Quite briefly, the historical way in which the South fell into the annual unwritten lease;

The trends and the statistics of land tenure for, say, eighty years back;

Such trends as can be discerned in the present turmoil of reorganization of land use and tenure;

Wastefulness of short-term tenure;

The way the annual unwritten lease fitted in with annual financing of the cotton crop;

The way it doesn't fit in with financing and production of livestock;

The effect of shaky tenure on community life -- churches, schools, and so on;

Examples where a number of communities have voluntarily shifted to better land tenure;

Maybe a paragraph on the business called "A Protestant Program for the Family Farm;

Land tenure and rural housing;

The possibility of a series of state statutes enacting statutory leases which would be held to be valid in the absence of legal contracts in customary terms;

Importance of compensation for unexhausted values of improvements;

Importance of arbitration on this point;

Possible use of local SCS districts as sources of impartial arbiters;

How could an educational campaign be organized? Extension, SCS, VOAG, FHA;

Any way to tie better leases in with ACP?;

Leases as a factor, statistically and otherwise, in the South.

I don't suppose a man would have to do all these points, but certainly some of them. What I would really like to see happen is a big educational campaign. I don't think we are going to get state enforcement of statutory leases. This country just doesn't work that way, but an educational campaign could do a tremendous amount of good.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

P.S.
I have always understood that the Extension Bulletins for various states do include brags about improvement in farm leasing practices in special communities. A review of these would be a good thing.

January 26, 1955

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Here is the MS that was done by a Virginia lawyer for us, several years ago. It is too legal, tedious, and at points intricate. But it has some useful data, and we are at liberty to make use of such parts of it as we paid Cotton to do the job.

Please guard with care, and be responsible for getting the MS back to us.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

May 24, 1955

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council
P. O. Box 67
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Man you did it! I am fifty-two and I never saw a manuscript change so much from one draft to another. For page after page of this new one you are hitting on all fours.

She has a few rough spots yet. I will try my hand at editing out some of them and will send it back to you. For instance, I think we could compress some of the latter part of the Ratchford bulletin from North Carolina. (How amazingly apropos it is!) And I think the transition from history along about pages 24, 25, and 26 to the modern changes drags some. But those are matters of editing.

One thing I raise that I think would contribute a lot to action. Can you find some extension bulletins about communities that have voluntarily gone over to decent tenure? And load in two, three, or four paragraphs about such communities?

Another small point is that I think there are many more states besides those you listed. Iowa and Idaho and what have you, they have issued bulletins about their problems of land tenure. I am pretty sure Kentucky has, and I think South Carolina has, though they may be old. I should think somebody in one of the libraries available to you could turn up all the references. Don't load for the learned look -- I would only list the ones that look like they were behaving modernly.

You rejoice me in this smooth hard meaningful prose.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc & incoming ms. to HCF

May 18, 1955

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

If you haven't already got one, you ought to send off to the Secretary's Office at the Department of Agriculture in Washington and get a copy of the report called "Development of Agriculture's Human Resources; A Report on Problems of Low-Income Farmers." I am much heartened by its evidence of fresh and courageous thinking.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

June 7, 1955

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

I think you and I talked a little about a notion I had of digging out the dope you and others got together on the six sample counties -- 1934 -- and doing them all again.

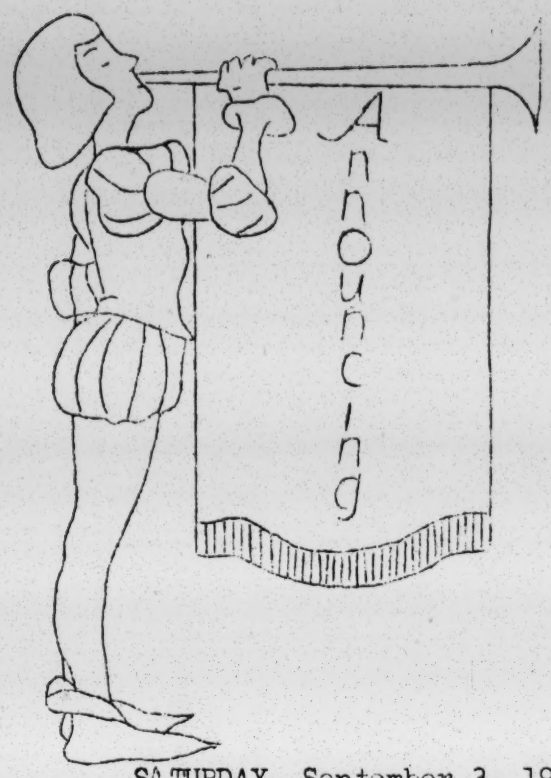
I see little likelihood that money would be found to do the whole thing. But I think it quite likely that money could be found for two or even three fellowships which would enable appropriate students, assisted by some moderate clerical personnel, to review the situation in two or three of the counties.

Does this strike any sparks?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.



THE 4th TRIENNIAL - JOINT MEETING
OF THE REGIONS
and the
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE TUSKEGEE
GENERAL ALUMNI ASSOCIATION

- - - -

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

September 3-4-5, 1955

* * *

FRIDAY, September 2, 1955 -

8:00 to 10:00 pm. OPEN HOUSE AND BUFFET for all early arrivals.

SATURDAY, September 3, 1955:

8:30 a.m. REGISTRATION: All registrations etc., will be at Dorothy Hall - 'phone 760. This will be Convention Headquarters during the meeting.

10:00 a.m. OPENING SESSION: All Club and Regional representatives and other official delegates will be expected to be present at this meeting to make necessary reports.

12:30 p.m. LUNCHEON MEETING with Speaker.

2:00 p.m. SEPARATE MEETINGS OF REGIONS: Space will be provided for each Region to gather for the transaction of any and all special Regional business.

4:30 p.m. TOUR OF CAMPUS AND VETERANS HOSPITAL:

7:30 p.m. KEYNOTE SESSION and address.

9:30 p.m. SOCIAL SESSION:

SUNDAY, September 4, 1955:

10:00 a.m. MEMORIAL SERVICE AND MEETING OF THE GENERAL ALUMNI ASSOCIATION.

12:30 p.m. OFFICIAL PICTURE: at the Booker T. Washington Monument and placing of Wreath on Grave of Founder.

2:00 p.m. GENERAL SESSION and Panel Discussion.

4:30 p.m. VISIT TO GEORGE W. CARVER MUSEUM

7:00 p.m. PLENARY SESSION:

9:30 p.m. INFORMAL RECEPTION:

MONDAY, September 5, 1955:

9:30 a.m. CLOSING SESSION:

12:00 noon OLD FASHION BARBECUE:

Both the Southern Region and the Tuskegee Local Club are working hard to arrange a most interesting and enjoyable meeting. We urge your cooperation, attendance and participation.

TIME is important. Please get your reservation card in right away, and send copy and other data for the Souvenir Program NOW!!!

WHEN YOU REACH THE CAMPUS, GO DIRECTLY TO DOROTHY HALL.

July 7, 1956

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

The first time I am around for any reasonable time is Monday and Tuesday July 23rd and 24th. I am also around Monday the 30th and Tuesday the 31st of July. Love to see you if you came over either of those times.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

NS

July 9, 1953

Mr. Ernest E. Neal, Director
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Ernest:

That all sounds good to me. If we've still got ten cents when your manuscript is ready, I should think that after we have had a chance to look it over, we would quite probably want to publish it.

There is so little that is available on the whole question of what has happened, and your final manuscript ought to tell us real things.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

P. S. Nice part of it is you're going to come over here and talk with us!

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

July 7, 1953

RECEIVED
JUL 8

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Hy Lewis told me that he reported to you on the recent conference held at Tuskegee about the Land Grant College-TVA social studies project. Hy said that you expressed an interest in possible publication of the final report of this study. In view of your apparent interest I think I will proceed to develop the final draft of the study, bring it over to Atlanta, and we will spend a day discussing it as a possible publication of the Southern Regional Council. Originally, we had planned to publish it ourselves, but we have a much smaller publication fund and a smaller distribution list. It may be that we could develop a bulletin similar to the one that Arthur Raper prepared a few years ago entitled, "Machines in the South." It probably will be about two months before I will have the report in its final form.

Sincerely yours,

Ernest

Ernest E. Neal
Director

EEN/c

August 20, 1957

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
P. O. Box 67
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

I have just talked with Dr. Robert Shanley at Oglethorpe University and the prospect of your working out something with him looks very promising. He is completing his summer teaching stint this week and will be free for the ensuing month. He was very much interested in what I could tell him of the project and will be looking forward to hearing from you further about it.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

Lewis Jones called - A.M. 8/14
in to send additional material,
was told that, regretfully,
no decision could be made
until 8/19 when HCT returned.

Promised HCT would
contact on 8/19.

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

August 12, 1957

Ph. 1500
ext. 215

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are undertaking an opinion poll in the Tuskegee community as a part of a sociological study of the developments here. We want a more exhaustive study than the impressionistic studies done by the ADL. In the course of doing this we will come out with a report comparable to those of ADL but we hope for considerably more.

The Phelps Stokes Fund through Dr. F. D. Patterson made available to us sufficient funds for the more intensive systematic poll. Dr. Paul Foreman at the University of Alabama is unofficially collaborating on the undertaking and has recruited white pollsters. I have discussed the matter with Bob Hughes who is interested but just now may not participate actively. Also, I talked with Irving Schulman and there is prospect of limited ADL funds.

We now have two major problems that perhaps you can help us with. We are desperately in need of a sponsor in whose name the white interviewers can be identified. Tuskegee Institute itself can't, the University of Alabama can't, ADL feels its sponsorship would be a handicap rather than a help, Dr. Patterson feels that his relationship to Phelps Stokes would be a hindrance. He suggested that we approach you about having SRC sponsor the investigators. I talked with Paul this morning and he agreed that while SRC may not be acceptable auspicies for some white informants, it was perhaps the best we could get, if we can get it. Will you think about it and telephone me sometime Tuesday or Wednesday morning? Paul is to be here Wednesday for discussions preliminary to his former students going ahead on the poll.

We need a senior white interviewer who could undertake some special interviewing of selected white leadership and be the chief representative of the study in the white community. The month of August appears to be the worst possible time to secure such a person. Paul and Lewis Killian can find no such person for this period. Do you know of any such person in Atlanta who might come in for a couple of days each week if not full time in such a capacity? We have funds to pay for this service. If

you have any suggestions I would appreciate them when you call.

I talked with Charles Gomillion this morning and I was to telephone but I believe that this letter is better since it permits a more concise and coherent explanation.

Please telephone in any circumstance and I certainly hope that you may find it convenient to give us this much needed aid.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis W. Jones.

Lewis W. Jones
Director

LWJ:mh

MEMORANDUM

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This schedule may help in considering our project. There also a definitive Chronology being developed. Rumor collection and general descriptive material. This polling is our immediate problem as my letter indicated.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis Wade Jones

Sorry I couldn't get a copy to you in time to have when you see Mr. Fleming this week-end.

LEWIS WADE JONES

Tuskegee Study

OPINION POLL

This study seeks to find out how people who have lived in this community feel about recent happenings that have disturbed the relations between the races. Whatever happens to the city limits of Tuskegee and the boundaries of Macon County, people who live here will continue to occupy their homes and go about their affairs. Regardless of what legislators and spokesmen for organized groups say about things that have happened or may happen, the opinions of the people who want to enjoy their lives in peace are important. For that reason the opinions of a cross-section of the citizens are sought in this study.

1. Do you believe that the trouble in Tuskegee might have been avoided? Yes No
   If Yes, How could it have been avoided?

   If No, Why could it not have been avoided?

2. What event, incident, or information made you aware of serious disagreement between white people and Negroes?

3. At that time what did you think the cause of disagreement to be?

4. Is that the major problem now? Yes No

   If No, What is the major problem now?

5. When did you learn about the re-drawing of the City Limits of Tuskegee?

6. At that time did you Approve, Disapprove, or were Undecided about the change?
7. Has your opinion about this changed? Yes No
   If Yes, Do you now Approve, Disapprove, or are Undecided?
8. Were Negroes justified in boycotting Tuskegee merchants? Yes No Undecided.
9. How long did you expect the boycott to last when it began?
10. How long do you expect it to last now?
11. Do you believe Negroes will resume trading with Tuskegee merchants? Yes No.
12. What would encourage them to resume trading in Tuskegee?
    If no specific answer, probe - Concessions or force?

13. Would you approve of these actions being taken? All Some None.
    If Some, Which ones?

14. The following actions have been taken or proposed during the controversy. How do you feel about them?

	Agree	Disagree	Undecided
a. Re-drawing the Tuskegee City Limits.			
b. Abolition of Macon County.	"	"	"
c. Prevention of Negroes incorporating a city of their own.	"	"	"
d. Attorney General's Investigation.	"	"	"
e. Injunction against the Tuskegee Civic Association.	"	"	"

15. In what organizations in which you participate have these issues been discussed? Church, Social Clubs, Civic Organizations, Political Organizations.
16. Was there difference of opinion in these discussions? Explain briefly.

17. Do your friends and associates agree with the position you take on them?
All Most Some None.
18. Should a racial group maintain a united front in a controversy like this one whether individuals agree or not? Yes No Undecided
Why do you think so?

19. Has anyone attempted to change your opinions? Explain.

20. Have you tried to change the opinions of others? Explain.

21. What Negroes have you talked with about the boycott, voting, the city limits:
Servants Employees Customers, Others: _____ _____ _____

22. Did they agree disagree or were evasive?

23. Who are the leaders in Tuskegee and Macon County:
White Negro

24. What persons or organizations do you feel have agitated the situation?

25. What in your opinion have been their motives?

26. Are there Negro and hite persons who could get together and discuss the present situation? Yes No
27. If Yes, Why have they not done so?

Personal Data

Sex: M F, Age Group: 20-30, 30-40, 40-60, Over 60. Occupation _____

Years live in Tuskegee _____ Previous place of residence _____

Trading Habits Indicate between January and June by (A) Since June by (B)

Place Traded	Frequency	Major Purchases
Union Springs	Weekly	Food
Montgomery	Bi-weekly	Clothing
Auburn	Monthly	Services
Opelika	Occasionally	_____
Columbus		
Atlanta		_____
Elsewhere:		
_____		_____
_____		Furniture
		Other:
		_____
		_____

Newspapers and Magazines read

Atlanta Constitution
Montgomery Advertiser
Birmingham News

_____

_____

_____

_____

August 29, 1957

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council - Box 67
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Congratulations on your successful negotiations with the Bishop. That was a notable achievement.

I will be looking forward to the valuable results of your survey.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED AUG 27 1957

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

August 26, 1957

Dr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I kept my fingers crossed to the very end, and Saturday a letter came from the Bishop with cards to be used by the white interviewers. I sent him a model to which he added:

"Because of my deep concern for interracial harmony and concord, I am interested in this study and hope that full cooperation in determining the true facts may be had." My associates here are surprised that I should have succeeded in involving the Bishop.

The news about Stanley is good. I am writing to him at this time. I had to be in Nashville on Friday and Saturday and did not get to do so before. Thanks for your interest and cooperation, and I shall be informing you as to our results here.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

Lewis W. Jones

September 5, 1957

Mr. Lewis Jones
Rural Life Council - Box 67
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

I am sure your decision as to Dr. Shanley was a wise one. My personal acquaintance with him is very limited. I knew only that his study of the Georgia League of Women Voters had won a good bit of acclaim and that he has had more than the normal amount of experience with human relations agencies. I must say, that after my conversation with him on this specific matter, my reaction was much the same as yours.

We were very much interested in Bob Hughes' report on the Tuskegee power structure. I agree that further analysis of this kind could be very valpable.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LEWIS WADE JONES

Dear Harold:

I am without a secretary for these few days and apologize for my troublesome script.

I have just finished talking to Dr. Shoaley. He said that he had discussed with you my proposal to him. Since he is a political scientist, I thought perhaps that we could move ahead on this aspect of the study which I was planning to seek aid from Alex Heard on.

From his conversation I got the impression that he is rather young and lacking in field experience. He wanted to tell me what information I couldn't get where years ago I discovered that I can get any information that is available. The question of <u>how</u> is the one that sometimes is difficult to answer. It was immediately evident that he is unequal to the task of such a field operation.

LEWIS WADE JONES

I shall go aboard with my guest for a person who will go to these people and talk with them. So far as I know there is no thorough study of such groups as a Board of Registrars and a County Democratic Committee that places their membership in the community and analyzes the forces playing on them to influence their exercise of the powers they have.

You have no doubt seen Bob Hughes report on the community power structure here. What I want to do now is to follow the process by which this power flows through these agencies.

I told Shanley that he need not curtail his vacation to spend 10 days here but I would like to talk with him when he returns.

I am keeping my fingers crossed that the encouragement of Bishop Carpenter's sponsorship is not discovered until the ballots are done.

Sincerely,

Lewis.

29 August 1957

January 5, 1959

Mr. Lewis W. Jones
Rural Life Council
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

Dear Lewis:

Every once in a while, staff members of some of the region-wide organizations concerned with human relations get together for an off-the-record discussion. Hallock Hoffman was evidently referring to one of these sessions which is to take place soon.

Adam Yarmolinsky did express an interest in coming, in his role of philanthropoid, but the latest word is that he can't make it. If he changes his plans again and decides to come, I will call or write you, so that you can make arrangements to see him in Atlanta.

All good wishes for 1959.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Just learned that I am to see Yarmolinsky in New York City tomorrow. I'll find out for sure whether he's coming and suggest he let you know when he can see you.

HCF

RURAL LIFE COUNCIL

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

Dear Harold:

Hallock Hoffman wrote me about a visit by Adam Yarmolinsky to Atlanta in January in connection with a conference on race relations. Hallock assumed that I knew about the conference which I do not. Can you tell me anything about it and the persons through whom to wangle an invitation? Hallock and Yarmolinsky have talked and Hallock told me that Yarmolinsky wanted to talk to me at the time of his visit to Atlanta.

Any information you can give me will be appreciated.

Happy New Year!

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

Lewis W. Jones

12/30/58

LEWIS WADE JONES

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your note. I will be at Brawnstead Hall, Atlanta University to see Mr. Yarmolinsky at 5:00 P.M. Tuesday, the 13th.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis

1/10/59

JA 3

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH

RECEIVED
AUG 15
Southern Regional Council

August 14, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 10. The sum of $150 will be satisfactory with us. I believe that the point of view of the Council will be a most valuable contribution to the Year Book. Your cooperation in letting us have your manuscript as soon as possible would be greatly appreciated. I think I mentioned the fact that the entire manuscript has to be in the hands of the publishers within six months. If you could send yours in November, it would be a great help.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman
Director

August 10, 1951

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman, Director
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

Thank you for your letter of August 4. We will do the article.

If the Council were in ordinary circumstances, we would gladly do the article for free, and be grateful for the opportunity to take part. But we are terribly broke and stripped to the barest minimum of staff—below that even. So if you think it would be worth somewhere around $150, the Council's budget would be in that way helped quite a lot.

Is that all right?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH

RECEIVED
AUG 6 1951
Southern Regional Council

August 4, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

This comes to thank you for your letter of July 30 and to express appreciation for the fact that you will become a contributor to the Negro Year Book 1952.

The article that you outline, it seems to me, would give the type of information that people would want to know. When they think in terms of Race Relations they usually think in terms of what is happening in the Southern States anyway. So "Progress and Problems in Race Relations in the Southern States" is quite agreeable.

Will you let me know about the compensation. Thank you so much.

Very truly yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman
Director

July 30, 1951

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman
Department of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

We are delighted that you have already prospects of getting at another issue of the Negro Year Book. And we are flattered that you turn to us for a section of it.

We are so reduced in staff that we do not feel able to take over the whole broad section outlined in your letter. We could do a good, meaty article on "Progress and Problems in Race Relations in the Southern States." That would run to perhaps forty typewritten pages. It would cover churches, schools, colleges, labor organizations, business practice, professional associations, municipal employment, police administration, race in the news, penalties in the courts of law, and so on. It would show the many points at which segregation is breaking down. It would then point up, from such 1950 figures as might be available, the outstanding remaining inequalities.

We have pretty good file material from which to do an article of that kind. But we are not equipped to do a comprehensive job on race relations for the country as a whole. Consider, for an example, how complicated a matter is the single subject of race relations in Chicago!

If there would be usefulness in the book of such an article, let us know, and we could talk then about estimates of the man hours it would take to put it together.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

July 25, 1951

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

We have been fortunate enough to secure Wise and Company of New York to publish the next edition of the Negro Year Book. The plan now is to bring the volume out annually.

Because of the suddenness of developments in connection with publication, Wise and Company expect the manuscript to be in their hands within six months. As with the last edition, we desire and need contributions over and above what our small staff here can do.

Race Relations is one of the basic subjects and we feel that having a contribution on this subject from the Southern Regional Council would not only be timely but would enhance the value of the book.

The emphasis will be on what actually happened in 1951, making the data as concise but as inclusive as possible. However, since the years 1947-1950 are so momentous in the life of the Negro, most likely it will be necessary to go back some in order to make the data for 1951 intelligible.

Tentatively, we have assigned twenty printed pages or sixty pages of typewritten manuscript to the division. Would it be possible for you or a member of your personnel whom you may designate to prepare the data for this division?

As we expect to bring the book out each year, we would certainly hope for a continuing relationship with the Southern Regional Council as contributor. Will you kindly let me know if it will be possible for you to make the contribution as indicated and also what compensation would be expected.

A suggestive outline is enclosed. You may feel free to make any deletions or additions, as you see fit.

Your cooperation in this effort would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman
Director

RACE RELATIONS

1. Earth's Population by Races, 1951
2. Status of Negro-White Relations in the United States, 1951
   a. Statement Concerning Progress in
      (1) Notable Indications of Improvement in
   b. Statement Concerning Lag in Negro-White Relations
      (1) Notable Cases of Discrimination
3. The Ku Klux Klan and the Negro
4. Agencies Promoting Better Race Relations
5. Other Important Data

Note: The following topics are also being included:

Population
Some Achievements, 1951
Agriculture
Business
Labor and Industry
Health and Vital Statistics
Housing
Crime
Social Welfare
Education
Church and Religion
Politics and Government
Civil Rights and the Negro
The Negro Press
The Armed Forces
Sports
The Theatre, Etc.
The Negro and the United Nations
Necrology
The Negro in Africa
The Negro in Europe
The Negro in the West Indies
Bibliography

November 28, 1951

Mrs. Jessie P. Guzman
Dept. of Records and Research
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

Dear Mrs. Guzman:

We are working hard on your article, but it's going to be several weeks yet before it will be done.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

HCF

Tuskegee Institute

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE
ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF RECORDS AND RESEARCH

November 24, 1951

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

This comes to remind you that you promised to let us have your contribution to the Negro Year Book in November. Our own deadline is so close and we are under such pressure for time that I thought it wise to write you at this time to let you know we are still expecting it at the time stated.

We sincerely appreciate your cooperation in preparing the materials on race relations for the coming edition of this volume.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie P. Guzman

(Mrs.) Jessie P. Guzman
Director

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NAIRO Reporter

Vol. II No. 2 November, 1951

Events and Trends in Intergroup Relations

Published monthly except August and September by the
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS

P.O. Box 275, Cathedral Sta., New York 25, N. Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 5-1606

Intergroup Relations in Review: Recent Trends and Tendencies

About This Issue

At a time when world tensions are mounting and the outcome of the struggle between the free world and the slave world depends so greatly upon who wins the support of disadvantaged peoples of Asia and Africa, intergroup relations in America are as never before a factor in deciding the future. This issue of NAIRO Reporter *is an attempt to gauge where we stand in intergroup relations today.*

Unlike previous issues of NAIRO Reporter, *which have presented articles on various particular subjects, together with brief notes on current happenings, this one seeks to convey an impression of recent trends and developments in the whole field of intergroup relations.*

To this end, we present a series of brief sketches under various subject headings. Departing again from the regular style of presentation, these sketches include evaluation and criticism, and are not confined strictly to factual reporting.

The aim has been to compile in brief, readable, informative form a kind of informal balance sheet of intergroup relations as of the fall of 1951.

Fair Employment Practices

Principal developments in the area of fair employment practices during the past year were: (1) a virtual abandonment of attempts to obtain enactment of a federal FEP law in the present Congress and a shift to demands for a Presidential order establishing a fair employment practice commission; (2) a series of unsuccessful efforts to put FEP laws on state statute books; (3) a spurt, on the other hand, of local FEP ordinances; (4) an increasing recourse to public hearings and cease and desist orders by state FEP commissions.

FEP Stymied in Congress

The composition of the 82nd Congress was clearly not conducive to optimism on the part of FEP advocates, and it early became apparent that the Congress was in the control of a coalition of old-line Republicans and Southern Democrats that would stop at nothing to defeat FEP. Meanwhile, the emergency situation created by international developments resulted in some immediate manpower shortages and threatened many potentially more serious. As long ago as July, 1948, the President by executive order had created a Fair Employment Board to administer the federal procedures assuring equality of employment opportunity and treatment in governmental employment; and on February 2, 1951, he had authorized the Defense and Commerce Departments to police a requirement that all government contracts contain a clause providing that the contractor will not practice employment discrimination. However, no machinery has been established for the enforcement of the latter requirement. The President now was urged by labor, civic and religious leaders to create a fair employment practice commission like that of World War II. (See *NAIRO Reporter,* Vol. I, No. 5.) The White House had not acted at press time.

FEP bills were introduced in seventeen state legislatures during 1951. Only one passed—in Colorado—and the regulatory features of that one apply only to public employment. Efforts to add enforcement powers to existing Wisconsin and

(continued page 2, column 1)

Housing Discrimination

Last summer's rioting in Cicero, Illinois, when a Negro veteran tried to move with his wife into an apartment in the always exclusively white community, has overshadowed virtually all other developments on the housing front. This shocking event and the even more shocking action of the Cook County grand jury which found indictments against the owner of the apartment house, her rental agent and her lawyer on charges of conspiring to injure property are unquestionably symptomatic of deeply fixated prejudices which need to be understood before they can be overcome. But they should not lead to a disregard of the positive developments in recent months in housing discrimination.

New Ordinances

Some of these were reviewed in *NAIRO Reporter* last May (Vol. I, No. 3), where the enactment of ordinances prohibiting discrimination in public and publicly assisted housing projects by a number of major cities was noted. Cincinnati, Ohio and Pasco, Washington, have since adopted similar ordinances; and Los Angeles has expanded applicability of its ordinance to the "use of any land owned by the County."

Federal housing authorities are tending to recognize more and more the responsibility of the federal housing agencies to protect the equal rights of minorities. In a recent Housing and Home Finance Agency Newsletter, it was announced that "FHA is now moving to withdraw its sanctions from racially covenanted properties to insure sales to Negroes by willing sellers in white blocks or neighborhoods and make extensive commitments for the development of projects open to white and Negro tenants or owners." Specific regulations to implement this declaration are being looked for hopefully by proponents of complete equality in housing, while other reforms are being pressed in negotiations with federal housing officials.

The federal housing agencies are studying recommendations of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Hous-

(continued page 2, column 2)

Indiana statutes, essentially educational measures, were unsuccessful.*

In California, the state's attorney general issued a formal opinion that the California Employment Stabilization Commission has power to (1) investigate racial and religious discrimination in employment, (2) inspect records of employers, labor unions and employment agencies in connection with such investigations, and (3) conduct hearings, issue subpoenas and cooperate with other state agencies and community organizations in the conduct of such investigatory activities.

FEP Ordinances

At the end of 1950, FEP ordinances were in effect in twelve cities.† By the time this issue of *NAIRO Reporter* went to press the number had risen to twenty-four. Nine of the communities to adopt FEP this year were in Ohio—Akron, Campbell, Girard, Hubbard, Lowellville, Lorain, Niles, Steubenville, and Warren—making a total of thirteen FEP cities in that state. The other three new FEP ordinances this year were in Farrell, Pa., Sharon, Pa., and Sioux City, Iowa.

Public Hearings

The increase during the past year in the number of public hearings conducted by several state commissions which have regulatory powers is especially noteworthy.‡ In Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York and Oregon, public hearings were held, all of which resulted in the issuance of cease and desist orders. (See *NAIRO Reporter*, Vol. II, No. 1, for a summary.)

Back Pay, Job Reinstatement, Etc.

In addition to a demonstrated readiness to invoke the public hearing process, the several commissions also indicate an increase in the frequency with which they include in their conciliation agreements such provisions as back pay, job rehirings, job reinterviews and reinstatements, and other affirmative provisions. The New York State Commission Against Discrimination in the case of John B. Clark, a Negro Merchant Marine officer, who charged that he had been discharged from his employment by a shipping corporation because of his race, arranged a conciliation agreement whereby the respondent agreed to pay the complainant $4,000 in back pay and to undertake other positive measures to acquaint its supervisory and work force with the provisions of the law.

In Connecticut, pursuant to a policy of requiring employers to give jobs to those against whom they are found to have discriminated, the Connecticut Commission ordered the employment of eighty-one complainants and the re-employment of eight as parts of complaint settlements.

Illustrative of the Massachusetts Commission's experience in the use of the back pay provision in a conciliation agreement was a case wherein the allegations of a railroad laborer that he had been discriminated against on account of his color were sustained. A thirty-eight-day period during which the man might have been employed by the company was used as a basis for the final award, which amounted to $125.

*Eleven states now have FEP laws. The states are Wisconsin, Indiana, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington and Colorado.

†Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Phoenix, Richmond (Cal.), Cleveland, Youngstown, Monesson (Pa.), Gary (Ind.), Struthers (Ohio).

‡COMPLAINTS ALLEGING DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT—JULY 1, 1951

State	*FEP Law Effective*	*Administrative Agency*	*Total No. of Complaints Received*
New York	July 1, 1945	Commission Against Discrimination	1959
New Jersey	July 1, 1945	Div. Against Discrimination, Dept. of Ed.	693
Massachusetts	Aug. 21, 1946	Commission Against Discrimination	675
Connecticut	May 15, 1947	Civil Rights Commission	254
New Mexico	June 10, 1949	Fair Employment Practices Commission	4 (Note a)
Washington	June 19, 1949	Bd. Against Discrimination in Employment	71
Rhode Island	July 1, 1949	Commisison for Fair Employment Practices	29
Oregon	July 18, 1949	Fair Employment Practices Division, Bureau of Labor	43

(Note a): June 1949 to Sept. 1950

Housing (continued)

ing relating to (1) the development of site selection procedures (which would eliminate the real fear that slum clearance might become Negro clearance in many cities); (2) the development of relocation procedures to protect minority families displaced by slum clearance and public housing operations; and (3) the development of procedures for coordination at both federal and local levels of all federal housing programs, including private housing insured by FHA.

Restrictive Covenants Unenforceable

The courts, both state and federal, have reaffirmed the Supreme Court ruling on unenforceability of restrictive covenants and have circumvented various oblique attacks upon that ruling. The National Association of Real Estate Boards last January dropped from its Code of Ethics the prohibition against introducing into a neighborhood a ". . . race which will clearly be detrimental to property values. . . ."

Unfortunately, the prejudices nurtured in the public mind during all the years that segregation was regarded by many educators, government officials, economists, realtors, and banking institutions as the essential requisite to the maintenance of property values have not been erased. Riots such as the shameful one at Cicero are the inevitable result. Attorney General McGrath has set a federal grand jury to sifting the Cicero case. Already the indictments have been dismissed. But the underlying causes of the Cicero violence remain largely unaffected.

Problem Area is Private Housing

In public and publicly assisted housing, the extension of such frontal attacks on segregation as those which have been so successfully made in Newark, N.J., in New York, Philadelphia, Seattle, Pittsburgh and elsewhere hold much promise. But the great emergent problem is how to deal with segregation and other forms of discrimination in housing that is wholly private in ownership. So long as this problem remains unsolved, the prospect of housing equality for the overwhelming majority of our people remains remote; for in the foreseeable future only a relative handful will find homes in projects under government sponsorship or publicly owned.

However, what has been accomplished in the projects mentioned demonstrates that a bold, determined, direct assault upon patterns of segregation can go far toward discrediting the prejudice on which it rests. Such programs carry within themselves the promise of full-scale intervention of governmental authority at all levels to make equality in housing a reality.

Educational Discrimination

While the Southern system of segregated education of Negroes and whites is breaking down at an accelerating pace on the university level under the impact of the Supreme Court decisions, it gives every appearance of becoming more entrenched at the elementary and high school levels.

Hundreds of Negroes attended university classes with whites last year. This fall the Negro enrollment probably was larger and additional institutions let down the barriers. However, resistance remained obdurate in some quarters. In Georgia, an appropriation bill was passed in the 1951 session of the legislature providing for the improvement of segregated Negro public schools; and also providing that if Negroes were admitted to a white school, the school would lose all state funds; and that if any court were to abolish segregation in Georgia, all common school funds for the entire state would be cut off. The latter proviso applies also to state-supported institutions of higher learning in Georgia.

Southern States Resistant

Governor Byrnes of South Carolina and Governor Wright of Mississippi were equally insistent upon maintaining segregation barriers. In other southern states, the Supreme Court rulings were applied reluctantly. Qualified Negro applicants to the University of Virginia Law School had to secure a court order for their admission; in Delaware, Negroes had to demonstrate in a court proceeding that facilities at Dover State College for Negroes were "grossly inferior" to those of the University of Delaware before they could gain admittance. There were court cases, as well, in Maryland, Tennessee, and North Carolina—which resulted, in effect, in affirmation by the lower courts of what the Supreme Court already had stated.

High Court Ruling on Segregation Sought

The NAACP, primary instrumentality in pressing for equal educational facilities in previous years, turned its strategy toward seeking a Supreme Court ruling on the constitutionality of segregation per se. Thus far, the Court has skirted this issue. Lower federal courts in South Carolina and in Kansas have upheld segregation in public schools—provided the facilities actually are equal.

Meanwhile, fair educational practices legislation was extended elsewhere. New York State's law was extended in March of this year to cover business and trade schools. Oregon, in April, made it illegal for "vocational, professional, and trade schools" to discriminate either in admissions or in the type of instruction given, against any person because of his race, color, religion, or national origin. Fair educational practices laws failed of enactment in California and Connecticut.

Effectiveness Uncertain

In states which already had fair educational practices laws—New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts—the administrators were mainly concerned with educating the public concerning their rights under this form of legislation. But individuals were slow in bringing complaints and administrators, where empowered to do so, were reluctant to make inquiries into situations in which discrimination was suspected to exist. Moreover, it was difficult to determine how effective these laws were in reducing discrimination.

Interest and concern by educational leaders in discrimination in higher education was evidenced by their participation in a number of conferences. The American Council on Education, with the cooperation of the Anti-Defamation League, conducted a two-day session in Chicago on November 3, 1950, attended by 175 educators from about 75 colleges and universities in the midwestern area. Members of the Mountain States Committee on Discriminations in Higher Education met on March 6, 1951, while a National Student Conference on Discrimination in Higher Education convened on March 29, 1951, at Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. At all these conferences, discrimination was deplored and plans laid to eliminate it.

Fraternities Dropping Discrimination

There was a continued movement among fraternities to lower racial and religious barriers to membership. Several campus chapters surrendered their charters, either voluntarily or under threat of punitive action by university authorities. Some national charters were amended. The liberalizing movement was sparked by undergraduates, with alumni tending to defend existing exclusionist criteria.

Discrimination in Armed Forces

Equality of treatment of all races in the armed forces, as ordered by President Truman in July, 1948 (see *NAIRO Reporter,* Vol. I, No. 4), has not yet been achieved but some strides have been taken recently by the various services toward racial integration.

Air Force and Navy Records

The Air Force has made the greatest advances. In March, 1951, the *Air Force Times* disclosed that 95% of all Negroes in the Air Force were assigned to mixed units. Airmen in general are assigned in accordance with their ability without regard to their race or religion. However, Negroes comprise only 0.6% of the officers and 5.6% of the enlisted men. It would appear that the small number of Negro personnel is due to some flaw in the recruitment process.

In the Navy and Marine Corps, as a Navy spokesman announced last March, "We have no segregation but we haven't hit the millennium yet." This may be regarded as a press relations euphemism for the fact that, while Negroes are integrated, the Navy has only 19 Negro officers and about 3% Negro enlisted personnel, more than 50% of whom are still in the steward's branch.

Army Practices

Of all the service branches, the Army has the highest percentage of Negro personnel. (11.7% of Army enlisted personnel and 2.1% of the officer complement are Negroes.) Some Negro soldiers are in completely integrated units, others in completely segregated units. In March, the Army announced that its training centers were racially integrated, although "racial integrity" has been maintained "in some" combat units. Current assignment practice still makes it probable that once a Negro recruit has gone through the integrated training centers he will be assigned to an all-Negro unit.

Last spring another aspect of Army discrimination was disclosed by Thurgood Marshall, NAACP special counsel. After an on-the-scene investigation, Mr. Marshall reported that Negro

soldiers were discriminated against in court-martial proceedings in Korea. Sentences were subsequently reduced in some cases, appeals are pending in others; and following the disclosures and the breakdown of segregation which has since taken place, the general situation has bettered.

Segregation Ending in Far East

General MacArthur at the time disclaimed responsibility for the segregation of Negro troops in Korea, declaring that he used troops as the War Department supplied them, whether in integrated or segregated units. However, after he was relieved the Army reported that experience had shown that Negro soldiers in combat "serve more effectively in integrated units." It was then announced that all segregation in the entire Far East Command would be eliminated within six months. Authority to issue similar orders rests with all area commanders.

Two Congressional items merit mention. In April, a provision to grant all draftees the right to request service in a unit composed only of members of their own race was defeated, after the Senate in March had turned down a proposal to amend the military training bill to make it a federal offense to commit an act of assault or mob violence against a uniformed member of the Armed Forces.

Public Accommodations and Transportation

Although at least twenty-four states have statutes prohibiting either discrimination in places of public accommodation or discriminatory advertising by such places or both, the laws are as often breached as observed, and authorities are reluctant to prosecute violators because public sentiment is widely regarded as being on their side rather than on the side of the law.

Innovations in Administration

The most significant recent trend in this connection has been the vesting of responsibility for enforcing non-discrimination laws in administrative agencies like FEP commissions. (See the article in this issue on Official Human Relations Agencies.)

This new administrative machinery is proving useful. In New Jersey, the Division Against Discrimination received 108 formal complaints of discrimination in places of public accommodation in the first twenty-seven months of its operation in this area.* In Connecticut, the State Commission on Civil Rights received over 79 complaints in the same general area in two years. (This number includes complaints against discrimination in public housing.) In Massachusetts, the Commission Against Discrimination received or processed 24 matters under the public accommodations and age provisions of its law up to November 30, 1950.

Progress in Border States

Segregation of races in places of public accommodation is still the established pattern in the South, but some progress may be reported, particularly in the border states. Maryland repealed a law enacted in 1904, which required segregation of races by railroad and steamboat companies. The Baltimore Park Board, on October 6, 1951, designated 24 athletic facilities for interracial use and ended segregation on the city's four golf courses. In a widely publicized decision, the Municipal Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia held valid and enforceable the long dormant Civil Rights Act originally passed in 1873 by the Legislative Assembly for the District of Columbia which made it a violation of law to refuse to serve "any well-behaved and respectable person" in restaurants, eating houses and similar establishments (D.C. *v.* Thompson Company, Inc.). The doctrine, established in 1946 by the United States Supreme Court, that racial segregation in interstate transportation constitutes an undue burden on interstate commerce and herefore violates the United States Constitution was adhered to and extended by federal courts (Chance *v.* Lambeth, 186 F 2d 879; Solomon *v.* Pennsylvania Railway Co., 96 F Supp. 709).

Referendum Lost in Portland

The only important setback in the drive for equality in public accommodations was not due to actions by legislatures or court decision but to a referendum. The city council of Portland, Oregon early in 1950 had overwhelmingly adopted a city ordinance guaranteeing equality of access to places of public accommodation without discrimination. Thereafter, opponents of the measure—consisting largely of tavern keepers and a few restaurant and hotel owners—formed a group to prevent the ordinance from taking effect. They succeeded in obtaining twice the number of signatures necessary for a petition requiring the city council to suspend the operation of the ordinance pending a city-wide referendum. At the November, 1950 elections, the ordinance was defeated by a margin of 76,000 to 61,000 after a campaign in which every possible appeal to latent prejudice was resorted to by opponents of the ordinance. A countervailing educational campaign by supporters of the ordinance failed to achieve its purpose. This experience once more underscores the importance of securing public support as a condition of acceptance and enforcement of civil rights measures.

Recourse to Licensing Agencies

Brief mention should be made of a novel attack on discriminatory treatment of restaurant patrons in New York City. There, as the result of an incident involving Josephine Baker, internationally known Negro entertainer, recourse has been had to state and city licensing agencies to seek revocation of the liquor and restaurant licenses of the famous Stork Club on the ground of breach of the civil rights laws.

Interreligious Relations

The torrent of emotion touched off by the President's (apparently abortive) appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican has afforded new insight into the depth of tension that still marks the relationship among the major religious communions. Opposition to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican has been heavily played up in the press; and in a way which makes it not always possible for the ordinary reader to differentiate between opposition reflect-

*See especially the account in *NAIRO Reporter*, Vol. II, No. 1, of the Hightstown N.J. swimming pool case.

ing an emotional animus toward Catholics and that reflecting real difference of basic conviction.

Conflict vs. Cooperation

Conflict always gets a better press than cooperation; it is more dramatic, and, consequently, by the usual standards, more newsworthy. The acrimony and the tendency to impute false motives which have characterized the public debate among religious groups on federal aid to schools and on released time programs have revealed the extent of the job that remains for the intergroup educator.

On the other hand, however, the disappearance of much of the old religious liberalism and of that easy tolerance which grew out of the idea that religious differences are unimportant, has given rise to a tendency for interreligious cooperation to be placed on a more sure foundation—that of the belief in the dignity of man which is at the heart of all our differing religious traditions.

In addition, the very crisis in world affairs which has made man seek for resources beyond himself has deepened a sense of common danger that makes it imperative for men of faith to stand together. In a growing number of communities throughout the nation, religious leaders are finding it increasingly possible and desirable to work together. Outside of the Protestant ecumenical movement, this cooperation is, for the most part, civic rather than religious. In community chests, in social service agencies, in the Red Cross, in civil defense groups, leaders of the groups have served side by side. In recent years this civic cooperation has had wider scope.

Working Together for Civil Rights

Catholic, Protestant and Jewish organizations and leaders have worked together for civil rights. The National Council of the Churches of Christ in America joined with the Synagogue Council of America in appealing to President Truman, along with civic and labor groups, for an Executive Order establishing an FEPC (see first article in this issue). The Catholic Church has been conspicuously progressive in its position on racial segregation in the South, both in regard to worship and in regard to parochial school admissions policies.

In CROP, the Christian Rural Overseas Program, in LARA, Licensed Agents for Relief in Asia, and in CRALOG, Council of Relief Agencies Licensed to Operate in Germany, religious agencies have worked together in harmony. Similarly, the resettlement programs in this country have brought the agencies of the different religions together. Christian and Jewish groups have taken the leadership in the immigration and resettlement of more than 200,000 displaced people and refugees. In almost all programs of this kind, the principle of good social work has been observed—service on the basis of need without regard to religion or race.

Clergy of All Faiths Urge Cooperation

Prominent clergymen of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faith are members of the Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Maurice S. Sheehy, Catholic Co-Chairman of the Commission, wrote an article recently opposing Catholic isolationism, and calling upon his Catholic colleagues to be catholic, with a small "c". The article had widespread circulation and favorable reaction. Similarly, Dr. Joseph R. Sizoo and Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, Protestant and Jewish Co-Chairmen, are constantly presenting the case for cooperation and goodwill to leaders within their own groups. The various members of the Commission have reported a growing interest within their own denominations in intergroup education programs. A leader of one of the most conservative of Protestant denominations says that while his fellow-churchmen vigilantly refuse cooperation that involves religious compromise, many of them welcome opportunities to escape an isolationism which they deplore.

The National Conference of Catholic Charities meeting in Detroit this Fall invited a Lutheran leader and an official of the National Council of Churches to address the gathering. Both leaders emphasized the need for common effort.

On another level, the practice of issuing common statements on issues of moral concern, begun with the Pattern of Peace in 1943, has continued. Last year the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Federal Council of Churches and the Synagogue Council jointly declared that the so-called Stockholm Petition was "spurious" and deceptive.

Church Bodies for Intergroup Relations

All of the major religious groups have increasingly developed channels of their own to deal directly with the problems of intergroup relations. The National Council of the Churches of Christ has continually strengthened its Department of Race and Cultural Relations and recently the Division of Christian Education of that body has added a special committee on intergroup relations. The Catholic Interracial Councils report an annual growth in numbers and in influence and the Catholic Committee of the South has faced problems of racial segregation and discrimination with courage and clarity. The Synagogue bodies express themselves through special committees, and both they and the Jewish defense agencies have evidenced broad concern in better human relations not only religious but racial as well.

Religious Textbook Reform

One of the fruits of these efforts to improve intergroup attitudes within particular religious groups is the marked change that has taken place in Protestant religious educational literature. A study initiated by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, but carried on now for a number of years by the American Jewish Committee, reveals much less tendency on the part of the writers of religious texts to indulge in stereotypes or to treat unfairly members of racial or religious groups.

Official Human Relations Agencies

Perhaps the most important recent development in official municipal and state human relations agencies lies in their widening responsibilities for the enforcement of all anti-discrimination legislation.

In Cleveland the Community Relations Board, in existence under ordinance for many years, was given the responsibility of administering the new Cleveland FEP law adopted January 30, 1950. The soon-to-be-established Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations will have even wider jurisdiction.

Under the newly-adopted City Charter of Philadelphia, this new Commission "shall administer all laws prohibiting discrimination against persons because of race, religion or national origin, and shall exercise the powers and perform the duties heretofore exercised and performed by the Philadelphia FEP Commission." The Chicago Commission on Human Relations recently has undertaken the enforcement of the limited Chicago FEP ordinance (1945) and is also developing organizations at the local community level which will deal with the problems of human relations in given neighborhoods.

State Commissions

At the state level, the Connecticut Interracial Commission has now been established as the Connecticut State Commission on Civil Rights and its jurisdiction enlarged from FEP law enforcement only to enforcement of the Nondiscrimination Housing Act, and the civil rights laws concerning places of public accommodations, as well. The Division of Discrimination of the New Jersey Department of Education likewise has been designated to handle all complaints of discrimination in places of public accommodations, as well as educational discrimination and employment discrimination.

The Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination also has moved beyond administration of the state FEP law (which now includes a provision prohibiting discrimination in employment because of age). It now has the responsibility of administering the newly strengthened legislative act (enacted August 1950) which governs public accommodations, and also the law regarding discrimination in housing.

Mayors' and Governors' Committees

The number and status of official Mayor's and Governor's committees on human relations also continue to grow. The Mayor of Waukegan, Illinois has just appointed a Mayor's Committee. A Municipal Commission on Group Relations has been established by ordinance in Paterson, New Jersey and a full time Executive Director has been appointed. In January 1951, the City of Denver, Colorado placed its Mayor's Committee under ordinance with increased budget and gave it a new name "The Denver Commission on Human Relations." Within the past two years, Racine, Wisconsin and Portland, Oregon have established permanent commissions on intergroup relations, but have yet to give them a budget and staff.

The 1951 session of the Illinois Legislature substantially increased the budget of the Illinois Interracial Commission and renamed it the "Illinois Commission on Human Relations." The Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Rights has received additional budget and staff. Both the Illinois and Wisconsin commissions have been given widened responsibilities with regard to places of public accommodation.

Human Relations in Education

Discernible trends during the past year or so include an encouraging spread of school system workshops as a method of in-service training. Such workshops were introduced, for example, in Akron, New York City, and Jersey City. Summer Session Workshops continue to be a popular development in the intergroup field. Some schools and their enrollments last summer include New York University (162 enrolled), San Francisco State College (60), Rutgers (58), Catholic University (30), Harvard (30), Teachers College (31), University of Miami (54).

Human Relations Centers

Departments of intergroup relations, or Human Relations Centers continue to develop. The most important of the latter developments, perhaps, was that at the University of Pennsylvania, under the leadership of Dr. Martin Chworowsky. Without exception, the Centers in the various colleges report increases in student enrollment with each succeeding semester. This is a measure of the growing interest in this field of education.

Attack on Education

Perhaps the most serious threat to good intergroup relations so far as education is concerned has been the attacks on public education by extreme conservative groups. The Pasadena story is now well-known. Englewood, New Jersey, White Plains, New York and numerous other communities have had to contend with this type of reaction. Educational administrators were so alarmed that at their Atlantic City meeting in the late spring, they passed a resolution designed to alert the country to this threat. Allen Zoll has been one of the prime movers in this effort at discrediting public education.

Also worthy of mention is the attack on academic freedom in the schools and colleges. At the present time the University of Ohio faculty is fighting a "gag rule" which threatens to extinguish the light of academic freedom. Not only must speakers be screened by the president, but questionnaires for research purposes must also have the approval of his office.

Labor and Intergroup Relations

A marked increase of intergroup relations activities sponsored and initiated by organized labor has been evident during the past year. Quietly, a gradual breakdown of discriminatory practices is taking place in the internal structure of the unions. A sense of urgency has stepped up the pace and the opposition has been reduced to a hard core.

Most significant of these undramatized practical programs now being initiated by the trade unions is the breaking down of barriers to equal job opportunities, the sponsoring of rank and file education programs and the mobilization of support for civil rights legislation.

Minorities Benefited

It seems probable that more jobs for minorities have been opened up as a result of union action for equal job opportunities than by state or local FEPC. Large sections of American industry that practiced discrimination in hiring or upgrading prior to unionization have been brought into line by union pressure. Moreover, a few "lily-white" unions made radical departures from their past exclusionary policies, for the most part in compliance with state FEP laws. The AFL Machinists, the non-operating Railway Brotherhoods and the Seafarer's International union are among the unions in this category. In contrast to this are several die-hard craft unions that remain untouched by conscience or by law. Even now, in Hartford, Connecticut, the AFL Electrical Workers' Union is going into

court to fight an order from the State Interracial Commission to admit qualified Negroes to membership.

Institutes, workshops, classroom sessions, and training courses led by a competent group of labor educators are increasingly emphasizing intergroup relations to the rank and file. Day to day programs are being sponsored by Internationals, state federations and local unions. Approximately twenty Internationals now have Fair Practices Departments or Committees. Outstanding among these is the Civil Rights Department of the CIO Steelworkers Union which was established about two years ago. Thirty-four Regional Clinics on Human Relations have been planned by the Department of which approximately ten have already been held. When completed, three to four thousand secondary leaders of the union will have received training in handling problems of discrimination and prejudice in the shop. For more than five years the CIO Auto Workers Union has been carrying on a similar program. At their last convention the UAW announced that the number of local union Fair Practices Committees had more than doubled in the past year. Other unions, notably the Carpenters, AFL Auto Workers and the AFL Meat Cutters, are beginning to produce their own films and educational materials for use in this area. Last year the CIO Packinghouse Workers, sponsored an important research study with Fisk University designed to determine the extent and methods of handling integration in their local unions.

FEP Campaigns

No report of labor's intergroup relations program would be complete without a brief reference to the heightening of trade union participation in legislative campaigns, particularly in Ohio, where observers agree, nine FEP Ordinances were passed this year almost exclusively in response to labor backing.

These practical programs reflect the growing trend on the part of organized labor to wage its own program in behalf of better human relations.

The United Nations

While the failure of the United Nations Organization to realize the vast hopes placed in it at its inception six years ago has occasioned disappointment, its activities in the social, economic and cultural areas, which are of particular interest to community relations agencies, merit a more optimistic appraisal. The present article will comment on three areas of the UN's work in the economic and social field: the Covenant on Human Rights, the Genocide Convention, and UNESCO.

Human Rights

The program to promote respect for human rights, a keystone of the UN, was initiated in 1947 when the Commission on Human Rights projected the adoption by the UN of an International Bill of Rights. On December 10, 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—a broad statement of principles to which the signatory nations morally obligate themselves—was adopted. A legally binding Covenant on Human Rights and a scheme for implementation of this Covenant are now in the drafting stages and have been several times considered and reconsidered in the Commission, Economic and Social Council, and the General Assembly. Although many differences of viewpoint have been reconciled, major issues remain as obstacles to completion of the Covenant:

(1) Whether the Covenant should be limited to articles dealing mainly with the traditional civil and political rights or whether it should also include economic, social and cultural rights, as is done to some extent in the Declaration of Human Rights.

(2) Whether the right of complaint or petition for violations of the Covenant should be accorded to individuals or private organizations, or be limited to states.

Some who can find only disillusionment about the UN in this record forget that we are here concerned with an enterprise intended to meet not an immediate crisis or situation, but to set up standards of international behavior for generations to come, and that it is infinitely more important to build solidly than to move swiftly.

Genocide Convention

The Genocide Convention which came into force on January 12, 1951, after 20 nations had submitted their ratification, for the first time in history makes an international crime of genocide—defined as the destruction of national, ethnic, racial or religious groups.

To date, only France, of the major powers has become a party to this Convention. Despite the leading role played by American representatives in the UN in developing the Convention, and despite the supporting activity in this country on the part of private organizations, the Convention still rests in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Southern members of Congress and certain elements of the press and legal profession are stubbornly opposed to the Convention, on the ground that the Convention is a device for taking many matters of civil rights out of state control through the use of the federal treaty power.

Many groups in the country concerned with furthering the goals of international protection of human rights are becoming fearful that unless Congress acts favorably on the Genocide Convention, there is little likelihood that it will ever consider seriously the more far-reaching Covenant. Therefore, the ratification of the Genocide Convention, apart from its intrinsic merits, is a vital goal whose achievement may not be delayed.

UNESCO

Turning to UNESCO, the specific projects which it has undertaken are too numerous even to list. Of particular interest to community relations agencies are the studies and researches into the problem of discrimination and minorities which UNESCO has undertaken. Its activities in this field are summarized in a September, 1951, report to the UN Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. These activities are grouped under three headings: a) propagation of scientific data concerning the racial question and, in particular, of the "Statement on Race" prepared by a committee of experts in 1949; b) investigations undertaken with a view to making positive contributions to the solution of problems connected with discrimination against ethnic and cultural groups, and c) studies of problems relating to the cultural assimilation of immigrants.

Under (a), is included the publication in many languages of an impressive series of pamphlets under the general heading of *The Race Question in Modern Science*. In pursuance of a resolution adopted at the sixth session of its General Confer-

ence last summer, UNESCO has projected a series of pilot investigations in six countries to be carried on in collaboration with scientific institutions and scholars, to analyze the practical methods used in various countries to reduce tensions engendered by the existence of ethnic and cultural minorities, and to appraise the results achieved. UNESCO has also under way studies on the social and cultural aspects of migration, including the cultural assimilation of immigrants. Finally, in the fields of education, UNESCO has been conducting activities designed to develop suggestions on ways of introducing the Declaration of Human Rights into school curricula, including organizing seminars for teachers, and publishing a volume which will be a kind of anthology of the most important documents in the history of the struggle for human rights.

Even this superficial review of one facet of UNESCO's program indicates how close it is in conception to the programs and philosophies of community relations agencies in this country. Indeed, it would not be incorrect to describe UNESCO as a UN community relations agency.

Human Relations in the Mass Media

From the special viewpoint of the intergroup relations worker, one of the most striking developments in recent years in the whole field of communication—including literature, the theatre, motion pictures, radio and television—has been a lifting of the taboo on open discussion of prejudice and discrimination.

Since *Focus* and *Gentleman's Agreement* proved that such subjects can be made into best sellers, there has been a growing volume of fiction based on or dealing in sub-plots with many aspects of discriminatory treatment of minorities in our country and with the human drama which it produces. Popular magazines, like the *Ladies Home Journal, Life, Colliers,* have carried articles as well as stories on such intergroup relations themes. And, as any televiewer or radio listener can testify, the loud speakers and the video screens almost every day carry the message of tolerance, understanding, and amity among men of all races and creeds.

Indeed, it is the wide acceptance of such material as the normal stuff of entertainment and information that strikes the reflective observer as so noteworthy.

Sponsors and broadcasters alike have been cooperative in disseminating the message. Spot announcements, exploiting such stage and screen personalities as Loretta Young, Groucho Marx, Lionel Barrymore, Broderick Crawford, among many others, have become standard fare. Such popular television shows as the Milton Berle Show, Captain Video, Magic Cottage often feature intergroup relations content.

Despite some controversies—as in the case of *Oliver Twist* and the *Amos and Andy* program—the role of the entertainment media in the realm of human relationships must be regarded as an increasingly positive one. And most heartening of all is the evidence of a trend toward more and more honest and fearless facing up to the issues in human relations by serious writers and producers in literary and entertainment media.

[Ed. note: a fuller treatment of this field is planned in a forthcoming issue.]

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OUTLINE

PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS IN RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES

(A Summary for the Negro Yearbook 1952)

Introductory Paragraph

A general estimate of recent progress and immediate problems.

Participation in Public Life

1. The growing ballot and its effects.

2. Negro office-seeking.

3. Representation on appointive bodies, official and quasi-official.

4. Membership in professional associations.

Education

1. Admission of Negro students to state universities; acceptance by general public and white students.

2. Admission of Negro students to private institutions (mostly church-related).

3. Legal attack on segregated elementary schools; official reactions and public sentiment.

4. Trend toward liberalization of parochial schools.

5. Regional education: changes in, attitudes toward.

Employment

1. Private business and industry.

2. Municipal.

3. Federal and defense; directives issued and degree of enforcement.

Religion

1. Church pronouncements on race.

2. Lessening of segregation in denominational structures.

3. Interracial church activities.

Organized Labor

Policies of national organizations and degree of adherence by state and local union groups.

Law Enforcement

1. Police brutality; incidents and cases of convicted officers.

2. Police training in human relations (Southern Police Institute).

3. Employment of Negro policemen.

4. Discrimination in court practices and legal penalties.

Newspapers

1. Types of discriminatory practices.

2. Improvement in past few years.

3. Trend toward employment of Negro reporters.

Public Services

Discrimination, legal action, and voluntary improvement in

1. Recreation: parks, golf courses, libraries, municipal auditoriums.

2. Housing: tensions, violence, new construction.

3. Health: hospital facilities and practices.

4. Public welfare.

Ku Klux Klan

1. Current activities and changes in organization.

2. Anti-Klan legislation, state and municipal.

3. Public sentiment, white and Negro

Tydings

October 3, 1950

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Tydings:

I am wrong about possibility of being in Kentucky on the 16th. I am to be in New York that day. But I will be at Berea definitely on the 18th and 19th and could be around for anything needful on the 20th. But Monday is a bad day for anything to happen.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
KENTUCKY DIVISION
LINCOLN RIDGE, KENTUCKY

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

October 11, 1950

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It is good news that you will be in Kentucky next week.

Mr. Charles Steele and I have been trying to contact Mr. David McCandless in hopes that you might be used in connection with the development of the curriculum of the Police School at the University of Louisville while you are here. He is out of the state and will not return for two weeks, so that is out.

It seems to me that we should take advantage of your being here, and arrange for a talk with the directors of the Kentucky Division. Maybe you can inspire us to action. Frankly, however, the need in Kentucky is for a new chairman.

Subject to your convenience, plans will be made to have a luncheon meeting Friday, October 20, 12:15 P.M. at the Y.M.C.A. in Louisville.

Cordially yours,

J. M. Tydings

JMT:gh

X

Southern Regional Council - 63 Auburn
Avenue NE -

Telegram
October 14, 1950
11:45 A.M.

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

We are crossed up on dates. I am to be Kentucky November 17, 18, 19.

Could be 20th. Sorry.

George S. Mitchell

Charge: Southern Regional Council, WA 7963

Tydings

X

Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn
Avenue NE - WA 7963 or WA 1821

TELEGRAM

October 17, 1950
1:45 P.M.

Mr. J. M. Tydings
Lincoln Foundation
Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Apologies. I am ~~xxxx~~ stuck here October 20.

George S. Mitchell

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

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TU ATLANTA

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DR GEORGE S MITCHELL, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

=63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

=MEETING FRIDAY 20TH PLANNED PER YOUR LETTER OCTOBER 3 HOPE YOU CAN ATTEND=

=J M TYDINGS=

RECEIVED
OCT 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Post Office Box 77
Newbury Park, California
November 25, 1953

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

I wish to express my thanks for the copy of GREENVILLE'S BIG IDEA, and the copy of GREENVILLE'S BIG IDEA GROWS which you sent me.

I am planning to write a series of articles, and feel that these publications will be of great help in my writing.

I also wish to thank you for the catalog which I've just received. You are doing a wonderful work, and I wish you the best of success. If there is anything I might ever do to assist you with your work, kindly let me know.

Is there anything you would like to have appear in a series of articles on the Negro in the South which I'm about to write, if all goes well?

Again, if I can ever be of help, drop me a line....

Yours very respectfully,

Thomas A. Tucker

Thomas A. Tucker

P.S. As to my ability to write these articles, it might be of interest to you that I've written and sold over 100 articles and stories in the past two years to many of the magazines America reads in their homes.

TT:wa

Member of the National Writers Club, UAPA, and so on.

May 28, 1956

Judge Elbert P. Tuttle
326 Old Post Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Judge Tuttle:

Enclosed is some material which briefly describes the history and activities of the Southern Regional Council. If you should want more details on any points, please call me and I will supply it at once.

With appreciation and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs. (2)
SRC toward the South of the Future
Brief account - Origins and Aims
Separate cover:
Changing Patterns in the New South

August 22, 1956

Judge Elbert P. Tuttle
Old Post Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Judge Tuttle:

Since you and I are both newly back from vacation this week - and a convention week at that - I will wait until next week to call you.

Meanwhile, I enclose correspondence between Mr. Rabb and myself, which is largely self-explanatory. I had a most agreeable two hour visit with him in July and found him quite interested as well as cordial.

I look forward to an opportunity to discuss this matter with you within a few days.

I hope that you and Mrs. Tuttle had a pleasant and relaxing time in Hawaii.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Encs.

C
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Y

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 6, 1956

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you very much for your letter and for the memorandum.

I will see what I can do about following through on your suggestion, but the November 14th date for obvious reasons presents difficulties. I will take another look at this shortly after Labor Day and see what can be done.

I am grateful to you for getting this material together.

It was good to see you.

Sincerely,

/s/ Maxwell M. Rabb

Maxwell M. Rabb

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director - Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

C
O
P
Y

July 27, 1956

Mr. Maxwell Rabb
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rabb:

I should have expressed before now my appreciation for the courtesy and hospitality you extended to me in Washington last week. The generous amount of time we had together was a most pleasant and - for me at any rate - productive occasion.

I delayed preparing the enclosed memorandum until I could have the benefit of our Executive Committee's views at a meeting a few days ago. As you will see, we concluded that no occasion important enough to warrant the President's message would be possible before our annual meeting on November 14.

I hope you will feel, as I do, that this delay does not nullify our idea. The segregation problem will still be with us, and I have tried to set forth in the memorandum some of the advantages of this timing.

Judge Tuttle will be back from vacation shortly, and I plan to bring him up to date on our discussion.

I know that many more immediate matters will be claiming your attention, but I hope you will find an opportunity to give me the benefit of your reactions.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

C
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Y

MEMORANDUM

July 27, 1956

To: Mr. Maxwell Rabb

From: Harold C. Fleming

Subject: Proposed Message from the President

This is an attempt to summarize the background and conclusions of our conference of July 17, 1956.

The Southern Regional Council is an established organization of white and Negro Southerners working together for improved race relations and equality of opportunity for all the South's people. The Council carries on its work through a Southwide board of directors, a central staff, and affiliated interracial organizations in twelve Southern states. It and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have expressed the conscience of the South in racial matters since 1919.

Since the Supreme Court's school decision of May 17, 1954, the Southern Regional Council has addressed itself largely to assisting the difficult transition from legally segregated to legally desegregated public schools. We believe that the Supreme Court's decisions have set a flexible and realistic framework within which the transition can be made -- provided that reasonable people of both races come together in mutual respect to shape plans for compliance in community terms. This is the process, community by community, at which the Southern Regional Council is working.

In his public statements, the President has repeatedly recognized the essential role which people of good will must perform if desegregation is to be meaningfully achieved. He can further strengthen their hands through a carefully worked-out statement which will encourage and stimulate responsible leadership in this field.

Form of the Statement

We agreed that the statement might best be made in the form of a message to the Southern Regional Council at some appropriate observance. This would provide a natural occasion for the President to deal with the subject. The Council, through its board members and friendly editors, would arrange for the message to receive publicity and editorial notice commensurate with its importance. Since the Council is the only South-wide body whose main purpose is the mobilization of constructive community leadership across racial lines, there would be no reason for other groups to feel disregarded. Moreover, the Council exemplifies the approach which the President will be encouraging. Thus a message to the Council is a logical vehicle for the President's views on this vital matter.

Timing

The Southern Regional Council will observe its twelfth anniversary at its annual meeting of November 14, 1956. While a delay of this length has its drawbacks, it also has advantages. The excitement and partisanship of the national campaigns will be over. The President's great popularity and prestige in the South will carry full force, untrammeled by the political inferences that are bound to be drawn from any such statement during a campaign period. Also, with the national elections over, people will be more disposed to consider soberly the long-range problems of school desegregation.

Content

We do not presume to suggest specific language, although we should be glad to make more detailed suggestions later, if you wish. Following are some of the general points that might be included:

(1) WORKABILITY OF THE SUPREME COURT RULING. The Court firmly stated the American principle that school children may not be classified according to race. Yet, recognizing the widely varying local conditions that prevail, the Court wisely provided time and flexibility for local plans to be developed in good faith.

(2) NATIONAL IMPORTANCE OF IMPLEMENTATION. We are engaged in a crucial world-wide contest with despotic forces that deny the essence of our religious beliefs and our form of government -- that is, the worth of the individual. It is vital to our cause that we demonstrate throughout our national life our commitment to this ideal. Americans who further the practice of equal opportunity for all citizens can render no more loyal service to their country.

(3) LEADERSHIP. Gratifyingly, the great religious bodies in all sections of the country have affirmed the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's decisions, as have many civic, business, labor, and professional groups. Yet

in some areas the transition to desegregated school systems involves trying problems of psychological and practical adjustment. It is the duty of the courts to interpret our constitutional rights, and of the executive and legislative branches to formulate the necessary policies and legislation. But in our free society the final and most essential step is the translation of principle into practice by an enlightened citizenry. We need now, in the field of individual rights and opportunity, the active leadership of the ablest and most responsible people in our communities. The Southern Regional Council, as a Southern movement which unites such people without regard to race, demonstrates the vitality and promise of the American way. May this twelfth anniversary bring renewed strength and effectiveness to its efforts.

HCF:mbo

March 17, 1961

Mr. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
405 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Tyler:

It is a great pleasure to hear from you again and to know of your continuing interest in the work of the Southern Regional Council. I am adding your name to our complimentary mailing list.

Your letter is most timely, since I have wished more than once that I had your new address. Among other things, I had wanted to send you a copy of our recent report, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," a copy of which is enclosed. In case it is not clear from the text, any critical allusions to the last Administration were most specifically not intended to apply to your own good work in the Department of Justice. The opportunity to be of some slight assistance to you and your associates was one of the bright spots of my work during that period.

Only last week, I had an opportunity to talk with Attorney General Kennedy, Mr. Burke Marshall, and a few of the other new faces in the Department. It is good to have your valuable assessment of Mr. Marshall, whom I also found to be a very conscientious and able person. I might add that

every knowledgeable person I talked to in Washington spoke of you in the highest terms.

I hope our paths will cross again in the near future and that you will call on us anytime you might want any special information that we can offer.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1961

405 Park Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

March 9, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As I am sure you are aware, I have resigned as Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division and returned to private practice here in New York.

Nevertheless, I am very anxious to continue following the work of your organization. Thus, I wonder if you would be good enough to put me on the mailing list and to have your billing people send me a statement for whatever the annual subscription rate may be.

I am truly sorry that I did not have a chance to converse with you more often during the past year; by the same token I shall always be grateful for your substantial advice and assistance.

The selection of Mr. Burke Marshall to be my successor is most pleasing. He and I went to Exeter together where I knew him only slightly. However, his reputation as a person and a lawyer is known to me to be an excellent one, and I am sure that he and my old associates will acquit themselves well in the months to come.

With best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

HRTjr:mu

February 1, 1962

B. A. Turner, Dean,
School of Vocational and
Industrial Education
Texas Southern University
Houston, Texas

Dear Mr. Turner:

Dr. Moss has asked me to acknowledge your inquiry of the 26th and to express his pleasure that the Houston study is proving helpful.

For your purposes we can let you have 200 copies. They are being mailed to you under separate cover. The approximate cost to us is $.20 per copy. Therefore, the total cost, and bill, is $40.00. We will gratefully receive this or any portion of it that you are able to raise. Our main concern is, however, to see that the material is put to good use and we won't quibble is you raise less than this amount.

Please call on us at any time that we might be of help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:bp
(Separate mailing
200 copies of
Houston study)

PA

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON, TEXAS

SCHOOL OF
VOCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

January 26, 1962

Mr. James A. Moss
Director of Rearch
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Moss:

Dr. Gallaher's study on the Negro and Employment Opportunities in The South is proving quite helpful to many people in the Houston area. Mrs. Dumbauld and other persons of the Houston Council on Human Relations have distributed several copies of the study.

As of March 3 a panel discussion will be held at Texas Southern University as a part of an Occupational Conference sponsored by the School of Vocational and Industrial Education. If your supply permits, I would like to have 200 copies of the study. Send me the bill for them personally. I will give some of them away and sell most of them at a price to cover the cost to me.

Sincerely yours,

B. A. Turner

B. A. Turner, Dean

BAT:fmt

cc: Mrs. George K. Dumbauld
3605 Fannin Street
Houston 4, Texas

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June 17, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Thank you for the opportunity of submitting the following proposal

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5,000	booklets "The Economic Status of the Negro"		$890.50	$931.50
		per page	37.10	38.81
7,500	booklets "The Economic Status of the Negro"		1120.75	1182.00
		per page	46.70	49.25
10,000	booklets "The Economic Status of the Negro"		1350.75	1432.50
		per page	56.28	59.69

Prices based on a 24 page booklet. If more or less pages are required add or deduct the price per page.

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We shall be pleased to receive your order and assure you excellent quality and prompt service.

Very truly yours,

John Rogers

Tucker-Castleberry Printing, Inc.

John Rogers

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

March 13, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I was pleased to receive your kind note of March 11, and I will look forward to hearing from you, perhaps sometime late next month or in May.

You were very kind to suggest that you will continue to send me your publications on a complimentary basis. Needless to say, I find them interesting and rewarding.

Yours sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1963

3/20/63

MA MMJ

Montez,

Please change Harold Tyler's address from the Department of Justice to the following:

The Hon. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
U. S. District Judge
U. S. Courthouse
New York 7, New York

*He's presently on a card in the Research List file for Category #10.

March 20, 1963

MG MMJ

Mary,

Please change Harold Tyler's address to the following:

The Hon. Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
U. S. District Judge
U. S. Courthouse
New York 7, New York

Thanx, mmj

March 11, 1963

The Honorable Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
U. S. District Judge
U. S. Courthouse
New York 7, New York

My dear Judge Tyler:

Thank you so much for your letter of March 7. I shall see that your address is corrected. I hope you will permit us to continue sending you New South, and occasionally others of our publications on a complimentary basis.

I shall certainly write for an appointment when I plan my next trip to New York. I expect that shall be in May, though late April is a possibility. I would very much like to hear and discuss with you your views about our report on the Administration's civil rights actions.

You might be interested to know that the law school of Notre Dame University, early last month, held a three-day conference for the development of some ideas for congressional legislation in three fields of civil rights: schools, voting, and employment. I was luck enough to be one of the seventeen invitees, and unlucky enough to draw the

role of reporter. Sometime this spring the Notre Dame Lawyer will carry the report (if I ever get it written), and I shall see that a copy is sent to you.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

March 7, 1963

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

A recent mimeographed mailing of your office endeavoring to get current addresses on your readers and subscribers prompts me to write you this note. More particularly, I would like to point out that my subscription is apparently a complimentary one of indefinite length. This came about when your predecessor who became a friend and invaluable informal consultant of mine when I was head of the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice in 1960 put me on the complimentary list.

I think in all fairness that I should pay my subscription fee from now on. I wonder if you would be good enough to have your people send me a bill to this end.

At this time I would also like to express to you the hopes that you would stop in and visit me in my chambers the next time you are in New York. First of all, I would be very pleased to meet you. Second, a year ago or more your organization published an interesting analysis of Government action in the field of Civil Rights since January 20, 1961. To my way of thinking, there were a number of

statements and conclusions in that report which are debatable. This is not to say that I believe your organization is directly responsible, even assuming that my view is correct. Rather, I believe that the sources of your information were not accurate.

In any event, the point really is that I am still very much interested in the continuing good works of the Southern Regional Council, and I would be most grateful for the chance to meet you when a time convenient to you presents itself.

Yours sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File
-1 Fy - Gen. Corresp.

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

March 30, 1964

Dear Leslie:

I am delighted to hear that you will be in New York during the week of April 13. If I may, I will await your call when you arrive. It would be a great pleasure to me to sit down and have lunch with you, especially as I have a project afoot to which you may be able to make a substantial contribution by way of advice.

As far as I can see, I will be reasonably free during that week. Thus I will wait to hear from you as soon as you can conveniently call.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Harold

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

April 25, 1963

The Honorable Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
U. S. District Judge
U. S. Courthouse
New York 7, New York

My dear Judge Tyler:

As I mentioned in my letter to you of March 11, I am coming to New York next month. The engagements which require me to come up will be on the afternoon of May 6, and the morning of May 7; I am planning to stay over May 8 as well. If you will be in your chambers during this time, I would be delighted to come by at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

May 14, 1963

The Honorable Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
United States District Court
U. S. Courthouse
New York 7, New York

My dear Judge Tyler:

Just a note to say thank you for a most enjoyable lunch and conversation. I hope that we may see each other again from time to time -- and if we ever write anything you don't like, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

CHAMBERS OF
HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
JUDGE

U. S. COURTHOUSE
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

April 30, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I was delighted to receive your note of April 25. May I suggest that you have lunch with me down here at 1:00 p.m. on May 7. If this is not convenient to you, I would then suggest a meeting here at 4:30 p.m. on the 7th.

Please do not bother to write me; it will probably be more convenient for you to telephone me when you arrive in town.

I will look forward to meeting you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

7th Ave
or
8th Ave
Chambers St
City Hall Pk
Foley Sq
2 9th fl

WTB - for
MJ - file

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

CHAMBERS OF
HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
JUDGE

U. S. COURTHOUSE
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

May 28, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Many thanks for your kind note of May 14. I thoroughly enjoyed our meeting, and I could not agree more that there should be more of them when our schedules permit.

That Memphis Park case is a great event! I could not be more pleased.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

June 24, 1963

The Honorable Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
United States District Court
U. S. Courthouse
New York 7, New York

Dear Judge Tyler:

I have finally, at this awkward date, drafted a report of that Notre Dame conference on civil rights legislation. I am sure that my fellow conferees will change it a bit and maybe here and there improve it; so this is an altogether unofficial paper. But I thought it might be of some interest to you specially as I do not know when the final report will get out; that is a matter I am leaving to others.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

File

MA ✓
VJ ✓
LD ✓

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

CHAMBERS OF
HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
JUDGE

U. S. COURTHOUSE
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

June 28, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1963

Dear Leslie:

I am very grateful to you for your letter of June 24th and the enclosed copy of your draft on the Notre Dame Conference.

Although I understand you when you mention the "awkward date" for drafting such a thing, I find your draftsmanship in substance far from awkward. Indeed, I hope that your conferees can agree on something quite like your draft as a final report and, further, that they will immediately publish it for the benefit of Congressional staffs and others in Washington.

I am pleased to report that a goodly number of gifted lawyers and others here in the metropolitan area are taking an active interest in the Congressional Civil Rights debate. More particularly, there is a heartening attempt on the part of many to do a lot of research and drafting to support and improve the Administration's omnibus bill. It so happens that I personally agree with most of your observations concerning this bill, but that does not mean it isn't a good one in many respects. I suspect that the real potential importance of any efforts up here will be to buck up wavering northern congressmen.

As soon as I digest your material further, I suspect that you will be hearing from me again.

With kind personal regards,

Yours sincerely,

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

Harold R. Tyler, Jr.

"Fy Crew

August 19, 1963

The Honorable Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
U. S. Courthouse
New York 7, New York

My dear Judge Tyler:

Here is the final draft of the Notre Dame Conference report. My associates hacked out some of my beautiful rhetoric, but mostly it survived. I understand that it is to be published in an issue coming out within the next couple of weeks.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Gen. Corr.

File "Ty"

November 29, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have been more than delinquent in responding to your last note in which you enclosed a final draft of the Notre Dame Conference Report.

Although I am sorry that excisions of some of your prose were made, the fact remains that this is a most impressive report. You may be astounded to hear that someone in my shoes agrees with your ultimate conclusions concerning legislation in the voting field. Time and events have moved forward to the point where present legislative proposals in the voting area seem so narrow and complicated as to be unworthy of the effort, particularly in comparison with other subjects such as those dealt with in the current legislative package.

Perhaps of equal surprise to those who know me is my reaction to your conclusions on the school problem. As I am sure you are aware, responsible members of the federal establishment from 1957, say, up until recently so far as I know have taken the position that solutions for the voting problem will necessarily lead to solutions across the board. Certainly I know that I tended toward that view when I was in Washington, partly because I believed it on the merits and partly because

that pragmatically this was the only kind of legislative and executive action we could get. Today I find myself substantially in accord with the views expressed in your report.

One other phase of the report interested me particularly. Frankly, I was surprised and pleased to see that the conference has concluded that equal employment progress can be achieved not through the FEPC formula. For some time it has been apparent to me that the FEPC formula has so many faults, apparent and real, that further attempts to legislate along these lines is highly undesirable. Needless to say, you touch upon many of the reasons why this is so. Also, I think that the fact that the conference has plumped for a procedure where the law would be administered by the Department of Labor will be very helpful in moving us ahead to where something can be done.

I am off this evening to attend a party here in New York at which will be present a number of civil rights advocates, some from the Department of Justice and others from private organizations. In particular, I will be interested to hear from the Washington people what they think the chances are for prompt action on the present civil rights proposals.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Gerald R. Ford Jr.

File
Jay Corresp.

March 26, 1964

The Honorable Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
U. S. District Judge
U. S. Courthouse
New York 7, New York

Dear Harold:

If you will look on page 11 of the enclosure you will see that I quoted you. Thank you very much for your good letter.

I shall be in New York much of the week of April 13, and hope that I can see you. Perhaps I could call after I got in to set up a time. If you could manage lunch, this time it will be on me; my turn to try to get pass the cashier without paying the bill.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Encl: 1963 Annual Report

pw ✓
mf.
Pt. file ✓

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

Sharp

February 5, 1964

Dear Leslie:

This is a short note to indicate my view that the October-November 1963 issue of "New South" was particularly impressive and well written. Most important, it is the best thing I have seen for putting events of the last three years in significant focus.

I do hope that business brings you to New York soon. There are a lot of interesting things going on in the Empire State in the area of realization that we have an equal opportunities revolution of our own.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Harold Tyler

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File "Gen Corresp."

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE
NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK

HAROLD R. TYLER, JR.
UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

April 20, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed please find a copy of that piece which I spoke to you about last Friday.

It was a pleasure to see you last week, and I hope you come up again soon. Unfortunately, I must accept the fact that there is very little likelihood that I can ever visit you in Atlanta, at least in the foreseeable future!

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Harold

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Enc.

January 14, 1965

The Honorable Harold R. Tyler, Jr.
United States District Judge
U. S. Courthouse
New York 7, New York

Dear Harold:

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed resolution and memorandum. The latest word we get out of Washington is that the Mississippi appointment might not come out too bad.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures - 2.

Package of all literature sent, including a copy of the By-laws.

November 19, 1945

Mr. Paul D. Williams
925 Fourqurean Lane
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

It is my pleasure to inform you that at the recent annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council you were elected President of the Council to succeed Dr. Howard W. Odum, who has served for the last two years. We trust that you are willing to accept this office. We are all delighted with your election, and we feel that the Council will go forward with increased vigor under your presidency.

I believe that you are on the mailing list of the Council and have been receiving our literature. However, in order to make sure that you have all Council publications up-to-date we are sending a package of literature under separate cover. We are including a copy of the By-Laws so that you may familiarize yourself with the structure and government of the Council. There have been some minor revisions in the By-Laws and we shall let you have a corrected copy in the near future.

As President you would also serve as Chairman of the Board of Directors and you are an ex-officio member of the Executive Committee. The Chairman of the Executive Committee is Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee. The Council, of course, bears expenses of officers and Board members when they attend Council meetings.

We hope that in the near future you can visit with us for several days and see us at work. We would also like to call together the Atlanta members of the Council for an informal discussion of program and strategy. Could you come before December 1? If not, what about some time in December after December 8? Our calendar for the first week in December is quite crowded.

Looking forward to your acceptance and to the pleasure of seeing you soon, I am

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:T

November 30, 1945

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Mr. Williams:

Your letter of yesterday has just arrived. I am glad that you are able to be out again.

We are delighted that you can come to Atlanta sometime during the week of December 9. Could you make it December 10, 11, 12? We have a tentative engagement in Jacksonville, Florida for December 13 to go over plans for a community survey which the Council is undertaking there. However, if the latter part of the week is better for you, just give the word, and we will postpone the Florida engagement.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

P. S. I think it would be grand if you could go to Florida with us and meet some of the people there and see the sort of survey we are undertaking.

GBJ

List of officers & board sent.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN

(DEPARTMENT OF LAY ORGANIZATIONS, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE)

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: 1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

OFFICERS

WILBERT J. O'NEILL, CLEVELAND, OHIO
PRESIDENT

HON. JOSEPH A. MOYNIHAN, DETROIT, MICH.
VICE PRESIDENT

DANIEL E. MORRISSEY, CHICAGO, ILL.
SECRETARY

GRATTAN KERANS, WASHINGTON, D. C.
TREASURER

EDWARD F. LEARY, OMAHA, NEBR.
GENERAL COUNSEL

MOST REV. JOHN F. NOLL
D. D.
EPISCOPAL CHAIRMAN

MOST REV. EMMET M. WALSH
D. D.
ASST. EPISCOPAL CHAIRMAN

EDWARD J. HEFFRON, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
WILLIAM C. SMITH, ASSISTANT EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JOHN G. BOWEN, FIELD REPRESENTATIVE

DIRECTORS

WALTER J. CONATY, HUNTINGTON, W. VA.
PAUL FROESCHL, KANSAS CITY, MO.
WILLIAM F. HARRINGTON, MANCHESTER, N. H.
ROBERT H. KELLEY, HOUSTON, TEX.
LOUIS KENEDY, NEW YORK, N. Y.
GRATTAN KERANS, WASHINGTON, D. C.
PHILIP C. LAUINGER, TULSA, OKLA.
EDWARD F. LEARY, OMAHA, NEBR.
WILLIAM H. McCARTHY, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
DANIEL E. MORRISSEY, CHICAGO, ILL.
HON. JOSEPH A. MOYNIHAN, DETROIT, MICH.
WILBERT J. O'NEILL, CLEVELAND, OHIO
BERNARD J. ROTHWELL, BOSTON, MASS.
JOHN X. WEGMANN, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND, VA.

November 29, 1945.

Office of
PAUL D. WILLIAMS
3320 Gloucester Road
RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

The thought occurs that you might be interested in seeing the Proceedings of the last meeting of the Catholic Committee of the South. I am closely associated with this organization. Your copy has been mailed you under separate cover.

With every good wish, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams

PDW:ht

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN

(DEPARTMENT OF LAY ORGANIZATIONS, NATIONAL CATHOLIC WELFARE CONFERENCE)

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: 1312 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

OFFICERS

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VICE PRESIDENT

DANIEL E. MORRISSEY, CHICAGO, ILL.
SECRETARY

GRATTAN KERANS, WASHINGTON, D. C.
TREASURER

EDWARD F. LEARY, OMAHA, NEBR.
GENERAL COUNSEL

MOST REV. JOHN F. NOLL
D. D.
EPISCOPAL CHAIRMAN

MOST REV. EMMET M. WALSH
D. D.
ASST. EPISCOPAL CHAIRMAN

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BERNARD J. ROTHWELL, BOSTON, MASS.
JOHN X. WEGMANN, NEW ORLEANS, LA.
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND, VA.

November 29, 1945.

Office of
PAUL D. WILLIAMS
3320 Gloucester Road
RICHMOND 22, VIRGINIA

RECEIVED
NOV 30 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

When I went out yesterday, after being confined to my home for a week with a bad cold, I dropped by 925 Fourqurean Lane where the Catholic Committee of the South has an office, and found your letter of November 19. Meanwhile you have my letter of November 26.

Thank you for anticipating my wishes by sending the literature on the SRC. I am reading it with a great deal of interest.

I can arrange to visit you in Atlanta during the week of December 9, the exact dates I'll confirm with you later. I plan to spend two full days, possibly three at this time. I would be very happy if you would call together an informal meeting of the Atlanta members of the Council during my stay.

With reference to your special delivery received Tuesday I am sending you a glossy print of myself. I was out of the glossy prints and had to have several made. The prints should reach you not later than Monday morning which I hope is soon enough for your purpose.

I deem it a great honor to be associated with you and the others who are striving with all their intelligence and courage to make effective the work of the SRC. I hope in some small measure to be helpful in advancing this cause which means so much to the South. Needless to say I will rely greatly on your advice and judgment.

With all good wishes, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Paul D. Williams

Paul D. Williams

PDW: ht

United Christian Missionary Society

January 16, 1948

Mr. Walter W. Sikes
The United Christian
Missionary Society
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Mr. Sikes:

Unfortunately, our Council has a very important meeting in Atlanta on February 27 and it will not be possible for me to be in Waycross the evening before. I appreciate the invitation.

I have consulted with several people as to a suitable speaker on the topic you mention for that evening at Waycross. Among others, of course, I talked with Mr. Harrison McMains. We are agreed that an excellent man would be Mr. Joseph Rabun. Mr. Rabun's address is 1002 Slater Street, Valdosta, Georgia. Incidentally, his telephone there is 584-W. Valdosta is sixty miles from Waycross. I had an opportunity to see Mr. Rabun today and he has agreed to speak on the evening of the twenty-sixth for your group at Waycross. He cannot be present on the twenty-seventh, as he has to be in St. Louis the twenty-ninth.

Mr. Rabun is a controversial figure just now in the Georgia scene. He is a Baptist minister, trained at Newton, the grandson of a former Governor of Georgia, and not long since returned to the State from serving as a chaplain. His postwar pastorate was at McRae, Georgia, which is the home town of the Talmadges. His courageous and outspoken sentiments alienated the Talmadge forces in the church and he was removed as pastor a good many months back. Since that time he has not been offered a church.

He is effective as a speaker, deeply sincere and greatly concerned over just the matters laid out as his topic at the Waycross meeting. Under all the circumstances, his name unavoidably carries possible political connotations, but he regards himself as a minister and furthers outspokenly the things which his religion prompts him to recommend to the State.

He gladly agreed to make the talk desired. I have told him that he may expect you to be in touch with him further about the meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Copy to Mr. Harrison McWains

GSM:eb
Dictated but not read

U. C. M. S.

January 16, 1948

Mr. Walter W. Sikes
The United Christian
Missionary Society
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Mr. Sikes:

Thank you for your letter confirming the arrangements for January 27.

I will be on hand.

Sincerely,

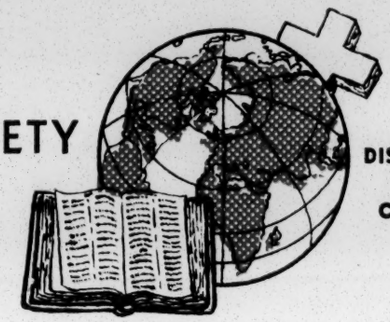
George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb
Dictated but not read

H. B. McCORMICK, President MRS. ROBERT A. DOAN, Vice-President MISS MAYBLE M. EPP, Secretary FRANCIS W. PAYNE, Treasurer

THE UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

A Board of Missions and Education



DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

MISSIONS BUILDING, 222 S. DOWNEY AVENUE, INDIANAPOLIS 7, INDIANA
DIVISION OF HOME MISSIONS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

James A. Crain,
Executive Secretary
Walter W. Sikes,
National Director Peace and Interracial Understanding
Mrs. Ruth D. Estes,
National Director Church and Community Service

Telephone IRvington 1166

January 13, 1948

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

This will confirm our arrangement made by wire and telephone that you are to speak at the evening session of our Workshop on World Order at the First Christian Church, 200 Pryor Street, S. W., in Atlanta, January 27.

The enclosed folder will indicate to you the nature of this meeting.

Your local contact in Atlanta is Dr. Harrison McMains, minister of the First Christian Church.

I will send you a completed program within the next few days. In the meantime, I am sure this information is adequate.

Looking forward eagerly to seeing you at this time, I remain

Cordially yours,

Walter W. Sikes

Walter W. Sikes

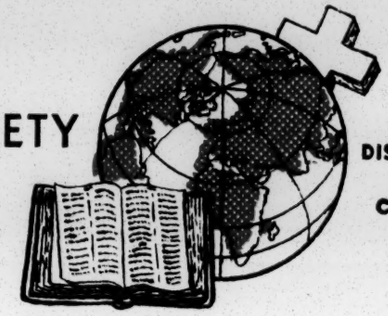
DICTATED BY THE AUTHOR,
SIGNED AND FORWARDED
IN HIS ABSENCE

WWS:a-22

H. B. McCORMICK, President MRS. ROBERT A. DOAN, Vice-President MRS. HAZEL SCOTT PAYNE, Secretary FRANCIS W. PAYNE, Treasurer

THE UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

A Board of Missions and Education



DISCIPLES OF CHRIST

MISSIONS BUILDING, 222 S. DOWNEY AVENUE, INDIANAPOLIS 7, INDIANA
DIVISION OF HOME MISSIONS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE

James A. Crain,
Executive Secretary
Walter W. Sikes,
National Director Peace and Interracial Understanding
Mrs. Ruth D. Estes,
National Director
Church and Community Service

Telephone IRvington 1166

RECEIVED
JAN 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

January 13, 1948

Dr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

Would it be possible for you to accept the same responsibility for a meeting in Waycross, Georgia as you have generously agreed to serve in Atlanta? The Waycross Workshop is scheduled for February 26 and 27. The evening session on Thursday, February 26, will be given to a discussion of the national and international implications of racial discrimination and injustice. In other words, the same topic on which you have agreed to lead our discussion in Atlanta.

If it is impossible for you to accept this responsibility, will you kindly recommend someone who could do this job adequately? Better still, I would be very grateful to you if you could engage such a person, notifying me as to who he or she is, with some brief word of description.

I regret that we cannot pay honorarium for this service, but we would pay either expenses or a stipend in lieu of expenses, whichever is more acceptable.

Gratefully yours,

Walter W. Sikes

Walter W. Sikes

DICTATED BY THE AUTHOR
SIGNED AND PRESSED
IN HIS ABSENCE

WWS:c-la

May 31, 1948

United Council of Negro Women, Inc.
1318 Vermont Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Folks:

Our Council has an old habit of sending you copies of its publications. Our two latest issues of New South, copies of which are enclosed, are of special interest.

If we could help by supplying additional copies of either or both of these, we should like to. The April quarterly on housing sells for twenty cents a copy, and the May issue containing the story on hospital construction and health is priced at five cents a copy.

I am satisfied that your organization is doing a great deal to make plain to the public the need for better housing and health in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosures APR '48 and
May '48 New South
GSM:eb

37- Un-American Activities

COMMITTEE OF ONE THOUSAND
37 Madison Avenue
New York 10, New York

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1948
RECEIVED DEC 1 1948
Southern Regional Council

DRAFT OF OPEN LETTER TO CONGRESS

For a long time the procedure of the House Committee on Un-American Activities has deeply troubled the minds of millions of loyal citizens. This is precisely because the Committee, while having the declared object of defending our American ways and traditions, has too often appeared "un-American" itself. Now the recent indictment of its chairman, Mr. J. Parnell Thomas, and his refusal to testify before a Grand Jury -- his refusal to do that which he has relentlessly demanded of many witnesses heard before him -- has brought further embarrassment for the Committee in the eyes of the great public.

A Committee that examines citizens for the books they may read and the friendships they may contract, or that seeks to probe their religious, political or philosophical beliefs is utterly unworthy of our great United States Congress. We therefore call upon you to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Its ten years' record shows that its procedure, step by step, approaches that of the tribunals set up in the totalitarian nations that we have fought in two world wars. It has tried to impose upon the people, as if from above, a concept of Americanism by which all men would be brought to think alike; it has championed a spirit of conformity, a system of regimentation which, if successfully applied in the past, would have guaranteed that we should never have had a Washington, a Jefferson, a Lincoln.

In all our history no agency of Government has shown such flagrant disregard of American traditions of fair play, of our principle of due process, and of those unalienable rights of man which are written in our Constitution. Men who have distinguished themselves in the public service have been slandered or "smeared" by the method of the newspaper headline, or the "leak" to the press. A Dr. Edward U. Condon is accused but receives no public hearing. Can we forget the moving words of the late Harry Dexter White, who, while affirming his democratic faith almost with the last breath of life exposed the false Americanism of the "Thomas Committee"?

We have read with dismay a most recent report of the Committee on Un-American Activities recommending to Congress that it take measures against those who, allegedly, "resort to an unwarranted and unjustifiable misuse of the protections which the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution rightfully provides" -- the very protections which now safeguard a Mr. J. Parnell Thomas against possible judicial error in a court of law.

We hold that the liberties granted to the citizens by our Constitution are indivisible. How can they, in all logic, be accorded to one group of persons and denied to another? Under the pretext of combating "communist tactics of evasion," it has been proposed, in effect, that we limit the provisions of our historic Bill of Rights, an action that would undermine the democratic process itself.

The last presidential election shows that the American people do not want to be "managed" by men who know in advance how they should think or how they should vote. To fail to repudiate a committee which has so consistently ignored the recognized rules of conduct is incompatible with this decision of the American voters.

We urge the members of the 81st Congress to abolish immediately the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

MEMO

COMMITTEE OF One Thousand
37 MADISON AVE., NEW YORK 10
MUrray Hill 9-3686

TO: Sponsors of Committee of One Thousand

FROM: Paul Ziporkis, Executive Secretary

DATE: December 1, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 3 1948
Southern Regional Council

The fate of the House Committee on Un-American Activities can be decided within the next five weeks. During this period the Committee of One Thousand will bring its full influence to bear on Congress. Dr. J. Raymond Walsh and Mr. Charles A. Madison, who have accepted the positions of Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer of our Committee, together with the other members of the Executive Committee will endeavor during the next several weeks to help create sufficient sentiment among members of Congress to insure the abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Representative Huber of Ohio and Representative Celler of New York have already announced their plan to eliminate the House Committee by amending the House rules on the first day of the new session of Congress.

To support this move the Committee of One Thousand will have in the hands of each Congressman on January 3, and will release to the press, the enclosed open letter. If we may use your name as signatory to it will you please sign and return the enclosed form. If there are potential sponsors among your acquaintances to whom you believe we should send the letter for signature please include their names and addresses.

The appeal for funds in our October memo brought a generous response from a number of our sponsors. If you have not already done so please mail us your check now. An average contribution of $10 per sponsor will make it possible to carry out our program fully.

uopwa
16-51

She is a subscriber in good standing--not a member. Carole has ~~xxx~~ had correspondence with her about her failure to receive New South. Apparently she was out of Washington and post office did not forward them. The address is right and all should be well now.

met

37-UV - Misc -
Vorse, Mary Heaton

2009 H st NW

Jan 13

Dear Mr Mitchell

Many, many thanks for the material - It was so very pleasant to see you again.

Cordially

Mary Heaton Vorse

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1949
RECEIVED
National Council

39- UV - Misc -
Vorse, Mrs. Mary Heaton

January 10, 1949

Mrs. Mary Heaton Vorse
2009 H Street, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Vorse:

I do hope that this little stack includes the main things you want.

Sincerely yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

Sending: New Souths --
Feb. 1947 (Mark Ethridge)
Oct. 1947 (Negro police)
June-July 1948
August 1948
September
October
November
Condition of Our Rights
Vance

1-10-49

37-21 V- Misc
Vandiver, Joseph S.

April 26, 1949

Mr. Joseph S. Vandiver
Assistant Professor of Sociology
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Vandiver:

Thank you for your letter of April 22.

I will be on hand a little before ten o'clock, in room 106, Calhoun Hall, Tuesday, May 17.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 4, TENNESSEE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Give to GSM before leaves

RECEIVED
APR 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

April 22, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

We will be glad to have you attend our class and speak to us on Tuesday, May 17. Our class meets at 10 A. M. in room 106, Calhoun Hall, Vanderbilt Campus. If, after arriving in Nashville, you wish to contact me, I may be reached at extention 282 on the Vanderbilt exchange.

Sincerely,

Joseph S. Vandiver

Joseph S. Vandiver
Asst. Prof. of Sociology

JSV:RK

April 19, 1949

Professor Joseph S. Vandiver
Vanderbilt University
Department of Sociology
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Vandiver:

I am to be in Nashville Tuesday, May 17, for a meeting of the Tennessee Division of the Southern Regional Council. My meeting is at 2 p.m., downtown.

If you should want me Tuesday morning at Vanderbilt, I could be at your service.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 4, TENNESSEE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

March 8, 1949

RECEIVED
MAR 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I was very happy to receive your reply stating that you would be able to be with us in our class on Minority Groups sometime this spring. We will be glad to have you any time.

If you wish to notify me after arriving in Nashville, I may be reached on extention 282 of the Vanderbilt exchange. Our class meets in room 404 of Calhoun Hall. Looking forward to seeing you I am

Sincerely,

Joseph S. Vandiver

Joseph S. Vandiver
Asst. Professor of Sociology

JSV:rk

February 22, 1949

Mr. Joseph S. Vandiver
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 4, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Vandiver:

I greatly appreciate your kind letter of February 11. I would love to take the class. I should be in Tennessee long before June, and will be at pains to arrange to be there on a Tuesday, Thursday, or Saturday, in time to teach at ten o'clock.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 4, TENNESSEE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

February 11, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
FEB 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I wish to extend to you a standing invitation to address our Minority Groups Class her at Vanderbilt. The class meets at 10 o'clock each Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. If at any time during the remainder of this academic year you are in Nashville and can arrange to meet with us, we would be delighted to have you discuss the aims and functioning of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely yours,

Joseph S. Vandiver

Joseph S. Vandiver

JSV:rk

37- U. V. Price
Union Theological Seminary

September 19, 1949

Dr. W. Russell Bowie
Union Theological Seminary
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Bowie:

I don't know whether your memory will bring my name to you out of Richmond days.

The little pamphlet that our Council has just got out gives us all a chance to get something useful moving in the South.

We are getting it into the hands of newspaper people in all the thirteen Southern states. The Southern Newspaper Publishers Association is doing that for us. That will give the newspaper offices use of the pamphlet, both as a manual on the copy editor's desk and as a teaching document for reporters.

Now the problem is to get it widely read by interested citizens in the South. We are mailing out four thousand copies to our members and subscribers in a few days, but that is a drop in the bucket. One of the large Negro life insurance companies has already bought a thousand copies to send out to policy-holders. I have written Dr. Daniel A. Poling of the Christian Herald and Mr. Paul Hutchinson of the Christian Century, sending them copies and telling them what it is. We are getting our main people in the various states to talk with effective persons in the various religious denominations. We have interested the Southern States Council of Church Women at the big meeting here last week which Mrs. Roosevelt attended.

After the pamphlet has reached local people, the next thing is to get them busy with committees, preferably of both races, to go and see editors and ask for greater conformity to the simple rules laid

down in the little green book.

I know this is the sort of thing you will see the possibilities of. I should greatly like to enlist your friendly support for the movement and your help whereever you may care to give it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

Enclosure

37- U.S.
United Press

September 27, 1949

Mr. Tom Stokes
United Press Bureau
National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stokes:

This new pamphlet from our Council promises to be one of the most useful things we have ever done. It has already reached the Southern newspapers through the SNPA.

You will see that it is written with every sympathy for the problems of Southern newspaper offices, and yet lays out rules to come up to.

As you well understand, there is quite a good movement under way already among Southern papers for doing better on these matters. We think the pamphlet will swell and shape the movement.

My own admiration for the consistency with which you give out just the right ideas.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

37- UV- Misc-
UN (Genocide)

December 1, 1949

Mr. Willard Johnson
General Secretary
United States Committee for a
United Nations Genocide Convention
381 Fourth Avenue, Suite 1501
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Johnson:

We are sorry the Council will be unable to have a representative at the hearing on the Genocide Convention.

We wish every success to the movement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR A UNITED NATIONS GENOCIDE CONVENTION

(The purpose of this committee is to seek ratification of the Genocide Convention by the U.S. Senate)

SUITE 1501
381 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MUrray Hill 9-4720

RECEIVED
NOV 30 1949
Southern Regional Council

Chairman
JAMES N. ROSENBERG

Vice-Chairmen
CLARK M. EICHELBERGER
American Assn. for U. N.
HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN
International Council of Christians and Jews

BENJAMIN ABRAMS

HENRY A. ATKINSON
World Alliance for Friendship Through the Churches

ROGER N. BALDWIN
International League for the Rights of Man

MILDRED BURGESS
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

REV. FATHER EDWARD V. CARDINAL
Bishop Sheil School of Social Studies

JAMES B. CAREY
C.I.O.

SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT
Federal Council of Churches of Christ

EVERETT R. CLINCHY
National Conference of Christians and Jews

RAPHAEL LEMKIN
Yale University Law School

THOMAS MAHONY
Catholic Assn. for International Peace
Alternate
CATHERINE SCHAEFER
National Catholic Welfare Conference

CLARENCE PICKETT
American Friends Service Committee

RAYMOND S. RUBINOW

GEORGE N. SHUSTER
Hunter College

MRS. WILLIAM DICK SPORBORG

MATTHEW WOLL
American Federation of Labor

Legal Advisory Committee
A. A. BERLE, JR.
WILLIAM J. DONOVAN
ALLAN DULLES
CHARLES FAHY
ROBERT P. PATTERSON
JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER
WESLEY A. STURGIS
HARRISON TWEED

(Organizations listed for identification only.)

General Secretary
WILLARD JOHNSON
National Conference of Christians and Jews

November 28, 1949

Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Does your organization plan to send a spokesman to the hearings of the sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Genocide Convention to support the Convention?

We hope so.

If so, will you send me as soon as possible the names of your representative?

Thank you,

Sincerely,

Willard Johnson

Willard Johnson
General Secretary

WJ:PS

V- Misc

July 20, 1950

Mrs. Edward Vinson
1974 Chelsea Circle, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Betty:

What way should we make use of this? We've got lots.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

September 25, 1950

Mr. Robert L. Van Sant
Room 604, American National Building
Whitehall & Alabama Streets
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bob:

This confirms the arrangement you very kindly made for Mr. and Mrs. Quintin Whyte to be at your office this coming Friday morning at 8:30.

They look forward greatly to the opportunity to be shown farming in these nearer parts of Georgia and the work of the Farmers Home Administration.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

HF: Called her 11/16/50 & said you were out of town & would give her a ring on your return — B.R.

V-Misc I-Vinson

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

1974 Chelsea Circle, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
November 15, 1950

Dear Harold,

Just a note to put into writing the gist of our brief conversation of the other day.

The Christian Social Relations Committee of Glenn Memorial church is to sponsor the church service, Sunday night, December 10, at 7.30, in celebration of the Universal Covenant of Human Rights. We should like to have in the church foyer a table displaying your literature-- the standing folder you have on the stage at the annual meeting would be good to one side of the table) If you cannot man the table, I shall try to secure someone w ho undersatnds the work who can. There is a Glee Club carol service there in the afternoon, and it is possible it might be good to have the display set up then too.

This is to be a community-wide service, and we are most anxious for the collection to go to your organization. This morning I secured a vote of approval from the women's executive board of the church. Have just written to the church finance comittee to see if they will give up their collection for this night. Shall let you know the outcome on this score. If we do not get this collection, I think at least we can get several members and maybe some special contributions.

There will have to be some arranging about tables, etc. but we can do that later. Call me at Cr. 5236, preferable in the afternoon or at night.

Sincerely,

Betty

Betty A. Vinson

Do forgive my hastily messy typing —

Human Rights — Our World Mission

Human Rights Day Recognition Service
December 10, 1950
Sponsored by Women's Society for Christian Service
Glenn Memorial Methodist Church

—

"The nature of man's relations with his fellow men depends on the nature of his relationship with God. We cannot be in harmony with Him unless we live in justice with all his children."

Georgia Council of Church Women
Findings, March 1949

The UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS was proclaimed by the General Assembly of United Nations December 10, 1948. The declaration has moral strength only. It binds no one. But the Human Rights Commission of United Nations is drawing up a covenant to make its principles legally binding on nations. December 10 has been set aside the world over as a recognition and dedication day for the principles set forth in the Declaration.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

ORGAN PRELUDE: "Preludio Religioso" Beethoven
Mrs. Bayne Smith, Organist, Glenn Memorial

OPENING PRAYER: REV. CANDLER BUDD, Pastor

FILM: "OF HUMAN RIGHTS, produced and directed by Helen Van Dongen for United Nations Department of Public Information. Available at The Atlanta Anti-Defamation League.

SPEAKER: The Declaration of Human Rights - It's meaning for us - Dr. Leroy Loemker, Emory University Department of Philosophy.

OFFERTORY ANTHEM: "Let All Things Now Living"
Welsch Melody

The Woma n's Society of Glenn Memorial felt every one participating in this service would want to have a chance to share immediately and realistically in furthuring human rights progress here in the South. For this reason opportunity is being given you tonight to contribute to the SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, a non-profit, non-political, non-denominational organization of Southerners who joined together in 1943 to face up to the South's problems and work to solve them. As Ralph McGill says, "The Council is an able and

worth-while organization working in the field of racial relations. It has no radical tinge, but is, nevertheless, an aggressively energetic coordinating agency". You will find membership forms on the last page of the SRC leaflet.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

PRAYER: In unison, by congregation standing.

"Eternal God, Father of all souls,
Grant unto us each such clear vision of the sin of war
That we may earnestly seek that co-operation between Nations
Which alone can make war impossible.
As man by his inventions has made the whole world into one neighborhood,
Grant that he may, by his co-operation, make the whole world
Into one brotherhood.
Help us to break down all race prejudice.
Stay the greed of those who profit by war and
The ambitions of those who seek an imperialistic conquest
Drenched in blood.
Guide all statesmen to see a just basis
For International action in the interests of peace.
Arouse in the whole body of the people an adventurous willingness,
As they sacrificed greatly for war,
So, also, for International good will
To dare bravely, think wisely, decide resolutely,
And to achieve triumphantly. AMEN

Harry Emerson Fosdick

BENEDICTION - Rev. Candler Budd.

ORGAN POSTLUDE: "Fantasia" on "America" Cokes Jephcott

U - Misc

December 14, 1950

U. S. National Commission for UNESCO
UNESCO Relations Staff
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

We are in receipt of the publication "UNESCO and Its Programme III - The Race Question".

If feasible, we should very much like to distribute copies of that excellent report to our members. Such distribution, we believe, would be uniquely effective, since our membership is drawn from persons of both races in the Southern States who are interested in furthering interracial cooperation. Approximately 3,000 copies of the report would be required.

We should appreciate advice as to whether the report is available in that quantity, and, if so, whether there is a charge for it. We are prepared, of course, to bear the expense of postage, but our small budget would make anything much beyond that prohibitive.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

U-Micial

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

December 19, 1950

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Because of limitations on distribution, we are able to send you only 50 copies of the publication "UNESCO and Its Programme III - The Race Question". This publication is on sale through International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, for $3.75 a hundred.

I hope the 50 copies will enable you to make some kind of key distribution among your members.

Sincerely yours,

F. V. Randolph

Frances V. Randolph
Documents Officer
UNESCO Relations Staff

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
DEC 21 1950

U.S. Govt

March 21, 1951

U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sirs:

I would be grateful for a copy of an item for which I have only the following title: "Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Impact of the Federal Economic Policy on the South. Report of Senator O'Mahoney as chairman. 1949."

If you can identify this and let me know the price and whether it is in print, I will order one.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

January 6, '54

Hon. Wm. B. Umstead
State Capitol
Raleigh, N.C.

My dear Governor Umstead,

It gave our Council pleasure to speak the other day in praise of your comments on the Brownell brief.

The office of Governor in North Carolina has at least since Governor Aycock's day had a special tradition of honorable dealing on all matters affecting the Negro group, and it is good to see that you continue the good tradition.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RALEIGH

RECEIVED
JAN 14
Southern Regional Council

WILLIAM B. UMSTEAD
GOVERNOR

January 13, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge your letter of January 6 with reference to the Brownell brief. I shall be glad to call your letter and the attached information to the Governor's attention as soon as possible.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

E. L. Rankin, Jr.

E. L. Rankin, Jr.
Private Secretary

elr:ms

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
EUGENE, OREGON

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

1 July 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Research Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In cooperation with the Eugene Water and Electric Board we are making a study of taxation of publicly owned electric utilities and/or payments, services, and concessions in lieu of taxes. In making this study we are circularizing certain publicly owned electric systems. The attached questionnaire indicates the specific information in which we are interested.

We are wondering if your organization has conducted recent surveys or studies which include, or pertain to, the problems we are considering. If so, can such materials be made available for our use?

We would also be pleased to receive the names of other potential sources of information on this subject which you might recommend.

Thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Very truly yours,

J. Cudd Brown

J. Cudd Brown

JCB:L

Enclosure

RECEIVED
JUL 6 1954
Southern Regional Council

QUESTIONNAIRE

Taxation of Publicly Owned Electric Utility Systems

1. What imposts, if any, are levied on your electric utility?

2. What concessions or services, if any, are rendered by the utility to governmental agencies of any kind within its service area at reduced rates or free of charge?

3. What payments, if any, are made in lieu of taxes to taxing jurisidctions within your service area?

4. If utility is operated on a profit basis, how and to whom are profits transferred?

5. What taxes, payments in lieu of taxes, concessions or services are rendered to other taxing jurisdictions outside your service area on property which your system owns in such other taxing jurisdictions? This particular problem is most likely to arise where the utility owns power generating facilities and transmission lines outside its service area.

6. What taxes, payments in lieu of taxes, concessions or services are rendered to taxing jurisdictions outside the service area and in which the utility owns no property outside the service area? An example of this situation might be a municipal utility which pays taxes to a state or county government even though it owns no property, nor extends its service, outside the city limits.

7. On what basis are taxes or payments in lieu of taxes calculated?

8. What contractual obligations does your electric utility have with suppliers of electric power which are related to payment of taxes or payments and other concessions in lieu of taxes?

9. What is the legal basis or authority -- i.e., federal laws, Department of Interior regulations, state constitutional provisions and amendmentments, statutes, city ordinances, attorney general's opinions -- for the practices employed by your utility? If readily available, a copy of the applicable ordinance or other authority will be appreciated.

10. If any of these practices, laws, statutes, or ordinances have been litigated, please cite the applicable cases.

May 3, 1956

Mr. B. Bernarr Vance
5 Treasure Lane
St. Petersburg 6, Florida

Dear Mr. Vance:

I have your letter of April 24th, and I am prepared to answer it, but I don't see much for me to answer.

I rather think that if you will pressure whatever avenues Loescher opened you will be pleased.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Dr. Mitchell:

Attached is your original corres.

with Mr. Vance.

EAB 5/3/56

April 26, 1956

Mr. B. Bernarr Vance
5 Treasure Lane
St. Petersburg 6, Florida

Dear Mr. Vance:

Thank you for your letter of April 23rd. Mr. Mitchell is out of the city and will not be back in the office until Monday morning, April 30th.

Meanwhile I send you a Florida Council on Human Relations' leaflet from which you can get their purpose, method, policy, and also a list of their Executive Committee. For further information about the Florida Council you might write to Mr. William K. Williams the Executive Director, or Mr. Howard D. Roberts the Associate Executive Director, at 324 South Beach Street, Daytona Beach. Their telephone number is CLinton 3-7072.

Mr. Mitchell will be writing you shortly concerning your request for information on the Southern Regional Council's activities in the area of race relations.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary to
Mr. George S. Mitchell

eab/

Encl. Fla. Council on Human Relations leaflet.

5/3/56
incoming corres. attached
as per your instructions/EAB

April 23, 1956

RECEIVED APR 24 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I contacted Dr. Frank Losecher, as you suggested, regarding a Grant or other financial aid for an academic and field service study of racial desegregation or integration problems in the South, especially as they affect our educational institutions. Dr. Loescher called me by telephone Sunday night from his home, and we had a lengthy chat. He holds some encouragement for my general proposal, and I shall forward more information to him. Under existing conditions of the social order, and in keeping with the interim period suggested for the public schools to explore and work toward ultimate integration, an immediate solution of the critical problem is hardly possible in the South. However, I feel that we must lay foundational groundwork and educative processes so that integration may finally be accomplished without violence, with calm deliberation, accumulation of facts and scientific evidence, and a gentle testing of solutions which can show to the world that we can solve our own problems under a true democratic process. Nations of the world will follow our attempts to solve such problems, and our prestige as a freedom-loving people will be enhanced or lessened as a result in world affairs. To me, this is an educative process among our young people and, through them, into the adult community. Under existing conditions, my college cannot undertake immediate steps to solve the problem, but I believe that our progressive school system here could be convinced that study foundations should be begun looking toward eventual integration in both higher-level and lower-level areas of our educational system.

May I ask a favor? I would appreciate, by return mail, any information which you would care to furnish regarding the present activities of your Southern Regional Council in the area of race relations, and particularly in the area of desegregation in southern schools. I would also like to have the names and addresses of members and advisers of The Florida Council on Human Relations, particularly those located within the geographical areas of St. Petersburg, Gainesville, and Tallahassee, Florida. Any information you have about their definite goals and accomplishments will also be greatly appreciated. Our local St. Petersburg Council on Human Relations, an organization of a good many years of service in this community and now headed by Rev. Walter N. Kalaf, has been contacted in the past by The Florida Council for possible affiliation, but Rev. Kalaf tells me that his organization has been unable to determine the definite goals and purposes of The Florida Council on Human Relations and thus far no affiliation has been made. At The St. Petersburg Council's regular meeting last night, an admirable discussion was held of school integration problems and this organization has great potentials.

Thanks so very much, Dr. Mitchell, for your personal interest and encouragement. You may address me at my home address below.

Sincerely yours,

B. Bernarr Vance

B. Bernarr Vance

(home address)
5 Treasure Lane
St. Petersburg 6, Florida

Signed by mef in Dr. Mitchell's absence.

April 4, 1956

Mr. B. Bernarr Vance, Staff Member
St. Petersburg Junior College
St. Petersburg 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Vance:

A man to be in touch with is Frank Loescher, 414 South 46th Street, Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania. He advises the Fund for the Republic on these matters.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

ST. PETERSBURG JUNIOR COLLEGE
ST. PETERSBURG 2, FLORIDA

RECEIVED MAR 28 1956

March 27, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

VIA AIR MAIL

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Mr. Frederick D. Patterson, Director of The Phelps-Stokes Fund, has suggested that I contact you regarding a proposal for a year of field-service and academic study concerned with the applications of the scientific method to pressing problems of integration of southern negroes into educational, social, and economic life.

We are all too keenly aware that the problem of segregation or integration has become acute to the point of causing drastic social upheavals in our educational institutions and elsewhere, and that many approaches to the problem are emotional and historical. I feel it keenly here at my own college, where I teach and engage in curriculum work in both the day and evening divisions in areas of general education where the life sciences and the social sciences meet and dovetail. We know that the people of The United States have been most successful in applying scientific thinking and scientific attitudes in most all phases of industry and business, and I feel that it behooves all of us who work in fields of correlation between the humanities and the sciences to explore all possible means leading toward a translation of scientific method and deliberation in problem-solving into educational and social life. My position here offers an unique opportunity to do this. Too, I have had considerable experience in preparing study materials dealing with the backgrounds of racial prejudices, race potentials, and attitudes toward these which are truly valid and practical, and working with discussion groups and individuals in these areas.

I covet the opportunity to spend an academic year or more working with southern universities and colleges, and with various social agencies interested in step-by-step improvement of educational and social opportunities for all, and particularly with southern negroes, among whom I have friends and associates. I understand that you might be able to indorse such a proposal to The Fund for the Republic, or some other Fund or organization which could offer financial assistance; or that perhaps The Ford Foundation might, through you, become interested in it. It would be a pleasure to submit a more detailed proposal to you or to them. I am currently planning toward next year, and would greatly appreciate your reaction at an early date. Mr. Patterson exhibited "great interest" in my preliminary request, but writes me that The Phelps-Stokes Foundation is not currently able to receive the proposal. I shall look forward eagerly to hearing from you, and wish to thank you in advance for your thoughtful consideration. Mr. Patterson wrote that he felt you would be "very much interested."

Sincerely yours,

B. Bernarr Vance

B. Bernarr Vance, Staff Member

BBV/nv

May 17, 1956

Mrs. Elizabeth Virrick
8400 Old Cutler Road
Miami, Florida

Dear Elizabeth:

Many thanks for your good letter of May 11. I was glad to hear that Dave McEntyre has asked you to do a little survey for him. Dave is a nice guy and knows his way around in the housing field. Am glad too that you received an honorarium for the survey, but let me hasten to add that you were in the professional class way before this.

Mrs. Bettner apparently is up tp her old activities. She is a natural as a Mother Superior for the White Citizens Councils. I think you were wise in turning your literature that was given out at the WCC meeting over to the F.B.I. We need to keep the U. S. Department of Justice aware of the subversive activities of these hatemongers.

I wish I knew of an angel or an angle to get you the fifteen hundred dollars but unfortunately I know of none such. However, I know it will be much worth your while and certainly would be helpful to the Miami area if you could make that eight-country trip to study progress in housing. Have you thought of Arthur Vining Davis? He has always shown an interest in your activities, as I remember.

I have recently been to Detroit for speeches to the Detroit Co-ordinating Council and also to Alpha Kappa Alpha, national Negro sorority. Then I was just back up there last weekend for a Board Meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

This coming week I am off to the West Coast - San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino - for speeches before the San Francisco Civic Unity Council and also the American Civil Liberties Union. We believe that it is terribly important to"get the story out" from the South to the rest of the nation, We feel that an inadequate amount of factual information is reaching the rest of the nation and that those who purport to speak for the South, in other words the Talmadges, the Byrneses, and the Eastlands, represent the most reactionary elements of the region and do not reflect the growing strength of

democracy in our area.

I don't know just when I will be down in Florida but sometime this summer I intend to take a week off and spend it down there and certainly one of the people high on the list of "musts" to see is my good friend, Elizabeth Virrick.

Best regards.

Always,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

November 12, 1956

Volunteer & Welfare Information Service
118 South Oak Knoll Avenue
Pasadena, California

Gentlemen:

Enclosed you will find 50¢ in coin to cover the cost of one copy of your fourth edition of "So...You Serve on a Board".

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

February 11, 1957

Mr. Harold J. Weekley
United Fund of Greenville County
112 W. McBee Avenue
Greenville, South Carolina

Dear Harold:

Thanks for returning the material prepared by George Mitchell's daughter. I have forwarded it to him.

The best of wishes to you as you take up your new duties in Chattanooga.

Jane joins me in best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

UNITED FUND OF GREENVILLE COUNTY

112 W. McBEE AVE. P. O. BOX 1085 GREENVILLE, S. C. PH. 3-4581

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BRUCE STROUPE

February 1, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I saw sometime ago where you were becoming Director of the Southern Regional Council and that George Mitchell was moving on. A year or so ago, George sent me some material that his daughter had prepared at high school regarding the Greenville study. He asked that this be returned to him and I apparently didn't do so. I would appreciate it very much if you would see to it that this enclosed material be sent on to George.

You may be interested to know that I have resigned as United Fund Executive in Greenville to take a similar position in Chattanooga, Tennessee. We are moving next week. Give our best to your good wife.

Cordially yours,

Harold

Harold J. Weekley

HJW/du

Encl.

file

March 25, 1957

Mr. Frank C. Foster
University of Maine
Orono, Maine

Dear Mr. Foster:

In Mr. Fleming's absence from the office, I acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 19th. He will be writing you shortly after he returns on Monday, April 1st.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

eab/

UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
ORONO, MAINE

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION STEVENS, SOUTH

March 19, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAR 21 1957

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Congratulations on the new responsibilities and honor that comes to you in the Southern Regional Council. When I think of the changes since I went to a conference set up in Atlanta with W.W.Alexander the director, - it must have been 1933 or 34 - and the situation today, there has been very real progress.

What I think most people miss in viewing the struggle is the long range work that is necessary to produce leaders, and develop relations that make readjustment possible. The Southern Regional Council is such a prophetic organization that it can be the working instrument of the moral conscience of those who think, work, and live within a world of ideals and practices well beyond those of the dominant and dominating forces in power.

As things are moving today it is possible the area of operation can be the whole nation. Certainly race prejudice is not a regional vice. We are all involved.

I value the monthly reports you bring through the NEW SOUTH. And recall with much satisfaction our short conversation of two years ago about this time. I'm still trying to assimilate the wealth of material I brought back from that sabbatical trip.

Sincerely yours,

Frank C. Foster

Frank C. Foster

Desegregation: Problems and Promise

By Frank C. Foster

THE Supreme Court decision on desegregation of schools has made May 17, 1954 one of the great dates in our struggle for democracy. The meaning of freedom finds new depths in our effort to interpret governmental, economic, religious and other social relations, since this issue concerns all segments of society.

So much reporting has been done in the publication of feature articles by the major periodicals, with frequent accounts of incidents, giving special attention of acts of violence, there is danger of confusion arising from the volume of information. That distortion follows is the natural result of our notion that conflict and violence are more newsworthy than development and growth.

The recent accounts of incidents at Clinton, Tennessee, or the events at Tallahassee, Florida, or Montgomery, Alabama, are flashed about as characteristic of the transition while the orderly desegregation of whole school systems as in Baltimore, Maryland, Louisville, Kentucky, and Washington, D. C., involving many more people and providing examples for others to follow, attracts too little attention.

The situation calls for interpretation as well as information. But they must go together. In the open discussion of events we hope for a saner process of adjustment among the conflicting forces.

The first and overwhelming impression one has of the resistance is the notion of *The South* as a social, cultural, economic unit. It isn't united, or "solid," but one faces this strong sense of a rather nationalistic consciousness, bound by a tradition, holding convictions about a way of life that is peculiar to the South. If it is a myth, and a myth unsupported by history, as the Carolinian historian-journalist W. J. Cash records in his *Mind of the South*, the influence of the belief is as strong as if it were true.

I DO not intend to linger in the past. But history makes the crisis. Such critical situations tend to drive people back into their memories and early convictions, impelling them to resort to the earlier solutions of the demagogues and mobs.

More fundamental to the present transition is the faith in the future of the South as a unit which by careful, scientific study and orderly planning has developed education, industry, production, religion, and other aspects of life in the region. A review of various index numbers of income, wealth, educational levels, significant projects such as the T V A, Oak Ridge, production in textiles, paper, steel, and other industrial and commercial achievements testifies to a dramatic progress that far surpasses the importance of a few noisy back-fires that catch the ear of the distant spectator.

The point to note is that the desegregation is but a symptom of the whole development of the south, an inevitable product of growth toward democracy. Desegregation includes all aspects of public relations. The challenge has been expressed with great force by Benjamin E. Mays in address before the Southern Historical Association at Memphis, Tennessee, November 10, 1955 He begins,

> "Whenever a strong dominant group possesses all the power political, educational, economic and wields all the power; makes all the laws, municipal, state and federal and administers the laws; writes all constitutions municipal, state and federal and interprets these constitutions; collects and holds all the money, municipal, state and federal and distributes all the money, determines all policies, governmental, business, political, and educational; when that group plans and places heavy burdens, grievous to be borne upon the backs of the weak, that act is immoral. If the strong group is a Christian group or a follower of Judaism, both of whom contend that God is creator, judge, impartial, just, universal love and that man was created in God's image, the act is against God and man, thus immoral. If the strong group is atheistic, the act is against humanity—still immoral.

Dr. Mays goes on to point out how segregation serves the strong against the weak, first by "a legal badge of inferiority on the segregated," second "to set the segregated apart so that he can be treated as an inferior; in the courts, in recreation, in transportation, in politics, in government, in employment, in religion; in education, in hotels, in motels, restaurants, and in every other area of American life . . . without the consent of the segregated." Third "he has made the segregated believe he is inferior . . . millions of Negroes now alive will never be cured of the disease of inferiority."

The fact that Dr. Mays, a Negro college president, delivered this to a white association in a city as deep in the south as Memphis demonstrates a desegregation in educational circles more frequently practiced now than in the past.

THE church has been quick to sense the moral implications of the situation which Dr. Mays points out. Immediately following the Supreme Court decision the national policy boards of the major religious bodies issued resolutions calling on the churches to support the decision, and to practice desegregation within their own communities. Local practice did not follow the national policy in most cases. The fact that there are all too few examples of desegregated local church programs confirms the impression that the issue affects our whole pattern of life. Consequently, it is to be expected that religious leaders will line up with the resistance, as one minister quoted in *New South* ended his defense by saying, "If this is unChristian, then I'm sorry; but that's the way I feel."

This loyalty to the "Southern Way" is fascinatingly illustrated by the State of Mississippi appropriating a quarter of a million dollars to state their case to the world by inviting a group of journalists to come and see for themselves. My impressions of the trip are taken from the excellent observations made by Sid Cullen in his six part report published in the Rockland *Courier-Gazette*. To quote his description:

> "The State Sovereignty Commission of Mississippi is probably the only such body in the 48 states of the nation . . . the Commission had one sole duty, the preservation of segregation in Mississippi. . . . Mississippians have in the past three weeks experienced publicity on their race problems such as they have never had before. The reporters have told the rest of the world that the South has a problem that it can best solve itself. . . . one speaker at a luncheon in the city of Kosiusko observed: 'We do not want to change others' way of thinking; we just don't

---

Frank C. Foster is professor of education at the University of Maine. His teaching area is social studies, and he has made a personal study of intercultural relations. During the University's Summer Session, he conducts a workshop in intercultural relations. Two years ago he toured the south while on sabbatical leave. The Alumnus *published his report of this tour in the February 1956 issue. He received the B.S. degree from Colby College in 1916, the B.D. from Union Theological Seminary in 1924, the M.A. in 1924 and the Ph.D. in 1933 from Columbia University. He joined the faculty in 1947.*

want them to try to change ours.' He reflected the attitude of the whole state."

Now it is obvious on the face of the invitation that the state is trying to change the way of thinking of others, and that their way of thinking is very much touched by what others are thinking of them. And, as the Cullen report unfolds, we are aware of the fact that Negro citizens are being heard as they were never heard before.

This inability of the dominant white to sense the views of the outcaste is reflected in a letter to the New York Times (Editorial page, March 18, 1956). St. Claire Drake, professor of sociology, Roosevelt College, Chicago, comments on the Manifesto issued by 96 Southern Congressmen after the Supreme Court decision:

> "This declaration reveals a dangerous ignorance of the current state of opinion and attitude among Southern Negroes. . . . Amicable 'Relations' (referred to in the manifesto) between whites and Negroes have been secured through an elaborate caste system."

Drake goes on to point out what the visiting editors observed, and what is implied in Dr. Mays' speech before the Southern Historical Association, that the Negroes have been denied any "effective channels of communication." As a major segment of the population, they are not represented in city councils, state legislatures, or other decision making bodies.

FROM another angle, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, comments:

> "Negroes would be the greatest supporters of states rights if they could get some rights in the states."

Let me state the importance of this from the point of my observations made two years ago, while traveling in the South (*Maine Alumnus*, February, 1956). At that time I quoted Gordon Lovejoy's observation that the South was roughly divided with about 20% rigidly opposed to desegregation, about 20% ready, and the remaining 60% waiting to see; that the most bitter resistance would come from the sections lowest in the economic scale, the sections with the largest percentage of Negro population where there had been the largest concentration of slaves. Mississippi, the lowest in per capita national income, represents what my Negro friends used to describe as "hard." That Mississippi should open the issue as much as it has for public discussion demonstrates some appeal to reason even if it would appear to be the reasons why the state is committed to the caste system.

One other item in the Cullen report deserves comment. The state took the "separate but equal" solution seriously. He notes impressive improvements in schools and actual employment of Negro workers in industries along with white labor, with appropriate salaries and wages for work done. Such improvements are so far beyond what could have been expected a decade ago, to say nothing of a generation ago, that the very level of the resistance is hopeful. All the efforts to build up the balanced program of industry and agriculture, toward improving the level of life in which all the citizens of the state share lay the foundation for more objective and intelligent adjustment.

I have called attention to the frequent references to the southern loyalty to its past; to the humorous, and sometimes serious references to the "lost cause," the exhibition of the stars and bars, the vivid description of this whole pattern in Cash's study. More important for our present understanding is the critical, creative, purposeful efforts which are just as much the South as the reaction to the fiction of the past. One thinks of Lillian Smith and her wise and courageous *Now is the Time*, of *Southern School News* published in Nashville, edited by Don Shoemaker, formerly editor of the Asheville (N. C.) *Citizen*, of *New South* and the program of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, *The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen*, led by Howard Kestor at Black Mountain, N. C., of *The Patriot*, edited by Jim Dombrosky in Nashville, of the cooperative activities in university centers, Chapel Hill, N. C., Atlanta, Ga., Nashville, Tennessee.

Here are the fine traditions of integrity in journalism, courage and honesty in scholarship, and prophetic insight in religion.

THE capacity of the South for self-criticism is well illustrated by an article appearing in the *New South* by Professor Lewis M. Killian. A sociologist, he had made a study of the conditions in Florida which would be affected by the Supreme Court Decision, a report used by the state to influence the Court in the Court's final statement implementing its decision.

The article, *"The Subtle Hypocrisy of Delay"* concludes,

> "Open advocacy of segregation and of return to the principle of separate but equal is an honest position, regardless of what may be said about it. So, also, is the advocacy of integration, beginning immediately and proceeding slowly but in good faith, although it is dangerous to advocate this in the south today. But the position of delay is inherently dishonest and unrealistic . . . unless the delayer is prepared to answer the question, 'What do you propose to do during the time of delay.' "

There is not space to quote from the many fine statements of moral leadership and spiritual integrity coming from the South. The very abundance of the discussion and the inner struggle that this represents inspires confidence that this time for greatness will result in magnanimous action.

Underlying this struggle for the soul of the south rests the fundamental concept of the authority of the state, which has been used as the excuse for evading the authority of the Supreme Court. Here the struggle becomes linked with the universal struggle for freedom. This nationalistic sovereignty, whether it be the USSR, USA, China, Egypt, Hungary, Mississippi, or Maine, needs further study.

For one of the best analyses, and most quotable expressions, I refer to Jacques Maritain's *Man and the State*:

> "In the eyes of a sound political philosophy there is no sovereignty, there is no natural and inalienable right to transcendent or separate supreme power in political society. Neither the Prince nor the King nor the Emperor were really sovereign. Nor even the people sovereign. God alone is sovereign."
>
> "The people are above the state. The people are not for the state. The state is for the people.
>
> "The two concepts of sovereignty and absolutism have been forged together and they must be scrapped together."

SO far I have discussed the issue of desegregation as an inner struggle within the south, a search for the wholeness of the human race, a battle against caste as it has become fixed in the pattern of our national culture. That the world is aware of the conflict is reflected in numerous comments. The conscience of the world is sensitized and many more evidences of desegregation are noted in sports, on the stage, before TV, and in all expressions of human relations. I conclude with three quotations which illustrate the stimulus the decision has been to the thinking of the country.

Gordon Hullfish, in *Educational Leadership* for November, 1956 writes

> "What is at issue is the law under which all of us, not merely some of us live. And this law but reflects an issue which lies more deeply in our associated lives—our commitment to a way of coming at life which respects equally all men without regard to race, religion or color . . . the democratic aspiration is at stake, and this at a time when it is equally at stake in the world at large."

Wilbur LaRoe in the *Presbyterian Outlook* noting Jackie Robinson and Don Newcombe on the Dodgers:

> "Perhaps baseball will yet lead Presbyterians toward integration."

The leading editorial in the *Christian Century* (November 28, '56) commenting on the Montgomery, Alabama "boycott of the city's bus lines, dramatizing their struggle to win equal rights as riders," concludes,

> "All around the world people of color were once again assured that isolated sputterings do not set national policy, that the United States has set a course . . . leading to complete justice and equal justice for *all* its people."

Pa-Jon.
possible inclusion
in your commendation file.
HCF

April 4, 1957

Dr. Frank C. Foster
University of Maine
Orono, Maine

Dear Dr. Foster:

I greatly value your recent letter. It's a matter of much satisfaction and encouragement to us to feel that the work of the Southern Regional Council deserves the kind of supporting words that you have written.

I read your fine article from the Maine Alumnus with much pleasure. So much of what is written about the South elsewhere lacks the deeper understanding which we would like to see spread in the rest of the country. Your balanced and informed approach to the subject is most welcome, and we are glad to know that our publications are helpful to you in preparing them.

Let us know at any time that we can be of service to you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

June 6, 1957

112 T SM 6

Mr. Walter H. Uphoff
Head of Workers Education
University Extension Service
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 14, Minnesota

Dear Walter:

It was good to talk with you by phone the other day, and I look forward to being with you in August.

You asked what courses I would like to teach; I'll give you three groupings of courses and you fit the ones in that suit your over-all program best.

The first group would be along the line of Southern problems, race relations in unions in the South, problems in Southern union organization, survey of race relations progress and problems, or just unions in the South. A whole course could be made up of several of these "topics" pulled together or you could fit in special sessions or workshops along these lines.

The second group of courses of interest to me center around government, political science, or constitutional law. Topics such as unions and the Constitution, structure and function of American government, the legislative process, and parties and politics in the U.S.

The third grouping consists of more standard workers education fare. Included here are American labor history, parliamentary procedure (where there is time for discussing it in broader terms of democratic process), discussion leadership and/or use of visual aids, effective union committees. Topics such as grievance handling and stewards training and other basic union courses interest me but my handling of them is best for elementary groups or a specific union that I have some insight into.

Best personal wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

P.S. The sooner I see your definite program and know what you expect from me the better.

EFV:mm
Dictated but not read by Mr. Via;
Signed in his absence.

September 18, 1957

Mr. R. E. Vander Ross, Editor
"Neptunus"
Fairview Road
Wynberg. C. P.
South Africa

Dear Mr. Vander Ross:

Thank you for your very nice letter of August 19. Certainly we remember you and very plessantly so.

I am pleased that you find our publications of use. You may reproduce passages from any of the material published by the Southern Regional Council, as long as proper credit is given. I am also sending you under separate cover some additional material which you may find of interest to you in your work.

Again thanks for your kind comments.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

T.E.P.A.

RECEIVED SEP 10 1957

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"Neptunus",
Fairview Road,
Wynberg. C.P.
South Africa.
19th August 1957.

The Secretary,
The Southern Regional Council,
Atlanta.

Dear Sir,

You may recall that during March of this year my wife and I visited your office. You may better remember me as Principal of the Battswood Training College. We retain very pleasant memories of your kind reception of us.

The books and publications which you kindly gave me are being put to great use here. We could use a dozen sets more! Actually it is in this regard that I write. As Editor of the above publication circulating amongst some 2,000 teachers, I have the unique opportunity of spreading the ideas gained overseas. May I have your permission to reproduce passages from your publication? I refer especially at the moment to a work like "Changing Patterns in the New South", in which there are short papers of tremendous interest to us.

I shall be grateful to have your permission of other views. The publication which I edit is issued without cost to members.

If you could provide us with any additional material, it would be most warmly appreciated.

Many thanks once again for your kindness, and with good wishes in your work.

Yours sincerely,

R.E.VANDER ROSS.

EDITOR.

Encls: Cang. Record
"Faith of Promise"
Grey Golden - Sec.

October 18, 1957

Miss Marie-Anne de Franz
Department of Social Sciences
UNESCO
19, Avenue Kleber
Paris 16, France

Dear Madam:

Mr. Guy A. Lee of the United States National Commission for UNESCO has forwarded us your letter of inquiry dated September 26.

As you will see from the stationery on which this letter is written the address you have for the Southern Regional Council is correct; and the current officers are listed above.

The Southern Regional Council does not carry on scientific research, properly speaking. It does, however, collect, formulate, and disseminate factual information and analysis in the field of Southern race relations. Our findings are published in our monthly bulletin New South and in printed and mimeographed special reports which are published from time to time. In addition, we undertake to answer requests for information by newspapermen, students, teachers, private and public agencies, and others who have a legitimate interest in our field.

I am enclosing some materials which may give you a better understanding of those activities of the Southern Regional Council that are relevant to your purpose.

Let me know at any time that we can be of service to your organization.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

CHAIRMAN
JOHN R. RICHARDS

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

Established by Act of Congress July 30, 1946

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 1, 1957

RECEIVED OCT 7 1957

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We have received from UNESCO, an inquiry concerning the Southern Regional Council. The letter, dated September 26, 1957 is self-explanatory, and so I am enclosing a copy for your use. We would appreciate it if you could provide any relevant information directly to Miss de Franz.

Sincerely yours,

Guy A. Lee

Guy A. Lee
Assistant Director
UNESCO Relations Staff

Enclosure:

Copy of letter from
Department of Social
Sciences, UNESCO.

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
The Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia.

(6)

TELEPHONE : KLEBER 52-00 BALZAC 24-02 - TELEGR. : UNESCO PARIS

UNESCO

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES POUR L'ÉDUCATION, LA SCIENCE ET LA CULTURE

19, Avenue Kléber PARIS 16e

In your reply, please refer to :
En répondant, veuillez rappeler:
N° SS/728.129

26 September 1957

Sir,

Subject: International Inventory of Institutions conducting Scientific Activities in the Field of Race Relations

The Unesco Department of Social Sciences has requested the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation to assemble up-to-date information on institutions conducting scientific research in the field of race relations, where such institutions are not mentioned in the International Directory published by the Wenner Gren Foundation. This work is now at an advanced stage, and the Committee were able to obtain recent data on many institutions, including those in the United States. Unfortunately, however, it was not able to establish contact with three institutions mentioned in the book by George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger: "Racial and Cultural Minorities". This book was prepared in 1953, and it is therefore now necessary to obtain more recent data for the entries.

The three institutions in question - which may have changed their postal addresses or, perhaps, no longer exist - are:

The Chicago Council against Racial and Religious Discrimination
Suite 1700, 123 Madison Street, Chicago 3

The Common Council for American Unity
Wilkie Memorial Building, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y.

The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E., Atlanta, Georgia.

In order to complete its international inventory, the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation needs to have, for each of these institutions, confirmation of the name and postal address, the names of leading officers and a short outline on scientific activities concerning race relations. I should be most appreciative if you would be good enough to assist the Committee in this work, which is being carried out under contract to Unesco. Thanking you in advance for your kind co-operation,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Marie-Anne de Franz
Department of Social Sciences

The Executive Secretary
United States National Commission
for Unesco
Department of State
Washington, D.C.
U.S.A.

November 14, 1957

Mr. Willard Johnson
Vice-President
Educational Affairs
United States National Student Association
1234 Gimbel Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of the 4th has been referred to me since Dr. Mitchell has retired and is now living in Scotland.

We are pleased and encouraged to know of your interest and activities in eliminating racial discrimination from higher education. Unfortunately, your office sent us your report, "The Student's Role in Implementing the Second Report to the President," rather than your resolutions on desegregation. We are anxious to know more of these resolutions and would like to have a copy. It occurs to us that such resolutions should receive wide distribution, especially among college students. And, our research office would like to have a copy for our files.

Concerning the Council and its programs, we are enclosing a recent reprint from the Congressional Record. We will be happy to send you additional and more detailed information if you wish.

We would appreciate having information on your human relations programs as they develop and we stand ready to be of any possible help to you.

Sincerely,

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION

1234 GIMBEL BUILDING • PHILADELPHIA 7, PA. • MArket 7-7357

November 4, 1957

Dr. George Mitchell
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NW.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You will find enclosed a copy of the resolutions on desegregation and human relations which were passed at the 10th National Congress of our Association held in Ann Arbor, Michigan last August. As you can see from the content of these resolutions, the representatives of a million American college students who met in Ann Arbor were greatly concerned about the problems facing our country and especially the South. in the attempt to eliminate discrimination on a racial basis from higher education

Our Association has been greatly encouraged by the work that your organization and others are doing to provide a positive, constructive solution to these problems. Because of our continuing interest in this field, we would appreciate any information about your programs in the field of human relations and desegregation.

We will attempt to inform your organization of all of our programs in the desegregation and human relations fields, and we would welcome your advise and council on any of these.

Sincerely,

Willard Johnson

Willard Johnson
Vice President,
Educational Affairs

ASSOCIATED WITH: American Council on Education • International Student Conference • U. S. Commission for UNESCO • World University Service • Council on Student Travel • Young Adult Council • Nat'l Citizens Committe for UN Day • Nat'l Scholarship Service & Fund for Negro Students

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THE STUDENT'S ROLE IN IMPLEMENTING THE SECOND REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT

Background

Complacency is a terrible disease-- Sputnik proved it. No one should be more aware than we of the demands . the modern world places on a nation to fully educate its people.

These demands are being placed upon our nation when roughly half of those most qualified for a college education never enter college. Even so, the entire educational community has been aware for some time of an impending crisis in the form of a "tidal wave" of students which will double college and university enrollments in the next ten to fifteen years.

It was to understand and meet these problems that the President established the Committee on Education Beyond the High School. That committee's Second Report to The President, compiled after extensive research into these problems, made several crucial recommendations to the Federal Government and to the entire educational community.

This project is one designed to help implement some of those recommendations.

Why Should Students Conduct such a Project ?

The most outstanding reason for our sponsorship of this project is our interest in the problems now facing higher education. We are interested and will work to help meet those problems regardless of the support we receive, financially or morally, because we, as students, are the ones most affected by these problems. This is our education everyone is talking about. We intend to make that education of a high quality, if we can.

It is important that we should be interested in helping to meet these problems, because they are so immense that no one agency, or segment of the educational community will solve them alone. The educational community can't afford to exclude any source of beneficial aid. The resources that the student community offers is virtually untapped, compared to the many agencies and organizations now joining with the faculty and administration groups to solve these problems.

It is also fitting and proper that the National Student Association should propose this project because, as the spokesman for over onemillion college and university students, NSA has both the resources, prestiege, and experience to make this program effective. The USNSA has promoted many of the programs submitted in this proposal before in limited circumstances. We know they work. We now need to provide an integrated and coordinated application of the programs we have found to be most effective.

What are the Specific Issues With Which We are Concerned ?

This project attempts to help the following key problems as outlined by the President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School

1. The need for a greater number of teachers calls for (a) an increase in Faculty salaries, and, (b) greater efforts at teacher recruitment, and (c) new techniques to increase the effectiveness of teachers.
2. Expanding Educational Opportunity calls for (a) more and better counseling for college students, and, (b) greater counseling by colleges and universities to high school students, and further, (c) financial assistance to students.
3. The need for increased financial assistance to educational institutions calls for greater understanding of these problems by the general community.

PROPOSAL

The USNSA proposes to promote several specific programs on our member campuses through the student government on these campuses. These fall into six major areas: Faculty Salary Increases, Teacher Recruitment, Increasing the Effectiveness of Teachers, Counseling, Work-study Programs, Information Campaigns.

This project shall be implemented through the following:

1. A national planning conference will be called for the Regional officers, ie. Regional Educational Affairs Vice President and one other, for the purpose of acquainting them with the issues and programs involved. This conference will be held during the Christmas vacation, probably in Washington D.C., and will include the top educators and laymen working on these problems.

2. A series of twenty (20) regional preparatory workshop sessions will be conducted by the regional officers who attended the national conference. One or more students from each member campus will attend these sessions and will become acquainted with the issues and the procedures for setting up the campus workshop sessions. Outstanding educators, community leaders, and businessmen from the region will be drawn in as resource people.

3. A nation-wide series of campus workshop sessions will be promoted on each campus. These workshop sessions will review the problems outlined in the Second Report to the President and will attempt to implement the recommendations of the Committee through the programs suggested in this proposal and those suggested by the national office of NSA, and any program springing from the discussions at the national or regional conferences.

Working papers and a program kit containing a summary of the issues involved, relevent publications, and program outlines will be provided at each conference and to each member campus.

Specific Program Areas to Be Explored by the Workshop Sessions

Teacher Salary Increases:

Student governments will be encouraged to set up a Faculty Salary Fund to which contributions would be made from the activities of the student government. Campuses will also explore the possibilities of devoting profits from activities such as football, and other athletic programs, to the Faculty Salary Fund.

This program would be design not only to contribute directly to the salaries of the faculty but also to dramatize the issue to the community.

Teacher Recruitment:

Information programs will be set up by the student governments to inform the campus of the tremendous need for teachers. These programs will include newspaper articles and editorials, lecture series, and selected programs and projects.

Programs of an academic nature will be sponsored within the departments and major-study or curriculum areas of the institution. These will be designed to acquaint the students in that field of the opportunities of teaching in that field.

Part of the special student-run counseling service outlined below will be devoted to counseling students on the advantages, opportunities, and personal rewards of teaching. This would also reach the high school students in that community.

Increasing Effectiveness of Teachers

The campus student leaders will explore the areas where student government can program in each of the academic departments to augment the instruction within that field of study. This might take the form of lecture series, special seminars or workshops, student publications, special projects, or provision of the physical facilities neededfor out of class study etc. etc.

Course and curriculum evaluations will also be encouraged as an aid to increasing the educational impact of the instruction.

Continuing studies of new areas of programming and new techniques of instruction will be encouraged through the workshop sessions, to the student government and to the faculty and administration.

The campus workshop sessions will emphasize increasing activities of student governments and student organizations which result in a greater climate of academic inquiry on campus.

Campuses will also be encouraged to make a long-range study of the ways that a greater number of educational programs can be included in the off-campus activities of the students and in the dormitory and living group programs.

Counselling Services

Student governments will be helped to set up a counselling bureau which will be staffed by students and under the guidance and counsel of a staff member of the regular counselling office. This bureau will take some of the routine burden off the regular counselling office and thus increase their effectiveness as well as provide for the counseling of a great many more students who presently do not seek or cannot get counseling help.

The campus workshop sessions will also aid the campus in setting up a counseling service for high school students. This would entail campus visits, by local high schools, with college orientation sessions. There would also be included visits by college students to the high schools to speak to high school student bodies. A great deal of the emphasis of this program would be teacher recruitment.

Work Study Program

The Campus workshop would iniate a study to evaluate the needs for and possibilities of a work-study program on each campus. Such a work-study program would include the hiring of students as teacher assistants and staff assistants, and to staff special programs such as the counselling program outlined above. The focus of such a program would be teacher recruitment and increased effectiveness. Thus the priority of assigning student assistants to faculty members would be on the basis of the help they could give to the over-all program of teacher recruitment, or to free them to participate in projects which help meet the shortage of teachers such as the application of television to educational instruction.

Information Campaigns

The campus workshop sessions will also map out an information campaign for the local community. This nation-wide implementation proposal would be a informational program in itself, but in addition the local campus would be encouraged and helped to keep the community aware of the issues and problems in higher education the year round.

Why We Know Positive Results Will Follow--How It's Been Done Before

This project is designed to assist students in making a contribution to the solution of the problems outlined in the Second Report to the President and is not limited just to increasing their understanding of them. The programs to be explored by each campus workshop have been successful before as they have been applied in one form or another by a limited number of campuses. We need now to have a large scale integrated application of them.

The need for, and the value of the types of programs included in this project have been recognized by educators, administrators and educational foundations. The Committee on Utilization of College Teaching Resources of the Fund for the advancement of education in its 1956 report stated, "the committee is impressed with the potential value of increasing the student s responsibility for his own education, not only in reducing the faculty work load for a given number of students but also in promoting the student's growth in independent thi king and judgment."

In the same publication the Committee listed several programs which utilize the resources of students:

I. Programs of independent study are being undertaken at Antioch, Duke, Grinnell, Marquette, Michigan, Oregon, Wabash, and Williams

II. Non-professional personnel are being used to aid the faculty at the following institutions; Colorado, Connecticut, Howard University, Montana State, Nebraska, New Mexico, Ohio, Rensselaer Polytechnic, Smith Stanford, Sweet Briar, Wabash, State College of Washington, Wellesley, and Williams.

III. Arrangements to increase the effectiveness of faculty are included in the programs of Antioch, Los Angeles State, Nebraska, New Mexico, Pittsburgh, Rensselaer Polytechnic, Smith, Wabash, Wellesley, and Williams.

These are primarily research programs which reflect the value of exploring new techniques and exploiting the resources for education made available through the students themselves. Many other examples could be cited of currently functioning programs created and implemented by students to help meet these same problems.

IV. One program which has effective results in recruiting new teachers is that of St. John's where freshmen are taught by Senior students. Studies have shown that the freshmen do equally as well in these classes as in the normal classes. The experience of teaching plays a leading role in convincing a student to go into teaching.

V. Several institutions have helped to meet faculty salaries from student contributions. G. D. Harwood, Comptroller of Notre Dame University, reports that " an annual student drive is made for unrestricted gifts to the university, and this money has been earmarked for faculty development... we have enjoyed almost 100% participation, which we believe to be the most important point in the campaign. The student is advised of our needs and encouraged to help so that after graduation he is more likely to continue his support through the Alumni drives."

Northwestern University received national publicity last year when the Senior class there devoted its entire Senior Gift to the University for faculty salaries. This program was conceived in the fall of 1955 and was aided in its development by a national officer of the USNSA. The gift was made in 1957 and was the largest Senior Gift ever--- totalling more than $60,000.00

Student run counseling services for high school students in the surrounding community have also proven successful. The University of Minnesota has conducted such a program for some time. Freshman students visit high schools throughout the state and speak about the aims of higher education and some of the advantages of going to college and some of the issues facing higher education.

For a more detailed outline of the types of programs that have proven to be most effective on campuses, three case studies are included.

B U D G E T

I. National Conference		
a. Per Diem (57 people @ $10.00, 3 days)	$1,710.00	
b. Travel (54 people 1600 miles @ 6¢ mi.)	5,185.00	
c. Materials (working papers, phamlets etc.)	250.00	
		$7,145.00
II. Regional Work Shops		
a. Housing Grants (20 grants @ $225.)	4,500.00	
b. Travel Grants (20 grants @ $150.)	3,000.00	
c. Materials (Working papers 700 copies)	300.00	
d. Officer Attendance at Regions	1,000.00	
		8,800.00
III. Campus Workshops		
a. Kits (375 kits @ $7.00)	2,625.00	
		2,625.00
IV. Promotional (Newspaper & Public Relations)	350.00	
		350.00
V. Resource & Advisors		
a. Per Diem (8 people two days @ $10)	160.00	
b. Travel (8 people two meetings @ $50)	800.00	
		960.00
VI. Administration		
a. Administrative & Sect. Assistance (9 months)	2,800.00	
b. Stationery & Office Supplies	200.00	
c. Postage	200.00	
d. Telephone & Telegraph	150.00	
e. Legal & Accounting	100.00	
f. Ed. Affairs Vice Pres. Salary (part of $3,000)	600.00	
g. Contingency	374.00	
h. Administrative fee 5%	1,196.00	
		5,620.00
GRAND TOTAL		$25, 500.00

December 10, 1957

United States Publication Department
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Will you please send us a copy of "Communism in the Mid-South."

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

12/10/57

JC —

Will you undertake to get a copy of this for us?

H.

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...n over.

...other quarters, how-
...t was mantained that in
...election year, as 1958 will
...e, the partisan forces of Con-
gress will set out to make their
own records—as they would do
whether the President was ill or
in the best of health.

RED 'NET' SEEN IN SOUTH

Eastland and Jenner Report Communists Highly Placed

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27 (AP) —Senator James O. Eastland and William E. Jenner said today "The Communist network in the South" was made up of "highly educated individuals who hold positions of influence in their communities."

They made the comment in announcing publication by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee of testimony taken at public hearings in Memphis, Tenn., on Oct. 28-29. The testimony was titled "Communism in the Mid-South."

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Times 11-28-59
Could we get
a copy?

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Dalton, Georgia
February 2, 1959

Dear Christian Worker:

Our deep concern for the children of Georgia prompts us to write this letter.

More than 892,460 school children were enrolled in the public schools of the state in 1955. Should any or all of these - or even one of the least of these - be deprived of education during the formative years of life?

Of this total number, 609,138 are white and 283,322 are colored. With wholesale closing of public schools, which race would suffer the most? And what of each child?

The public school education in Georgia from state appropriations in 1955 cost $104,919,418, which does not include local supplements. Considering the value of public education to each child, the school system of Georgia is worth every cent as a state service to our people.

One more pertinent question! What individuals, even with state tax deductions, or foundations will be able or willing to meet the required amount and for how long?

What can you as a Christian citizen or your group as United Church Women do at this time to help the school situation?

In facing the future of the public school emergency, we need to stop and give serious consideration to some of the issues involved. What are the alternatives immediately ahead? In the December issue of the Georgia Voter, three possibilities from which we can make a choice are listed as follows:

1. Public schools, which do not use race as a basis for discrimination;

2. No schools; or

3. Private schools, financed only with non-public funds.

Current developments show that when the Virginia Supreme Court struck down the entire program of massive

resistance laws to preserve segregation, some people began looking to Alabama's pupil placement plans for the answer as the fourth alternative. A written reply to this question by U. S. Attorney General William P. Rogers strikes down this possibility in the following quote:

"I take this to mean that if the law is administered fairly and not as a device to circumvent the decision in the Brown case outlawing school segregation; if it is administered without discrimination on account of race; there would seem to be no constitutional objection."

Of course, some still cling to the naive hope that the Supreme Court will reverse its decision or the United States Congress will take action to ease the situation. Both of these are highly unlikely. The Supreme Court has continued to implement the original decision with each subsequent decision, and the trend in the U. S. Congress is toward implementation of the program rather than one of slowing down the process started by the Court. As evidence, note the continuing decrease in the number of Senators, include Southern ones, who vote against Civil Rights measures. An amendment, such as the one offered by Senator Talmadge, requires 2/3 vote of the U. S. Senate and House and ratification by 37 of the 49 states. As of now, only seven states remain with no public school desegregation.

Before reaching a decision, each Christian citizen should think it through to the ultimate consequences. If schools closed, what would happen to business development in the state? What would be the effect on juvenile delinquency? Without a government by law, what would we have? If schools closed, what would be the loss to each of the some 900,000 children in his training to meet the challenging competition of the modern world?

Are we facing the current issue or attempting to get around it? If public schools were closed, there would still be the racial problem - unsolved and, perhaps intensified. Work to preserve public education.

I. AS AN INDIVIDUAL WHAT CAN YOU DO?

1. Study to get <u>all</u> facts involved in the issue.

2. Keep friendship with those with opposing views. Maintain respect, without name-calling.

3. Pray

4. Use your influence with acquaintances.

5. Make your Christian opinion known to your law-makers - express yourself.

II. AS AN ORGANIZATION, WHAT CAN YOUR LOCAL COUNCIL OF UNITED CHURCH WOMEN DO IN THE GROUP?

1. Hold study groups together to get the pros and cons of the problem.

2. Keep open the communication between the races, with patience and understanding.

3. Get a perspective. Review the history of public education in Georgia and in the United States. Survey the role of the Supreme Court and the history of the nation.

4. Survey your community or take polls of opinion.

5. Approach this question or any civic problem with the Christlike attitude.

The United Church Women is ecumenical in spirit and in structure, as an organization. In the approaching world Day of Prayer, countries and many races will participate. We urge members of UCW to enter the observance of this day in the spirit of Christ.

So great is the school emergency in our beloved state that the Executive Board of the United Church Women of Georgia felt it advisable to call attention to it by this letter.

The childrens' great need is public schools. Our public educational system (all levels including the state university system) is essential to democracy in government and the resulting enlightenment is necessary

even to our survival as a nation.

Sincere good wishes for continued progress.

Sincerely yours,

President,
United Church Women

Legislative Chairman

mf

March 14, 1960

Mr. Henry J. McGuinn
Chairman of the Institute Steering
Committee
Richmond Area Leadership Institute
Virginia Union University
Richmond 20, Virginia

Dear Mr. McGuinn:

I am complimented by your invitation to speak to the Richmond Area Leadership Institute, and deeply regret that I cannot accept. Unfortunately, I am committed to a long-scheduled meeting on May 6 and 7.

Please convey my regrets to Dr. Proctor and be assured of my interest in assisting in any way I can in future institutes.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

SAMUEL DEWITT PROCTOR, PRESIDENT

RICHMOND 20, VIRGINIA

March 4, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On May 6th and 7th, the Division of the Social Sciences of Virginia Union University and the Richmond Urban League are jointly sponsoring a Richmond Area Leadership Institute. The objective of this Institute is to discover and stimulate at the Grass Roots Level persons whose leadership abilities may be brought to bear upon the broad patterns of community living. The morning session on May 7th will be devoted to a symposium and a question period. We are asking four experts to present papers on each of the following subjects: (1) Citizenship Responsibility, (2) Housing Problems, (3) Economic Advancement, and (4) Family Education. Each expert will be given twenty minutes in which to make his presentation.

Because of your long interest in the questions of citizenship responsibility, and the years of careful study which you have devoted to it, we would be most happy to have you make the presentation of that subject for us. Doctor Samuel D. Proctor, President of Virginia Union University, joins me in extending you an invitation to appear on this program. He will also be most grateful to you if you will help us get this Institute, which we hope will mark the beginning of an annual effort, off to a good start.

MEMBER UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

We regret that we are not in a position to offer you an honorarium for your services since we are financing the Institute through voluntary contributions. If you agree to serve us we are setting aside $100.00 which we hope will cover your travelling expenses.

Sincerely yours,

Henry J. McGuinn

Henry J. McGuinn
Chairman of the Institute Steering Committee

HJM:lyj

DCA - pm 6th -
Time - will come

May 13, 1960

U. S. Tele-Service Corporation
369 Lexington Avenue
New York 17, New York

Gentlemen:

We would like to obtain a copy of the David Susskind "Open End" television transcript of April 3, 1960 the title of which is "The Crisis in the South". Should there be any charges, please bill the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF

May 19, 1960

Mr. John H. Cooley
United Christian Youth Movement
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Cooley:

Paul Rilling, who is out of the country, has asked that I write you concerning your proposed memorandum on the agencies collecting funds to aid students involved in the sit-ins. If this memorandum has been prepared, or is being prepared we would appreciate a copy. If possible, we would also like your permission to share the information with other agencies in the South concerned with human relations.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

May 20, 1966

Mr. Richard Van Voorhis
Secretary for Publications
United Ministries in Higher Education
P. O. Box 7286
Saint Louis, Missouri 63177

Dear Mr. Van Voorhis:

Thank you for the kind words on our "Encounter With The Future." We would be happy to supply you with any amount you need at cost. They are available in 1,000 quantities at $550; 2,000 at $600; and 3,000 at $750. Please advise if you are still interested in ordering and allow approximately three weeks for reprinting.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

Telephone 202 - DUpont 7-7575

United States Student Press Association

2117 S Street NW • Washington, D.C. 20008

file U.S., general

file

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(News Editor, 1965-66, Daily Pennsylvanian)

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October 11, 1966

Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The U. S. Student Press Association, under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, is sponsoring a series of seminars for college newspaper editors on issues in higher education. We hope to acquaint the editors with current educational questions and alternative solutions and to stimulate them to discuss these issues in their newspapers. Although few editors at the present time have the background or interest necessary for discussing education, we believe that such a dialogue would improve their respective institutions.

Four weekend seminars will be held in different parts of the country together with a six-week summer session in Washington. The second weekend seminar will be held in the South at Duke University, December 9-11. We will bring together approximately thirty editors with a small group of professional journalists, faculty members, and administrators to discuss general questions -- such as what should the university teach and how? What should be the relationship between faculty, students, and administration? What is the responsibility of the university to society? -- as well as questions particularly pertinent to Southern education.

I will be in Atlanta, October 19-21 and would like to discuss this project with you. I will call you when I arrive to find out when and if you will be available.

Thank you very much. I look forward to talking with you soon.

Sincerely,

Barbara Stallings

BARBARA STALLINGS
Director
Higher Education Seminars

UNIVERSALIST SERVICE COMMITTEE

16 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Massachusetts

Enclosed please find an article I wrote on the Montgomery bus boycott trial and general observations made following a Southern trip made in March. I would be pleased to receive copies of similar articles you may write for publication.

Cordially,

DANA E. KLOTZLE

Make file
Al Ulmer
file in "Z" Section

May 4, 1967

Mr. Al Ulmer
General Delivery
Sugar Grove, North Carolina

Dear Al:

John Heyman will be here all day on Wednesday, May 24th. Should it be convenient he would enjoy talking with you and getting your latest impression of events. However, he insisted that I make it clear to you that you should not consider making a special trip to Atlanta for that purpose. Not that I thought you would anyway!

Sometime when you get down from the mountain, give me a phone call.

I know you don't miss the city, but I do hope you are miserable.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Make file in Central Files "Ulmer, Al"

June 1, 1967

Mr. Al Ulmer
P. O. Box 204
Vilas, North Carolina 28692

Dear Al:

Everything is happening and as usual I am completely ignorant of it. Please call me here or at home (351-1844) as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
Al Ulmer

June 2, 1967

Mr. Al Ulmer
P. O. Box 204
Vilas, North Carolina 28692

Dear Al:

Thanks very much for your letter of yesterday. It was very helpful in answering all the questions I had when I wrote the note asking you to call. Hope you will still call, however.

I still don't trust myself to put into words, or at least to send through the United States mail, what I think of you on that mountain top when so much is happening and so much ought to be done. If I had only known!

Enclosed is our check for $370.56 representing your expenses, plus a consultant fee of $40.00 per day for five days. We never did really tie that fee down. Is that satisfactory?

Incidentally, did you turn in your air travel card when you left? More particularly, don't you want it back? We would be happy to have you keep the card and use it at will, reimbursing us for any non-SRC business.

My warmest regards to Robin.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

P.S.: Europe was alright but for some reason that continent depresses me. At any rate, the airplane didn't sputter either way!

June 2, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please issue a check to Al Ulmer in the amount of $370.56 .

PA/km

See Al Ulmer

May 31, 1967

LES

MJ-file

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council

Dear Paul,

This letter will be an attempt to report to you the goings on at the first meeting of the advisory committee for the Co-op Development Program. Although we never finalized it, I was under the impression that I would serve as SRC's representative on the committee at least temporarily. Therefore, I missed one plane, caught another, and went to Lafayette.

The Advisory Committee is composed of representatives from SRC, National Sharecropper's Fund, Scholarship and Education Fund, Co-op League, CUNA (Credit Union National Association), CCAP, and seven representatives chosen by the Federation of Southern Co-ops. All were present except CUNA and CCAP. I can send you a list of the names of individuals if you want.

The Committee discussed the following topics:

-- procedure of selecting the director and his qualifications
-- additional possible resources to further the purposes of the program
-- the training program for staff and community persons
-- the communities to be chosen for demonstration attempts.
-- personnel for the program other than the director.

I am not sure whether you are aware of this or not but Wasserman on his last trip to Louisiana visited with Father McKnight and came back with the impression that McKnight had already selected the staff for the program and had named himself director. He relayed this impression to a number of folks and it eventually got back to Ford (Edley) in the form of widespread dissatisfaction with the Southern Consumer's Education Foundation as the sponsor of the program among the "grassroots" people in the South. Moral: for god's sake don't talk too much. Anyhow, Edley got a little jittery since Ford had already given the grant a go ahead and eventually we connected on the telephone and talked a good bit about the grant and the rumor. I tell you this to set the hue of the discussion of director. McKnight wants the job badly and I think would have accepted it on the spot if the committee had requested him to do so. He already had his application written out, and if I say so myself looked a little too eager. I will repeat to you as I said to Edley that I have very few misgivings (although I have some) about McKnight being the director but I think the job should be advertized and several candidates screened unless the directorship of this pretty important program is to be cheapened by tapping a guy who helped create the program. Otherwise, incest charges and all, like the rumor will be sure to brand the program from the beginning

The committee handled it well. A peronnel committee was established in good bureaucratic fashion and applications for the director will be received until June 30th. The personnel committee will ~~select the~~ send to each member of the advisory committee a copy of the candidates and we will select the three best and invite them to the next meeting of the committee to be held July 14th, in Jackson, Miss. Ford, according to Edley wants and therefore, of course, will get, approval of the director. They have already approved three choices Edley told me, McKnight, Dr. T.T. Williams (who would really make a damn good SRC boared member), and as you said, me. I am not a candidate and I doubt if Williams is either. (He's in Malaysia). In the event one of the "chosen" does not get recommended by the advisory committee Ford will say whether or not the person who is recommended is suitable to them. After all that stuff Southern Consumer's Education Foundation makes, ha, the choice.

SRC will be asked to distribute the information concerning the directorship job. If you know of anyone you want to recommend please send his name to McKnight or to Jesse Morris of PPC and the Personnel Committee.

-- Discussion of other possible resources

I'll mention a couple things here just for your information. Ihlenfeldt of the LEAGUE says that they will soon have six packages of films on low income coops. These will deal with Southern Consumers Co-op, a Feeder Pig Co-op (don't laugh there is money in pigs), a buying club in NYC, and Chicago Housing co-op. Penn's training program was mentioned as a place where people from the demonstration communities might receive extra training. Courtney Siceloff told me the other day (I guess you know I am on their program advisory board) he thought Ford would give them some money for a two year program.

Lastly, I would like you to do some thinking about a suggestion I made at the meeting. I would like to see the program create a Co-op Development Corporation or something like that, that would seek out funds for investment in co-ops and people. I suggested that I thought some of the Ford discretionary funds could perhaps be used to pay the interest on bonds that might be sold. I suppose you are familiar about the way the American Jewish Appeal sold bonds for Israel and still sells them at four percent. Over the past ten years they sold close to a billion dollars worth. I think money could be attracted to such a corporation for southern cooperatives, if somet ing like four percent could be offered and paid for originally out of Ford money. The money would or could go to community co-ops that were being assisted technically by the cooperative development program and for an example, could be used to buy land for re-sale to individual co-op members on long term repayment plans or could be used along the li nes of how the SWAFCA money was used, for quick turn over merchandise, sort of just capitalizing a business. I can think of many ways the money could be used and I will shortly attempt to write som thing more in detail on this. Pat Watters mentioned maybe he would run something in New South. What I would appreciate you doing is just giving it some thought and maybe talking to the guy that invests SRC's millions. Is it feasible? What type of a structure would it take in order to appear safe to the potential bond buyer? And will SRC invest in it? The latter should be answered if not, why not.

The training program -- discussion of this was deferred until a staff could have time to develop a proposed program for the advisory committee to criticize.

Overall personnel - I guess this was taken care of by the decision to have a personnel committee. At least we never talked about any more.

Communities to be chosen for demonstration projects - Ford has cut the grant to 578,000 for the two years. With the cut, or becuase of it the decision was made to have only fifteen community organizers in fifteen commu ities. The advisory committee recommended that somewheres near five per each state of Miss, Ala., and La., (one probably in s.w.Tenn.) be assigned. The break-up will probably be four rural - one urban per state. The following were the suggested areas by state:

Miss. - Panola County - (there is an okra co-op there now - needs help)
Amite County
Holmes County - Henry Lorenzi been working there two years- several good starts made. I have been invited to work there in the Fall on some proposals and co-op stuff. Will talk with you about this later.

Miss. cont.
-- Friends of the Children Counties - might mention this to Dunbar
-- Hinds county - rural and urban group
-- West Point, Miss. Clay county - guy named John Buffington working there. I like him and think him to be doing good work. several co-ops started.

Ala.
-- Wilcox County
-- Dallas County - feeder pig program begun
-- Connechu (?) County and Perry County - credit unions
-- Marengo and Sumter Counties - chartered credit unions also.
-- SWAFCA
-- Hale County - co-op bakery, store, and credit union
-- Lee County - Auburn - local council on human relations - credit union
---Birmingham and surrounding rural area - try integrating of production and consumer co-ops. Try Birmingham just for the challenge.
-- Huntsville- The Sisters of Concern SOC) - maids union sort of.

W.Tenn.
Harmon, Haywood, and Fayette Counties - Mid-South Oil Co-op there

La.
-- S.W. La. - Iberia Parish - fertilizer co-op
-- Vermillion Parish - oil co-op
-- St. Mary's Parish - Super market (Ford will likely write into the grant that no super markets be attempted)
-- Reserve, La. - Self-help housing co-op being started by guy named Frank Laperolerie - Norman Foundation gave money for his salary) I've been there.
-- Grand Marie Vegetable Co-op - Opelousas
-- Ascension Parish
-- Madison Parish
-- Shreveport or Baton Rouge - again, for the challenge. I don't think you can get the FBI to go to Shreveport even.

That's about all I have to report, sir. In summary, I might say that it wasn't a bad meeting, as meetings tend to go. I think the advisory committee will be given a good bit of power by Ford, if what Edley told me on the phone comes true. He mentioned writing into the grant that the advisory committtee be given power of concurrence on loans from the contingency fund, presently at 75,000 dollars, and power of concurrence on the slection of areas for demonstration and appointment of the director. All good things to give this group, I think. The grant itself should be announced within the next couple of days. I am enclosing a copy of how the final money split-up looks. You should be happy - another organization is born.

On the way home I dropped by SWAFCA so as to be able to report to that poor fellow who laoned them some $25,000 not long ago. Pat Watters met me Saturday and we spent a couple days going around meeting people and asking them about the co-op. Pat can tell his impressions and also what all the co-op people said. My feeling is that the SWAFCA has a chance of being as important a community group as there is presently in the South within the next couple of years. The money has been used wisely, and whether the OEO grant is made or not (and I have "inside" info that Sarge will over -ride Lurleen's veto) that the co-op has made the ten county area sort of shrink together and try to become one community. I can send you more detailed stuff on the Alabama junket if you request. Otherwise,

I'll just send you a copy of my letter to Bob Swan, the man who handled the loan transaction at International Freedom Foundation (for gods sake). It was good to get to see people again after a month or so. Thank you for the chance to do so. I hope to be in Atlanta before the next committee meeting and we can talk about future meetings then.

Along personal lines Robin and I are doing fine. We are not miserable but your wish sure must of affected the damn weather. The only day it didn't rain for a week after we got your letter, it hailed. I almost wrote you a letter hoping your Europe bound plane developed sputtering engines but thought better of it when the sun finally broke through here. I hope you will soon come see us on the mountain. I know you would enjoy it/

My expenses were :

Airline ticket to Lafayette from Bristol, Tenn. and home again via Montgomery, Ala.	143.91
Meals (Thurs.night, Fril, Sat. and Sun.)	14.65
Motel (two nights. -one night on Watter's expense card)	12.00
Total	$170.56

Best wishes,

Al

Al Ulmer

BUDGETARY CHANGES MADE BY FORD FOUNDATION .....

(Last word --- total allotment for two years was $578,000.)

1. Central Staff	$42,000.
2. Consultants	15,000. for 2 years ($25. to $75. a day).
3. 15 Field representatives	180,000.
4. 10 part-time Field representatives	$20,000.
5. Travel	#38,000.
6. Training Materials	20,000.
7. Training Cost	20,000.
8. Subsidy, for Co-op manager trainees	45,000.
9. Revolving Fund	75,000.
10. Discretionary Fund	21,000.
11. Office Expenses	12,000.
12. Clerk-Typist	15,000 for two years

TOTAL FOR TWO YEARS $578,000.00

June 13, 1967

Mr. Al Ulmer
P. O. Box 204
Vilas, North Carolina 28692

Dear Al:

I have talked to Chris Edley about John Lewis and he is very enthusiastic. In fact, his comment was that John was his second choice; you being his first. I told Chris you were going to write Jesse Morris. He feels it would be best for you to introduce this idea and to drop the name not only with Jesse but with others. He is concerned that if he promoted it it would seem as if the Foundation was dictating policy.

Therefore, at the moment, we are both leaving it to you to get this one going. Hope you don't mind.

Incidentally, Chris also felt he should not at this point speak with John Lewis; that it might take some finagling to persuade John to take the job if offered. One idea he raised, which sounds good to me, is that maybe under some guise John be invited to attend the July 14 meeting (which Chris also plans to attend). At that time, if they are in agreement, the entire group could urge John to take the job.

Hate to do all this telephining, but would you call me again as soon as possible?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

June 19, 1967

Mountain Electric Company
Mountain City,
Tennessee

Attn: Mr. Rutherford

Gentlemen:

It is my understanding that Mr. Al Ulmer has requested your permission to sign a note for the required deposit to allow him electric service. He has requested that I write a letter in his behalf, and I am happy to do so.

Mr. Ulmer has been an employee of this organization since 1964 and I have known him quite well during that time. I have also gotten to know Mrs. Ulmer quite well. Incidentally, Mr. Ulmer will continue as a part-time employee with us to the extent that he is available.

Without exception I have felt Mr. and Mrs. Ulmer to be completely reliable and completely honest, and certainly in my opinion they are excellent credit risks. I feel certain that Mr. Ulmer will honor any obligation that he takes on.

Mr. and Mrs. Ulmer both served their country outstandingly as members of the Peace Corps and, indeed, since their return to this country several serious efforts have been made on the part of Peace Corps leadership to employ Mr. Ulmer. We were most unhappy to lose him as a full-time employee here, and as a matter of fact, I know of at least three instances, at the moment, in which his reputation in his chosen field is so outstanding that important positions are being urged on him. In short, there is no question but that several substantial opportunities are available to Mr. Ulmer at any time he should feel that additional employment is desirable or necessary.

If you wish any additional information, we will be happyyto supply it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Free
Al. Ulmer

June 19, 1967

Mr. Al Ulmer
Box 204
Vilas, North Carolina

Dear Al:

The letter to Mr. Rutherford is written; copy enclosed.

Please, please, call me!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

June 16

Dear Paul,

It was good talking with you the other day. I forgot to mention something of some importance to Robin and me, however. The electric people (damned if they maybe aren't battery driven) won't put electricty up to us unless we put down a $1000 deposit which they generously refund over a ten year period. The money is to demonstrate our good character and faithfulness, that we will pay the bill over a long enough time to make "the public electric service" justify making the investment in lines and all. Whatever happened to the TVA and all those other nice socialistic plots I don't know.

Relax. I am not gonna ask you for a thousand. I convinced the fellow I think that a signed note for the thousand would be as good to them as the thousand. What I need now is a character reference from my sometime employer stating that I am a good risk to take a note from. (That's a bad sentence but that's the sort of statement I need. Send the letter to:

Thanks for giving this your prompt attention, ha.

Best wishes,

Al

The address is :

Mr. Rutherford

Mountain Electric Co.

Mountain City, Tenn.

P.S. I have written Jesse Morris about John Lewis. Take it easy. They say all major cities aren't going to have a riot this year. We just formed a human relations commission in VILAS. If only other cities would follow our example.

July 25, 1967

Mr. Al Ulmer
Box 204
Vilas, North Carolina

Dear Al:

Thank you again for Saturday morning. I only wish we could have had longer and that Robin had been with you.

John Lewis has agreed to come down and talk. I hope it will be within the next two weeks.

Deborah Cole called this morning and informed me we will get $10,000 from the Norman Fund in support of the federation. More importantly, she has reason to believe that the J. M. Kaplan Fund (55 Fifth Avenue, New York) may be interested in making a light contribution. She suggests a request to them pointing out the League, New York Foundation, Norman contributions and saying some $10,000 more is needed which might very well bring positive results. Will you see to this?

Finally, conscience moves me to say what I hope is unnecessary. Despite all my comments I do hope your foundation holds, the weather is good, and the Gods of Free Spirit smile on you!

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 7/12/67

July 9th

Dear Paul,

You were right. I just received the notification of the Co-op Development Program's meeting in Jackson and it will be, as you said over the phone, on the 21st, a Friday. How about me coming through Atlanta on my way to the mountain and telling you about it either Friday night or Saturday? If this is not convenient or possible let me know. I will try and call you this Wednesday or Thursday to confirm plans.

It appears as if John Lewis was not interested in the job. Atleast he did not send in an application for it. Thus far the applications include McKnight's, and three men I have never met. One is from Reserve, La. recommended by Frank Laperolerie, the guy Norman Foundation is giving a grant to this year, a cohort of H.L Mitchell's. Another is a man of 25 who has been working for CDGM. The other man is another Lauisianian, his qualifications pretty skimpy. All in all, Father McKnight appaers to be the best candidate by far from the resume's. What now happens is anybo dy's guess.

Did you really wish this upon us, Paul? (RV)

Rain has plagued us over the past week and jeep sickness cost us another couple of days. It is slow but enjoyable work. I expect to have the roof on by the middle of August as it looks now. Tell Mrs. Knox we just bought a beautiful wood stove with "Knox Perfection" emblazoned across the front oven door. Even if the thing isn't any good I thought I could always sell it to you all to give your morning coffee a more family flavor.

Best wishes,

Al

P.S. to Mildred; Robin and I plead with you and Zeke not to trash can the boxes for another little while. Seriously, if they are in the way we can easily put them in storage, say at Mr. Anthony's.

See Al Ulmer

file

Mountain Electric Cooperative, Inc.

A PUBLIC AGENCY FOR PUBLIC GOOD

REA

BRANCH OFFICE
ROAN MOUNTAIN, TENNESSEE
TELEPHONE 772-3521

TELEPHONE 727-4211
MOUNTAIN CITY, TENNESSEE

BRANCH OFFICE
NEWLAND, NORTH CAROLINA
TELEPHONE 733-4341

June 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I want to thank you for your letter of June 19, 1967, regarding Mr. Al Ulmer and the fine recommendation that you give him. The fine things that you said about Mr. Ulmer coincides with the impression that he made on me.

Presently, we are conducting an engineering study. We have not taken Mr. Ulmer's request lightly but, we are trying to help find a solution that will help justify the expenditure to furnish electrical service. Again let me thank you for your interest.

Very truly yours,

John Rutherford

John Rutherford
Manager

JR:jfw

cc: Mr. Al Ulmer
Vilas, North Carolina

file Al Ulmer

July 31, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ruth Alexander

FROM: Paul Anthony

Attached is copy of expenses for Al Ulmer to be paid.

PA/km

Fine
Al Ulmer

August 21, 1967

Mr. Al Ulmer
P. O. Box 204
Vilas, North Carolina

Dear Al:

Charles Prejean will be here Friday the 25th at 10:00 a.m., to talk about the details -- largely administrative and financial -- of getting the Federation going. Included in his list of thinks is how best you can assist the new executive director. Presumably, if Miller accepts the position he will be here also. Do you think you should be here?

Hope you get this in time to decide.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See Al Ulmer

August 28, 1967

Mr. Al Ulmer
P. O. Box 204
Vilas, North Carolina

Dear Al:

Sorry you could not make the meeting on Friday, and even more sorry about the weather conditions up there. Is everything all right?

We did have a good meeting, although a very baief one since everyone arrived two hours late. Charles Prejean and Merlin Miller were there and the new Federation director, Harrison Miller.

It is very clear that the new director is going to need a great deal of help and everybody concerned is anxious for your contributions. Frankly, my own opinion of Miller is that while he may very well grow into the job, that at best it will take quite a while and I don't feel he is in any position to begin making a substantial contribution in the immediate future. And, needless to say, this is regrettable.

I have this morning also spent some time with your man from the International Independence Institute, who spent most of last week in Selma with SWAFCA. Overall his observations were encouraging, though obviously there are serious problems. He feels Osborn needs all the help he can get, particularly in administration, running an agency, and the relation of staff to board. (Incidentally, I think the Federation board also needs a lot of guidance on staff and policy roles.) When we get together I would like to talk about Osborn and SWAFCA.

Miller will be at work on the 15th, probably sharing office space with Merlin Miller. Your message that you are available soon after that would make the timing very good.

Call me some time when you come down off the hill. Hope the weather is improved.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 19, 1967

file

Mr. Al Ulmer
Box 204
Vilas, North Carolina

Dear Al:

Hope the work continues and the weather is better. To say nothing of your toe!

There have been some further events with the Federation here - namely the newly selected director has decided not to take the job after all. This has raised again the possibility, I gather, of you taking the temporary position of acting executive director. Also, except for all the obvious needs to get moving, it does take some of the pressure off you to hurry down here to work with the AU director.

Also this does create all kinds of problems. Frankly, I am somewhat relieved by these developments. Call me sometime.

Best to Robin.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

ULMER, AL

REGARDING

Correspondence to Ford Foundation regarding Federation of Southern Coops, Lafayette, La. filed in "F" Section under Federation of Southern Coops.

DATE

1967 corresp.

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Federation of Southern Coops, Layfayette, La.

October 16, 1968

Mr. Al Ulmer
Vilas,
North Carolina

Dear Al:

Your reaction to Baxton's letter is fine. Let me know what you work out.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: John Lewis

Dear Paul,

Here is a copy of my letter to Boxton regarding my going to S.W. Tenn. at his request and your expense. Perhaps, my reaction is not altogether correct but, I can't get out of my head the thought of Boxton riding me around as "the expert" to groups of black people. It just isn't the "in thing" to do just now. Agree?

As I say in my letter, if all he wants is me to be an inconspicuous fellow moving around with eyes open — fine — although it would be much better to get the invite from the people — and not their representative.

Best wishes,

Al

October 10, 1968

Dear Baxton,

Thank you for your invitation to visit Southwest Tennessee. I have several reservations about coming, however. First, after more thought than one man ought to spend on one subject, I have come to feel that whites should not organize blacks or be seen in leadership roles in the building of black organizations. Therefore, if I come I would be unable to meet with large groups of people except as an observer. I would come to look over the situation as quietly as I could do so, and give the group a report of my observations in a written form. A second reservation is that you are still inviting outside resource people for a group of black people after the organization is over a year, or at least a year, old. It seems to me the organization should surely be in the position to invite help by this stage. My last, and most serious question, is whether or not you have requested help from either the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, 52 Fairlie St. N.W., Atlanta, Ga., or The Southern Cooperative Development Program, Box 3005, Lafayette, Louisiana, both of which are capable of giving much the same quality of advice as am I and both black led. The Development Program has done considerable work with the Mid-South Oil Consumer's Co-op in Whiteville, Tenn, as for that matter, has the Federation. In a way, I feel that my coming would be an unintentioned slight at either or both of these two programs, sort of saying that I know better what to do than they do. I am not sure if Paul has thought of it in this way or if he is aware of the feeling among both the programs I have just referred to concerning where they think whites fit into working with black groups.

I write all this because I think it is important. Again, I would enjoy coming down and looking around, but only to give my reactions.

File Community Organizing

file Al Ulmer

May 17

Dear John,

~~Under separate cover~~ Enclosed comes the co-op report re-written in regard to the sewing groups and added to and subtracted from here and there. I don't have too many comments on it other than that it could have mentioned more of the co-ops by name, but I purposively didn't do this because I thought you all would add the names, addresses, and brief description as an appendix. (Charles Prejean made up one for his OEO proposal that would do handily tacked onto the report) Lastly, if anything, the report could perhaps be slightly more negative. What co-ops can or could do at times gets in the way of what I see them actually doing. However, I think the report is balanced with the good and bad, and I guess that makes it half-way an attempt at being honest.

My expenses for the week of May 7th to May 14th were $37.60. You will receive bills off by National Air Travel Card for three plane tickets and two car rentals. As far as fees and what all, why not just arbitrarily fix a price tag on what the report is worth to you all and we'll settle for that.

Sorry we didn't get you over for that wild supper at Charle's. Hope you can stop off here when you go to Washington. I plan to be in the capital city, myself, the 24,25, 26 and maybe the 27th of this month. Can get in touch with me there by leaving message at International Self-help housing Associates, Suite 1126 Dupont Circle Building on Conn. Ave.

Peace,

Al

JL
JW
PA
Ret PW

Vilas, N.C.
October 24, 1968

Miss Fay Bennett
Temporary Secretary
New Communities, Inc.
Room 208
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fay,

Somehow it is difficult for me to understand just how decisions get made, not only in this great country of ours, but in associations of persons with presumably the best of intentions. I recall that in our first meeting in Atlanta a large section of the gathering expressed themselves in favor of a land buyingprogram which included not only leasing opportunities but outright sale to people who preferred the latter. This somehow never got written up fully in the minutes of that meeting. I did not attend the subsequent meetings largely because I got the feeling the decision was already made to limit the trust to leasing and that those of us who disagreed were either going to be ignored or used as "window dressing" similar to how the Co-op League always invites everyone to give legitamatcy to something alreay decided upon.

Look, there is no sense in me being so mean about it. Let me try to say it this way. Most poor people I know would prefer to own their own land. You all say that you have a better way and that it is to poor people's advantage to follow your plan. And once again we get the poor to lead the way in social reform, this time in the evil of personal private property and its abolishment. I, personally do not agree with Bob Swan that private property is one of the basic causes of violence among men. On the contrary, I think private property may be one of the only ways individuals or groups of voluntarily associated persons can find freedom from the repression of authority, be it state authority or the benign wishes of do-gooders administering a trust. But why argue the philosophical implications, you all have made your decision. I cannot accept it. Idon't feel it was made democratically, and I cannot bring myself to be part of an authority over other people's lives, especially poor people. The only way I would ever accept being a trustee is to be elected by people with whom I share the daily problems of life, that is, as a representative of a community of which I am a part.

I am sorry to have to refuse to be an incorporator. The problem of land redistribution is one in which I have a deep interest. If you all should decide to include the provision of poor people making their own decisions how the title of the land should be held I would enjoy being a part of such an effort, even to the extent of trying to encourage groups of persons to try the leasing provision. I will not be a part of imposing such a structure on poor people, however.

Sincerely,

Al

Al Ulmer

Oct.24

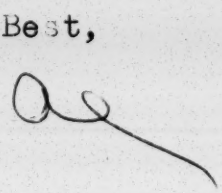
Dear Pat,

The enclosed is a copy of my response to Fay, et Al 's invitation to be an original incorporator of their leasing thing. I send it cause I sort of didn't want to try to debate it in the article. Still don't.

Your letter to Zippert was very good. What have you decided, to wait for his return or what?

H ave you heard about the Irishman who when asked which candidate he was going to vote for replied, " Don't matter which one ya vote for, the government always get's in".

Best,



file - Al Wilmer

~~LES~~ MN - file

Mr. Bob Swan
International Freedom Foundation
Voluntown, Conn.

Dear Bob,

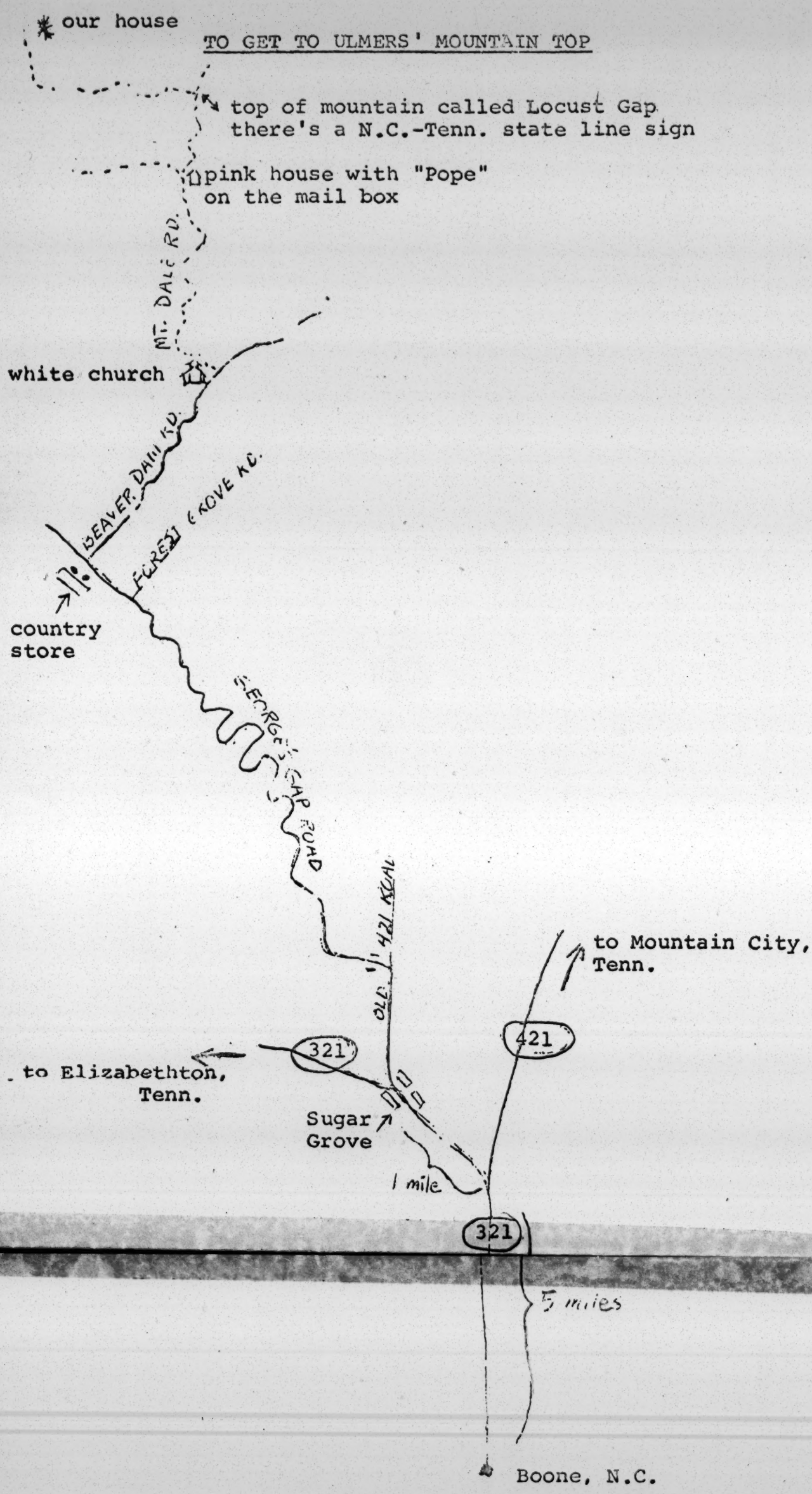
As I promised several weeks back here is a short note to sum up what I talked with you about concerning SWAFCA when you made the valiant effort to find us that day in the cloud.

I spent three days in Alabama the last of May going about talking with members of SWAFCA and with people working to help make it a success. My general impression was that I haven't seen people so excited about an organization and its future promise in the time I have worked in the South. The considerable opposition the cooperative had encountered at that time with almost daily headline attacks had seemed to only increase the members' determination to make the thing work. The opposition is of course, going to continue and will probably escalate. At present, SWAFCA is having great difficulty selling its cucumbers. The local pickle company has spread the rumor that SWAFCA's pickling cucumbers were grown with their seed which they advanced without charge to the local farmers. State troopers have stopped co-op trucks and it appears the rumor is being spread to potential buyers of cucumbers in an effort to get the co-ops pickles boycotted. Although serious, this attack on the cucumbers isn't that harmful as I see it. The co-op didn't have that many cucumbers contracted for in the first place, and secondly people will be a little better prepared for the battle when the real money crop, okra, gets ready for market.

My main reason for writing this letter, however, is not to tell you all that SWAFCA is having to go through. It is to tell you of the tremendous assistance the 25,000 dollar loan from International Freedom Foundation to the co-op was last Spring. Without it I am not sure if the present OEO contested grant would ever have surmounted the pressure it has to get to its present status, waiting for Shriver to over-veto Mrs. Wallace's veto. The day the entire delegation from Alabama visited OEO telling Shriver that the group was not truely a co-op and had no real interest in vegetables or fertilizer, the co-op president handed over a check to a Demopolis wholesaler for $10,000 worth of fertilizer. The fact that this could then be reported to OEO by telphone that same day was of inestimatible value. The additional value of the loan was that it proved to the members and potential members that the co-op was an entitiy, not just some more big talking and promises. Within two weeks the co-op had to discontinue taking fertilizer orders because they just couldn't buy the fertilizer. Approximately 700 tons of fertilizer was sold by the co-op and one man gave me an estimate that another 1000 tons could have been sold with no effort at all.

The entire SWAFCA experience reaffirms my belief that quick, low-interest, character collateral, and sizable loans are not only extremely good risks for potential investors, but that without them good sized co-ops have little hope of reaching the numbers of poor people they are capable of reaching and offering an alternative from the present modified feudal system poor southern Negro farmers must endure. I hope you and the foundation will continue to be able to help organizations such as SWAFCA become realities. In time, perhaps even the federal government will decide investment in human beings and their potential is at least as good business as lending money to past and presently successful businesses.

Sincerely, AW



For those coming from Atlanta: take I85 north, through Greenville and Spartanburg, S.C. to Gastonia, N.C. At Gastonia, take 321 north to Boone, N.C. Trip from Atlanta to Boone takes a little over 6 hours.

THE PEOPLE

vs.

The Chicago Tribune

THE INDICTMENT

1. The *Tribune* betrays military secrets ..... p. 3
2. Colonel McCormick—newspaper tycoon and tin soldier .. p. 9
3. The *Tribune* parrots the Axis propaganda line ..... p. 19
4. The *Tribune* adopts home-grown Fascists ..... p. 33
5. The *Tribune* pulls the strings for its puppets, Brooks and Day ..... p. 51
6. The *Tribune* endangers the winning of the war and the peace ..... p. 67

What Shall We Do? ..... p. 72

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR FOOD PRODUCTION

225 KELLOGG BUILDING

WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

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"Congress will not serve the national welfare by crippling the FSA".

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A Veteran Speaks for the FSA

Commercial Appeal
The Editor 4-15-4

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To The Commercial Appeal:

I have only returned from 18 months overseas long enough to find out a few things that have been going on since we left. Spending a few hours in a USO in Memphis between trains, I chanced to see in your paper an attack on the Farm Security Administration by your Washington correspondent, and an uncomplimentary reference to this agency in the columns of another Memphis newspaper.

I find it hard to understand this. I don't know what FSA has been doing the past two years, except what my folks who are farmers in Texas, write me. FSA financing has helped them to raise all kinds of food that they didn't raise in such quantity before the war: beef, pork, eggs, vegetables.

I have saved up almost enough money since the war began to buy the team and tools for a farm of my own and am counting on FSA to help me buy a farm after the war is over.

I am a farm boy and want to go back and settle down in East Texas—the sooner the better.

STAFF SERGT. G. S. FOSTER JR.
Ft. Sheridan, Ill.

THE NEWS REPORTER

WHITEVILLE, N. C.

The Cooley Bill

HR 4384, known as the Cooley Bill, proposes to set up an agency known as the Farmers Home Corporation to take over the work of the Farm Security Administration. In all major features, the operation of the proposed corporation would be identical to that of the Farm Security Administration, except that the Farmers Home Corpor-

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

The FSA Pleads Guilty 5-12-44

A special committee of the house on Wednesday brought in a report recommending the abolition of the Farm Security Administration along with the liquidation of FSA's resettlement and rural rehabilitation projects.

Moreover. it branded the FSA, among other things, as "un-American."

It is "un-American," perhaps, to lend money, as FSA did, to 311,880 tenant farmers who could not have qualified for adequate credit from the usual sources.

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St. Louis, Post-Dispatch
March 18, 1944

FSA, National Asset

The little farmer in the United States has had to struggle against more than the elements. Too often he has suffered from legislation designed to aid the big fellows; from fiscal policies cut to fit the pattern of the operators of large acreage.

Once more the man in patched overalls, who rides a mule to town and whose loss of a cow would threaten the very existence of his family, is under attack in the great Congress of the United States. His friendly helper, the Farm Security Administration, already kicked and cuffed around at Washington, is slated for extinction, or for another shuffle that means nothing less than that.

The process this time, embodied in a bill introduced in the House by Representative Cooley of North Carolina, is to transfer FSA to the Farmers' Home Corporation, an agency created by Congress in 1937 but never given anything to do. This presumably would keep alive some of the functions of FSA while changing its name, but its real effect would be further to discourage and hamstring the one agency which has helped thousands of tenant farmers to lift themselves out of the direst poverty.

Those who stand by this nation's tradition of opportunity for the poor man cannot quarrel with the FSA objectives. They applaud it for aiding the ambitious but destitute farmer to acquire his own little patch of ground and equip it to be a small but important producing unit in the country's economy. The objectors are found largely among the big land-owners, who frankly don't like to see too many of the tenants and farm laborers acquire the dignity and independence of proprietors. It cuts down the surplus of farm labor available for hire and naturally tends to raise the wage for that kind of work.

What FSA has done for needy farmers and tenants is not charity. In the eight years of its existence, FSA has made more than one million loans to men on the land, and approximately 90 per cent of the amount lent has been repaid when due. Struggling families have been helped not only to buy a few acres for themselves, but to get a cow or a pig or a mule and some tools. The increase in food production made

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One of the major contributions of the FSA has been through its supervised rehabilitation program whereby farm families of the low income bracket are enabled to raise their standard of living in addition to earning a family subsistence on the farm. In other words, FSA has sought to build the morale of such farmers simultaneously with improving their economic standing. Where necessary, FSA has not only provided money for raising a crop but has provided also needed funds for medical care, screening, sanitation, and similar morale-building operations. These activities have been under the direct supervision of trained FSA men.

The Farmers Home Corporation would strip FSA of this feature, thus leaving it concerned with nothing more than enabling the low income farmer to earn a bare subsistence allowance.

The News Reporter believes that the elimination of this feature of FSA would jeopardize the entire program of farm rehabilitation, since the farm family with which the FSA is concerned needs not only assistance in earning a bare livelihood but assistance also in matters relating to sanitation, medical care, education, and other items concerned with raising the standard of living of the low income farmer.

If the Cooley Bill, now under study in congressional committees, is to be passed, it should be so amended as to provide this educational feature of rehabilitation. That is the field in which FSA has reaped the most benefit for Columbus county farmers. To eliminate this feature would be to rob the program of its major contribution to social improvement.

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Commercial Appeal 4-15-44

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It is "un-American," perhaps, to lend money, as FSA did, to 311,880 tenant farmers who could not have qualified for adequate credit from the usual sources.

It may be "un-American" for these 311,880 farmers to have raised, during 1943, enough milk to supply the year's needs of 8,739,000 active men, enough eggs for 7,515,200 men, enough pork for 4,437,400 men, enough mutton and lamb for 3,153,200 men, and enough beef and veal for 2,694,000 men.

It may be "un-American," too, that, right here in Georgia, for instance, the 3,500 tenant farmers who have purchased farms under FSA are 147 per cent ahead of schedule in paying off their loans; that 5,363 Georgia families, who had been helped by FSA, last year reached the place that they were able to stand on their own fiscal feet.

These things, as we say, may very well be "un-American." In which case FSA pleads guilty.

But if it is indeed "un-American" to try, as does FSA, to aid small farmers in attaining the goal of family-type farm ownership, then we had perhaps better change our definition of "American."

Decatur Daily Democrat (Indiana)
April 3. 1944

Don't Be Misled:

There has been talk recently that Congress is considering plans to abolish the functions and services of the Farm Security Administration—the only government agency which helps the little farmer and his family.

The little farmer in the United States has had to struggle against more than the elements. Too often he has suffered from legislation designed to aid the big fellows and made to fit the pattern of the operators of large acreage. The process this time is embodied in a bill introduced in the House by Representative Cooley of North Carolina to transfer FSA minus its rehabilitation and supervision services to the Farmers' Home Corporation, an agency created by Congress in 1937 but never given anything to do. Presumably this would keep alive some of the functions of FSA but hamstring its services.

There are at present 70 families in this county who are receiving and using FSA's supervised-credit to produce war-needed food. Before Congress goes any farther with plans or talk about abolishing an agency capable of helping small and unsuccessful farmers to become efficient contributors to the nation's food production program it should find out from the folks back home what they think of the services Farm Security is providing.

If our Representatives in Congress don't know, it's high time somebody told them that instead of abolishing this needed service to the farmer, Congress out to be proud that so much has been done through the FSA to rebuild men and women and help them to become self-supporting and increase the country's agricultural resources at so little cost. The increase in food production made possible through the FSA program has been an important contribution toward girding the nation for war.

March 18, 1944

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What FSA has done for needy farmers and tenants is not charity. In the eight years of its existence, FSA has made more than one million loans to men on the land, and approximately 90 per cent of the amount lent has been repaid when due. Struggling families have been helped not only to buy a few acres for themselves, but to get a cow or a pig or a mule and some tools. The increase in food production made possible through the FSA program has been an important contribution toward girding the nation for war.

Congress need not apologize for FSA. It should, in fact, be proud that so much has been done through it to rebuild men and women and help them become self-supporting, and to increase the country's agricultural resources at so little cost to the Treasury. Congress will not serve the national welfare by crippling FSA.

Chicago Sun
Sunday, May 14. 1944

The 'Un-American' FSA

FOR campaign purposes, a House subcommittee headed by Representative Cooley of North Carolina last week denounced the Farm Security Administration on the ground of "un-American ideas." For purposes of legislation, the same committee has introduced a bill which in effect establishes FSA as a permanent agency under the name of the Farm Home Corporation.

Close readers will discover that the committee's blast at FSA applied chiefly to the earlier resettlement projects, a minor aspect of the program. Actually the much-touted "investigation" which was to blow FSA out of the water did not turn up any horrific scandals. The agency had done such a good job in furnishing credit and the means of rehabilitation to the lowest-income farmers that its continuation along these lines had to be recommended.

The Farm Home Corporation bill has some important defects, but its basic principle must be recognized as sound national policy. That is the principle of extending government aid to the poorest farmers, and not confining it to the more strongly organized commercial growers. In agriculture, as in other sectors of the economy, future progress toward sustained high levels of welfare demands improvement of the living standards and real income enjoyed by those at the bottom of the scale. There is nothing un-American about strengthening the position of the family-sized farm.

"CONGRESS WILL NOT SERVE THE NATIONAL W

10,408 Montana Farm Families Aided by FSA

Nearly Third Of Borrowers Have Paid Up

As of July 1, 1943, the FSA had loaned in Montana since the program began a total of $17,040,819.68 and had helped 10,408 farm families. Total principal repayments amount to $7,977,481.09 and interest payments totaled $1,248,136.05. A total of 3,105 families ha paid their loans in fu

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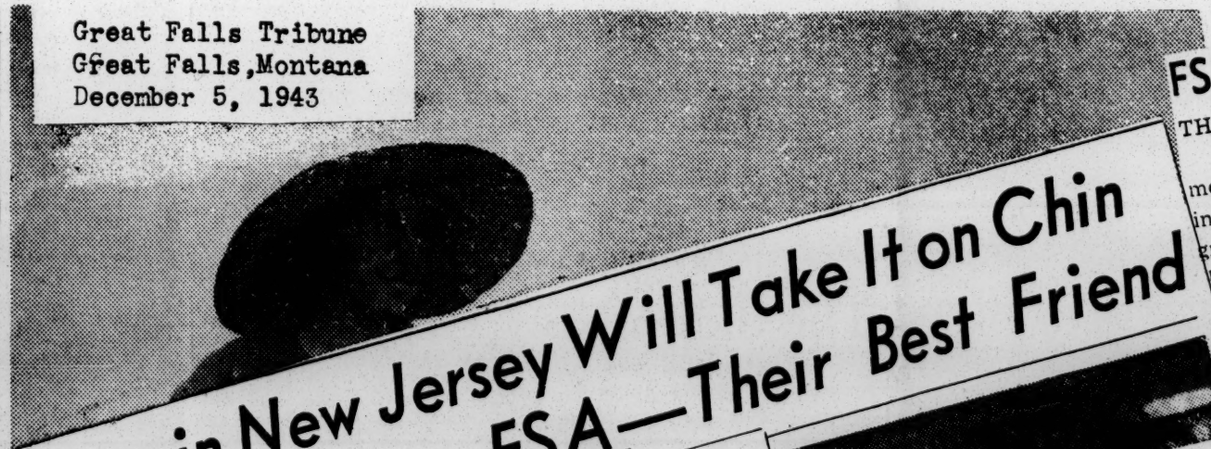
Great Falls Tribune
Great Falls, Montana
December 5, 1943



Small Farmers in New Jersey Will Take It on Chin If Congress Abolishes FSA—Their Best Friend

By EDWIN KEMP
Record Farm Editor

New Jersey is one of those States whose farmers will take it on the chin if Congress abolishes the Farm Security Administration—"small farmer's branch" of the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Take that from Willard H. Allen, New Jersey's Secretary of Agriculture.

No Political Background.

Secretary Allen is not a political appointee. New Jersey's system of filling that job is unique. The Secretary is farmer-elected—by a State Board of Agriculture which has been elected by a State whose elected

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Tribune
Lake City, Utah

Philadelphia Record
Philadelphia, Pa.
May 15, 1943

Into Owner

Cassville Democrat
Missouri

Leo Mason Makes Fine Record With Farm Productions

About this time last year the Democrat carried a story about the Leo Mason family, what their plans for the 1943 crop year and what they expected to produce for the war effort. One of the things which the family planned last year was to have an income of approximately $8,000.00, which is almost fantastic considering the type of farm and the amount of labor that they had. The program they carried out in 1943 was made possible by the funds they borrowed from the Farm Security Administration. It was the first time in the family's career that they had adqeuate capital to plan their

Atlanta (Ga.) Journal
Jan. 29, 1944

FSA and Georgia's He

THE LATEST ISSUE of *Georgia's* official publication of the State ment of Public Health, contains an ing and suggestive endorsement of gram of the Farm Security Admi n Georgia. The editor points to elationship between poor housing ealth, poor housing and crime, ctual surveys which show that evalence of malaria, hookwor phus and other diseases is foun ndard of living is lowest.

racing the activities of the gram of rural rehabilitatio years, 1937-42, *Georgia's* that its records show ease during that time of h can be prevented by in onmental sanitation, a arm Security Program antially to the reduction

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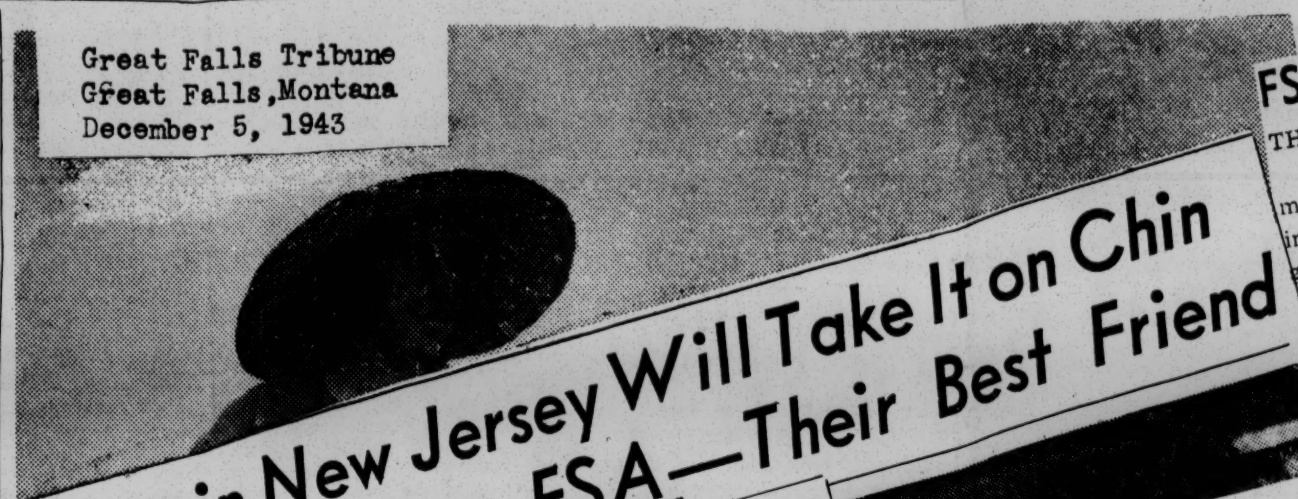
Great Falls Tribune
Great Falls, Montana
December 5, 1943



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Tribune
Salt Lake City, Utah
October 8, 1943

FSA Turns Poor Tenant Into Owner

PITTSBORO, N. C., Oct. 7 (AP)—The good earth—good American earth—has been good to Ollie Burnett.

Ollie Burnett is a Negro 38 years old. He has a wife Flonnie, and six children, five boys and one girl. A sister completes his household.

In 1937 Ollie ... ant farmer—at ... person ... read a ... The ... $350. ... merch ... seed ... intere ... His ... ed of ... two s ... few H ... of the region ... to ...

is well stocked. His pantry is stocked with 363 quarts of vegetables and fruits canned this summer.

How did Ollie Burnett jerk himself up by the boostraps from a tenant farmer to a man of such estate in so short a time?

the variable plan. The first year he had a tough time of it. He was able to pay only $26.79 when his average payment should have $130.55.

That wasn't encouraging, the least. But Ollie Burne been a farmer long enough re are lean years ... ood earth smiles ... as a ... for ... mb ... He ... the first ... to ... lies conce ... eed for ... t their

Richmond Times-Dispatch, Sunday, March 26, 1944

To Save the South's Small Farmers

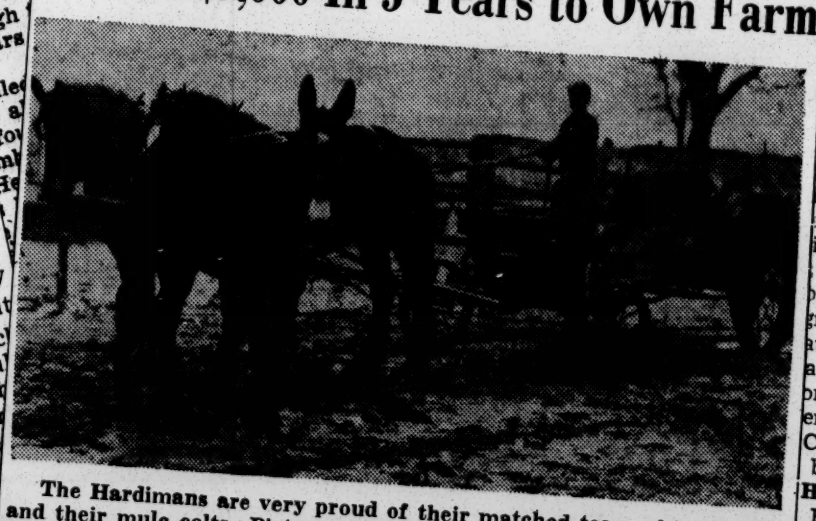
NO SECTION of the United States is so dependent for its prosperity upon the rehabilitation of its small farmers, as is the South. These hundreds of thousands of tenants and sharecroppers have been for generations a drag on the Southern economy, a ... the business leaders of the region ... the first

Southern agriculture on a sound basis. As written, the measure stipulates that loans can be made for farm needs, to refinance indebtedness, and for "family subsistence," but there is nothing about loans for raising living standards. Such loans are essential, and the bill shou be amended, for unless it is, many b ... loans for home improvemen ... would be ille ... tfully low

PM, FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1943

Indianapolis Star
Indianapolis, Ind.
March 27, 1944.

Tenant Farmer Pays 40-Year Loan Of $9,000 In 5 Years to Own Farm



The Hardimans are very proud of their matched team of bay mares and their mule colts. Picture shows Aaron Hardiman, 11-year-old son, driving team with colt in foreground.

Atlanta (Ga.) Journal
Jan. 29, 1944

FSA and Georgia's He

THE LATEST ISSUE of *Georgia's* ... official publication of the State ... ment of Public Health, contains an ... ing and suggestive endorsement of ... gram of the Farm Security Admi ... n Georgia. The editor points to ... elationship between poor housing ... ealth, poor housing and crime, ... ctual surveys which show that ... revalence of malaria, hookwor ... phus and other diseases is foun ... ndard of living is lowest.

'racing the activities of the ... gram of rural rehabilitatio ... years, 1937-42, *Georgia's* ... that its records show ... ease during that time of ... h can be prevented by in ... onmental sanitation, a ... Farm Security Program ... antially to the reduction

en the war has ended, ... field of study for Geo ... e, sociology and ... of material ... it it ca ... will be the ... service be ... some ru ... ns has ... y reflec ... ly inte ... outl ... fac ... nd ... co ... F

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By R. ...
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There are ... Macon, Piatt, ... counties who r ... from the Farm ... tration in its e ... and they ... ent will d ... ng the age ... FSA, whi ... not" fello ... ently is ab ... Congress ... possibility ... parts of ser ... under a n ... the various ... g that FSA ... it began to ... tstanding w ... ing the whe ... farm hands ... or themselve ... gress is kick ... ation bills wh ... ation of FSA ... ome of its wo ... ency, probabl ... Corp., which ... but never or ... Hope to Salv ... Harold D. ... omitted a bil

'FSA Saved Us,' Say New Jersey Farmers

This Story Concerns YOU—Because Agency Helps Lick the American Food Problem

By E. D. FALES, JR.

PM

Congress' threat to kill the Farm Security Administration (FSA) is a direct threat to your pantry and pocketbook.

Some folks think that because they aren't farmers they need not be concerned.

But every American who holds that idea should know that the threat to FSA is aimed directly at all citizens in three ways:

¶ Beginning in the milk market this Fall, there will be less food for your table.

¶ Thousands of acres of farmland now going to waste could be put to work by FSA-helped small farmers to grow great quantities of food for us and our allies. But these acres will still be allowed to go to waste if FSA is killed.

was a husky man named Gus Collins on WPA relief.

Now Collins owns that farm and he's growing tomatoes for you.

Five years ago George Wainwright, of Jacksonville, N. J., was badly in debt. He was ready to quit farming.

Today he's shipping 300 quarts of milk a day for you.

Bartram . . . Collins . . . Wainwright—there in three names is the story of your FSA—one of the most successful of the Federal agencies.

What FSA Prevented

But for FSA:

Lampert once was a well-to-do cow dealer.

He lost his money. His house burned down. His insurance company was bankrupt.

Worth a Risk

Six months ago the Federal Land Bank was ready to foreclose—to take Lampert's farm away. He went to FSA, which decided he was worth a risk and lent him money.

FSA, trying to get more food for the war effort, made Lampert a "Food for Freedom" loan of $2771. (Besides paying other debts, Lampert expects to make enough money this year to pay $466 of that back to the U. S. Treasury).

With his loan Lampert bought chickens, and all this year those ch have been laying eggs for your metropolitan market.

Lampert plans eventually to have 7000 chickens. But he won't, if FSA is discon-

many as 8280 eggs to your markets in single week this year.

Bartram is the kind of farmer who, afte a year with FSA when nobody else woul help, is ready to "go it alone."

He pays cash for everything he buys.

He hopes to pay FSA back its $2300 th year.

And here is the most important point all:

As a disabled war veteran, if he hadn been able to get help to continue farmin Bartram could be producing nothing as patient in a Veterans' Hospital.

And you would have been paying for h care—several dollars a day—out of ta

EMERGENCY COMMITTE

A little farmer who go man who is very ill.

FSA is like the doctor. C farms. FSA agents sit down the nation

225 KELL

WASHIN

VELFARE BY CRIPPLING FSA" —POST DISPATCH (ST. LOUIS)

Must Farmers Take Road Back to Despair?

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Senate Holds Fate of Small Growers As It Debates Continuance of FSA

By ROBERT ROTH

The small farmer stands at the crossroads.

Whether he goes back down the road he has traveled in the last 10 years, back to the era of starvation and erosion and abandoned homesteads, depends on the action soon to be taken in the United States Senate.

If the Senate concurs in the action taken last week by the House, the small farmer must wage his struggle to keep ahead of the elements and abreast of mortgage without the help of the one Government agency that gave him good land for his loaned him money he could nowhere else, that showed how to run his farm properly and that made it possible for him in the hour of national emergency to increase his production beyond his highest

agency, which

ployed as migratory workers or as city misfits.

To solve their problem, FSA's predecessor, the Resettlement Administration, was established in 1934 with a Congressional appropriation of $275,000,000. The [illegible] provided for productive

Philadelphia Record
Philadelphia, Pa.
April 25, 1943.

If Congress Wrecks FSA, America Will Eat Less

It is up to the Senate of the United States to rescue small farmers of America from the Farm Bloc.

Elimination of Farm Security Administration funds from the agricultural appropriations bill, as it passed the House of Representatives, is a direct attempt to kill this agency, which has helped more than 1,000,000 farmers grow more food *just when this nation needs more food most.*

Abolition of FSA in the midst of [illegible] would be a serious [illegible]

Illinois Central Magazine
Chicago, Illinois
February 1944

Canning Plant Helps Farmers

R. W. SHIRER
Agricultural Agent,
Illinois Central System

Vegetable growers of southern Illinois for many years have been looking for a means of marketing early and late vegetables. The volume of fruits and vegetables offered for sale at the beginning of any season was, of course, too small to ship and at the close of the season competing sections to outsell them. [illegible]

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Through the co-operation of the FSA supervisors and of the Cobden Lion Club (with Blake Budway [illegible] -dent), the canni[illegible] and be[illegible]

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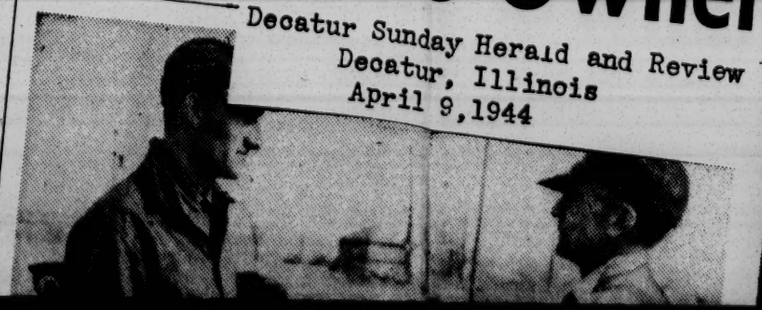
M. WEICKER
rald-Review Staff

Decatur Sunday Herald and Review
Decatur, Illinois
April 9, 1944



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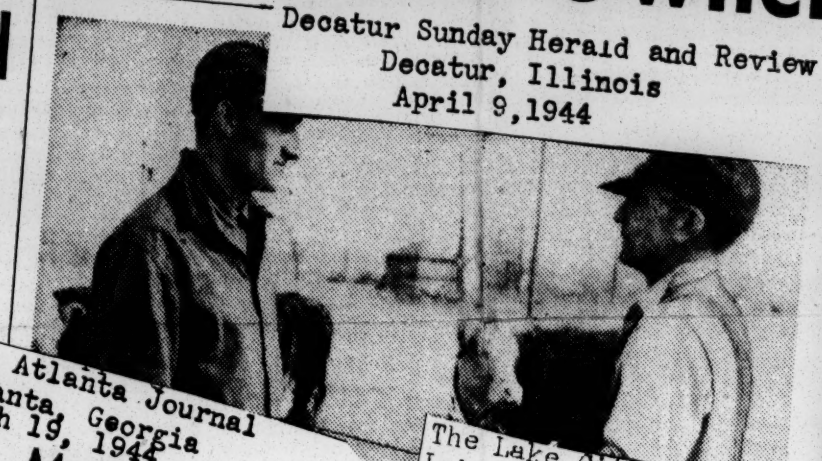


The Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Georgia
March 19, 1944

FSA Methods

RECAPITULATION of the operations of the 35 Irwin County borrowers from the Farm Security Administration showed that they owed a total of $6,395 as 1943 payments of farms they had bought under the tenant-purchase plan. But they paid $22,374, which was three and one-half times the annual obligation. The *Fitzgerald Herald* says "the income received that made the payments possible was from diversified farming. The farmers made a real contribution to the war effort in raising much-needed food and fiber crops."

The results were due in no small degree to efficient supervision. Under FSA procedure, money is not merely handed out to clients. They are required to conform to accepted principles of profitable agriculture.

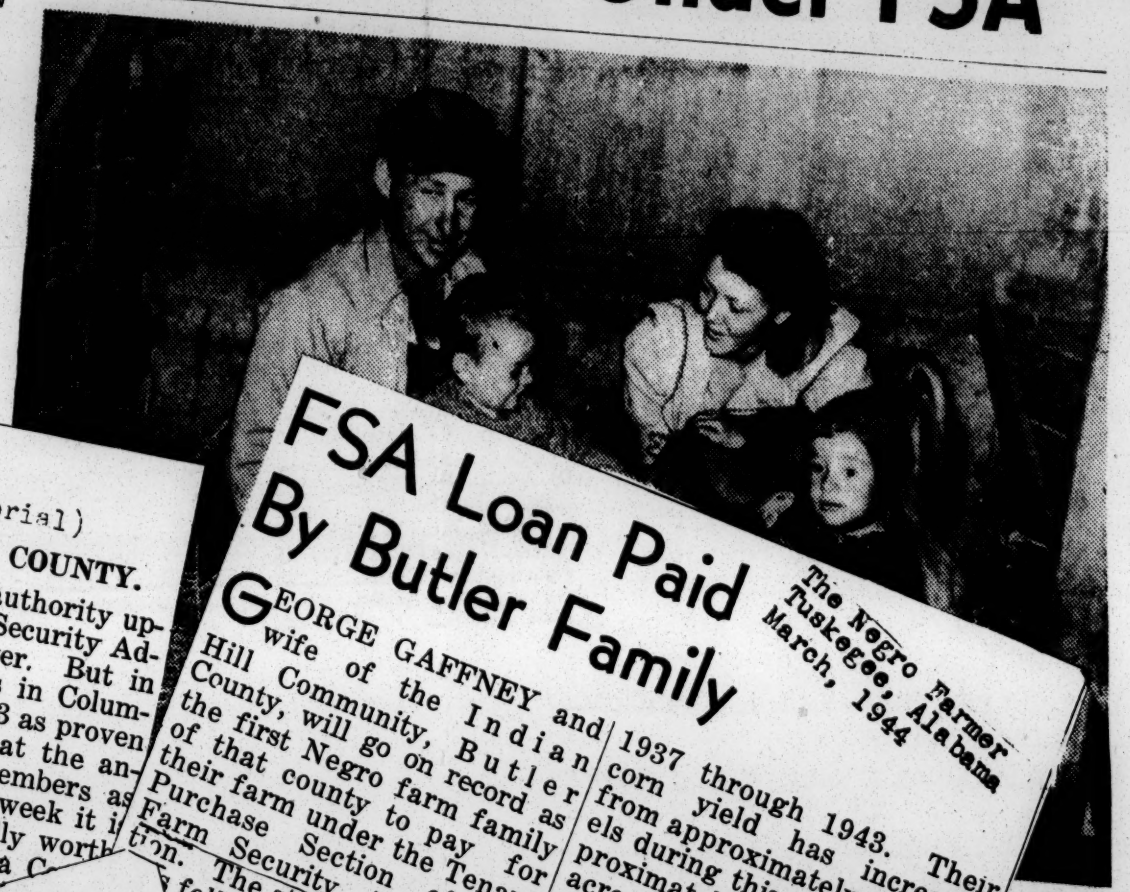
Under the provisions of the Coo... which proposes to abolish ... up a new agency ... ...out and ...

The Lake City Reporter
Lake City, Florida
February 11, 1944 (Editorial)

THE FSA IN COLUMBIA COUNTY.

We don't pretend to be an authority upon the workings of the Farm Security Administration the country over. But in checking results of its efforts in Columbia County during the year 1943 as proven in actual figures brought out at the annual meeting of farm loan members as chronicled in the Reporter last week it is evident that it has been decidedly worth while in aiding many a Columbia C... farm family to gain a real sta... economic security. Anyth... that is an asset to this ... City as the county ...

Home loan ... showing in this ... payments on t... twelv...



The Negro Farmer
Tuskegee, Alabama
March, 1944

FSA Loan Paid By Butler Family

GEORGE GAFFNEY and wife of the Indian Hill Community, Butler County, will go on record as the first Negro farm family of that county to pay for their farm under the Tenant Purchase Section of the Farm Security Administration. The story of their success follows:

1937 ... the Gaffneys ... d as FSA Cli... ant Purchase ... eived a loan ... $2,100.00 ... cre farm. ... ed into ... soil ... ction ... s in ... al ... acre farm ... approximat... feet of terr... $200.00 ... wh... AA specific... s a result ... put forth ... nd coope... following ... livestock ... r 1943: ... produce... 0; sale ... 52.61 ... maki... e ...

1937 through 1943. Their corn yield has increased from approximately 16 bushels during this period to approximately 30 bushels per acre as a result of h... planted this soil ... with the aid ...

The ... workin... in 193... ing dur... onstrat... terr... other... home ... that t... this fir... terracin... his own t... completed ... acre farm ... approximat... feet of terr... $200.00 ... wh... AA specific... s a result ... put forth ... nd coope... following ... livestock ... r 1943: ... produce... 0; sale ... 52.61 ... maki... e ...

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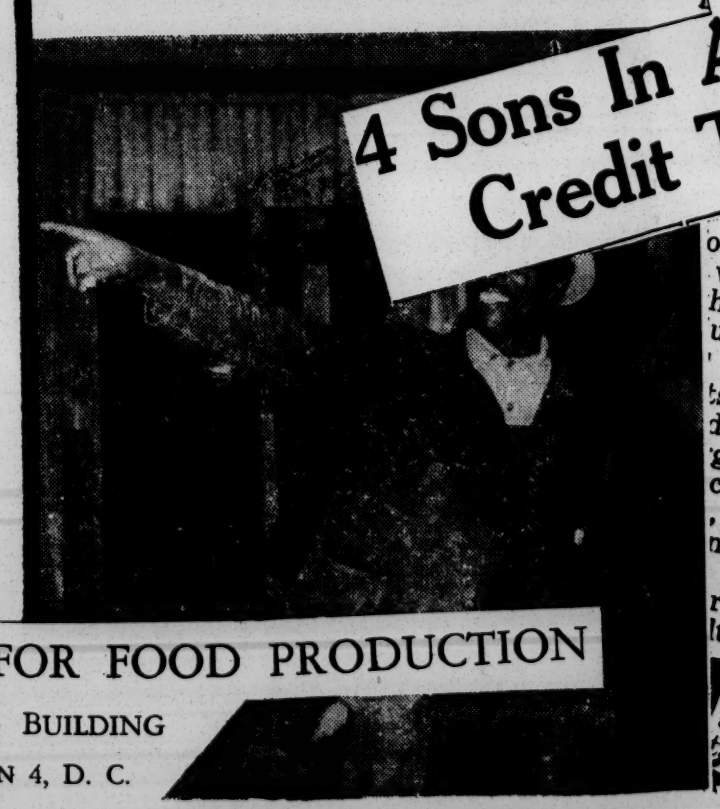
The Westby Times
Westby, Vernon Co. Wisc.
December 1, 1943.

4 Sons In Army, Parents Credit To Home Front

VIROQUA, Wis.—"With four of our sons in uniform doing their jobs on the fighting front, we can't sit around a-mopin' and feelin' sorry for ourselves" is the way Mrs. Emil Simonson of Viroqua summed up the efforts of the five remaining members of the family to wrestle a record amount of food out of their 80-acre share-rented farm in Vernon county this year in cooperation with the Farm Security Administration's Food for Victory program.

With three boys in army service within the United States and the fourth stationed in Iceland, Mr. and Mrs. Simonson, together with two younger sons and a daughter, decided that the best way to get Simon, Everett, Ben and Carol back home again was to do their share towards growing the food to win the war.

Talking over the family's contribu... ...ica's war effort last year ... FSA super... his ...



...E FOR FOOD PRODUCTION
...OGG BUILDING
...GTON 4, D. C.

The Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tennessee
May 11, 1944

The Knife for FSA

The special house committee, which has been after the Farm Security Administration's scalp for many months, finally has come out in the open and recommended abolition of this excellent agency. The committee has heaped upon FSA and its executives every kind of blanket, unsustained accusation in the books ranging from charges of Communist leanings to charges of directing the votes of FSA clients. But amazingly enough it conceded in its final report, the one demanding abolition, that FSA has done well the two principal jobs it was ordained to do.

The committee obviously had so often seen its baseless charges completely refuted by the facts that it was forced to admit that the marginal farmer rehabilitation program and the assistance to tenants in the purchase of their own farms program had been "operating efficiently." The committee added that these two programs had resulted in the relief of much distress in many agricultural areas. But, observed the committee with magnificent logic, these two jobs that FSA started and was doing so well certainly could be done better by some other agency than FSA.

"CONGRESS WILL NOT SERVE THE NATIONAL WELFARE BY CRIPPLING FSA"

—POST DISPATCH (ST. LOUIS)

Vienna Home Advisor (Mo)
May 11, 1944

AGAIN F. S. A.

F. S. A. has taken innumerable families off relief, given them credit, taught them good farm management practices, helped the women create comfortable homes and operate them on an efficient and economical basis, improved their health organized good purchasing and marketing cooperatives which serve the needs of the family farmer—and then turned them over as good credit risks, to banks. F. S. A. does not compete with banks, inasmuch as it extends credit only to farmers who can not get fair credit elsewhere.

Now, when F.S.A.'s existence is threatened by a coalition of pressure groups like the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Association of Manufacturers and the American Bankers Association—all of them out to exterminate small farmers and the traditional family-size farm by abolishing or restricting F. S. A.—one would suppose that these country bankers would rise up to defend F.S.A. As a matter of fact, a few have. Too few.

Legislation is now being offered Congress by F.S.A.'s enemies, legislative procurers for the A.F.B.F., N.A.M. and A.B.A. It is time for honest bankers—and honest Americans in every walk of life—to petition their Congressmen to expand F. S. A. so that we may win the war and have a prosperous rural America when the war is won.

The Ravenswood News

The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia
May 13, 1944

RALPH McGILL

Selfish Greed Opposes the FSA

A house committee in congress has recommended abolition of the FSA (Farm Security Administration), the one government agency with the fewest mistakes to its credit and the most successes; the one agency which has sincerely devoted itself to those covered in the original statement about "The Forgotten Man."

In all states, more especially in the southern states, the landless family, destitute, ragged, sick, shiftless, "no-accounts" were familiar figures.

The FSA found that these people were, for the most part, of good Anglo-Saxon stock and could be rehabilitated. Many could, and have, become farm owners.

Now comes the house committee recommending abolition. It states that the FSA actually controls its clients to the extent of telling them "how to raise his children" and "how to plan his home life."

Well, my goodness, we should hope so.

A great many housewives go to housekeeping, homemaking schools to learn how to manage their home life. It is an important thing to know. The tenant family should be no exception.

The FSA prides itself that by teaching its families how to raise their children, by caring for diet and schooling, the children have ceased to be sickly and "dull." They make grades as good as any other children and their health is as good.

In other words, the families become assets, not liabilities.

They become citizens, not charges.

The plain truth is, the foes of the FSA, who do not want the so-called "little people" helped, have seized on a few errors and on a few catchword phrases in an effort to destroy it. It is to be hoped that congress will not be led astray and burn down the barn to kill a few mice.

THE RECORD Only stubborn prejudice or greed can face the FSA record and not admit that it has worked and is working. The records for 1943, showing increases over 1942, record one of the finest contributions made to the war in so far as food is concerned.

The survey represented 311,880 active standard rehabilitation borrowers of the Farm Security Administration who operated farms both in 1942 and 1943. They constitute about 5.1 per cent of all farmers. Total sales of livestock and livestock products in 1943 from the farms of these families, and the per cent increase over their sales in 1942 were:

Hogs, 532,361,500 pounds; 56 per cent increase.
Cattle and calves, 432,360,700 pounds; 43 per cent.
Sheep, 62,777,800 pounds; 30 per cent.
Milk, 571,116,000 gallons; 18 per cent.
Chickens, 66,069,700 pounds; 47 per cent.
Eggs, 126,333,300 dozen; 32 per cent.

In addition, these families produced for home use 149,146,500 pounds of hogs, 29,371,100 pounds of cattle and calves, 1,049,900

Press-Scimitar
Memphis, Tenn.
April 18, 1944.

NEW BILL PERILS BENEFITS OF FSA

Its Basic Principle—Human Rehabilitation— Is Omitted in Cooley Measure: Prices Alone Don't Help Farmer Permanently

By CHARLES M. SMITH
Social Research Associate at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Congress has before it the opportunity to recognize the family-type farm as the basic unit of agriculture. What happens in the next few weeks may set the pattern of rural life for years to come.

Before the House Agriculture Committee now is HR 4384, the Cooley Bill.

The measure will abolish the Farm Security Administration, the emergency seed and feed loan program of the Farm Credit Administration, and the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation—and merge certain of their functions in a new agency to be called the Farmers Home Corporation.

The bill provides credit for farm families, but nowhere does it mention "rehabilitation"—the term that has come to be used to describe what the FSA does to help the small farmer succeed on the land. A special House committee, headed by Rep. Cooley of North Carolina, spent over a year investigating the situation and drawing up the legislation. It is unthinkable that the committee would have written a bill that would permit better provision for livestock than for members of the farm family. Yet that may be what the bill will do if rehabilitation is not specifically authorized.

PRICES NOT THE ANSWER

Poverty still exists on the smaller farms. Improved farm prices do not hold the answer. The small former in most cases is handicapped by a lack of experience in money management and how to buy. He does not have the money to set up his farming on a sound basis; he has no security with which to obtain the credit thru normal channels; and generally he lacks the knowledge to carry out a successful farm operation even if he could obtain the necessary capital.

The Farm Security Administration has developed a unique program of tenure improvement. The FSA has reached 1,600,000 families with one type or another of assistance. Credit has been extended to 950,000 families who could not obtain credit anywhere else. These

needy farm families to become permanently self-supporting." The FSA program includes not merely credit—but helps in planning and carrying out sound farming operations, guidance in setting up neighborhood groups to share use of machinery and pure-bred livestock which individual farmers could not afford, instruction to farm wives in home canning and sewing.

Medical care plans were worked out by FSA between the families and county medical societies so that doctors could get their money and families could be encouraged to obtain medical services they needed to farm successfully. The American Medical Association today stands on record in Congress as heartily praising FSA's medical

F. S. A. has taken innumerable families off relief, given them credit, taught them good farm management practices, helped the women create comfortable homes and operate them on an efficient and economical basis, improved their health organized good purchasing and marketing cooperatives which serve the needs of the family farmer—and then turned them over as **good credit risks**, to banks. F. S. A. does not compete with banks, inasmuch as it extends credit only to farmers who can **not** get fair credit elsewhere.

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The Ravenswood News
Ravenswood, W. Va.
December 16, 1943

A Worthwhile Program

There's considerable opposition in co gress to the farm security administratio which has made it possible for 350 West V ginia families to buy and operate their o small farms. In many instances, these fa ilies were on the verge of becoming pub charges, but because their past records sho ed them to be capable farm workers th were aided by a friendly government.

Why the opposition to a program that is helping the small farmer?

There's only one answer—the large farmers of the nation, not wanting competition from the little fellows, hope to knock out the rural rehabilitation program.

In West Virginia there are approximately 6,000 rural rehabilitation borrowers, and about 3,000 have paid their accounts in full —many of them before they were due. A high percentage of these borrowers have become established on their farms and have built up an equity in livestock and equipment to the extent that they are now able to borrow money from other credit sources. These borrowers could not obtain money banks and other credit agencies when they were taken into the rehabilitation program because they did not own livestock, land, or equipment to give as security on loans.

The success of this government program, we believe, lies in the fact that every borrower receives expert supervision from Uncle Sam.

This newspaper realizes the benefits of this government program and opposes any "meddling" by congressmen who serve selfish interests.

One of the fundamentals of making a good citizen is enabling him to own his own land.

Can there be anything wrong with a government program that pays its own way and makes better citizens out of many rural Americans?

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In addition, these families produced for home use 149,146,500 pounds of hogs, 29,371,100 pounds of cattle and calves, 1,049,900 pounds of sheep, 163,089,200 gallons of milk, 35,683,000 pounds of chickens, and 42,916,200 dozen eggs.

In the principal war-needed food and oil crops, the total production in 1943 and the percentage increases over 1942 were:

Soybeans, 5,049,200 bushels, 37 per cent increase.
Peanuts, 156,776,400 pounds, 22 per cent.
Dry beans and blackeyed peas, 84,185,000 pounds, 15 per cent.
Irish potatoes, 20,996,800 bushels, 65 per cent.
Sweet potatoes, 5,972,700 bushels, 14 per cent.

In the name of the best interests of this country; in the name of common decency and honesty, what do they want the FSA clients to do?

Until the congress can answer, those opposing the FSA must stand convicted of caring only for the persons who would keep the tenant farmer and the sharecropper in the status of a laborer instead of helping make him a landowner and a citizen in the real meaning of the word.

NEW BILL PERILS BENEFITS OF FSA

Its Basic Principle—Human Rehabilitation— Is Omitted in Cooley Measure: Prices Alone Don't Help Farmer Permanently

By CHARLES M. SMITH
Social Research Associate at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Congress has before it the opportunity to recognize the family-type farm as the basic unit of agriculture. What happens in the next few weeks may set the pattern of rural life for years to come.

Before the House Agriculture Committee now is HR 4384, the Cooley Bill.

The measure will abolish the Farm Security Administration, the emergency seed and feed loan program of the Farm Credit Administration, and the Regional Agricultural Credit Corporation—and merge certain of their functions in a new agency to be called the Farmers Home Corporation.

The bill provides credit for farm families, but nowhere does it mention "rehabilitation"—the term that has come to be used to describe what the FSA does to help the small farmer succeed on the land. A special House committee, headed by Rep. Cooley of North Carolina, spent over a year investigating the situation and drawing up the legislation. It is unthinkable that the committee would have written a bill that would permit better provision for livestock than for members of the farm family. Yet that may be what the bill will do if rehabilitation is not specifically authorized.

PRICES NOT THE ANSWER

Poverty still exists on the smaller farms. Improved farm prices do not hold the answer. The small former in most cases is handicapped by a lack of experience in money management and how to buy. He does not have the money to set up his farming on a sound basis; he has no security with which to obtain the credit thru normal channels; and generally he lacks the knowledge to carry out a successful farm operation even if he could obtain the necessary capital.

The Farm Security Administration has developed a unique program of tenure improvement. The FSA has reached 1,600,000 families with one type or another of assistance. Credit has been extended to 950,000 families who could not obtain credit anywhere else. They have repaid more than 93 per cent of maturities on their loans, and 210,000 families already have repaid in full.

The Farm Security Administration describes its job as to "help needy farm families to become permanently self-supporting." The FSA program includes not merely credit—but helps in planning and carrying out sound farming operations, guidance in setting up neighborhood groups to share use of machinery and pure-bred livestock which individual farmers could not afford, instruction to farm wives in home canning and sewing.

Medical care plans were worked out by FSA between the families and county medical societies so that doctors could get their money and families could be encouraged to obtain medical services they needed to farm successfully. The American Medical Association today stands on record in Congress as heartily praising FSA's medical innovation. In more than one-third of the counties of the United States the plan has been voluntarily adopted by doctors. Similar prepay pool plans for hospitalization, dental care and surgical costs have also found favor.

FOOD PRODUCTION DOUBLED

Families are consuming an average of $326 worth of home-produced food—exactly doubel what they were producing for their own use before FSA teaching. Their average net worth, or the value of what they owned over what they owed, has increased by 130 per cent.

The FSA has accumulated a valuable body of administrative experience. The days of trial and error are over and the agency has come to the point where it can do its greatest good.

There should be explicit authorization of supervision, which in the language of the FSA has meant practical guidance in farm operations and home management, expert assistance to a particular family in overcoming its particular difficulties.

The Farm Security Administration is again embattled, this time to emerge, if Congress and the people will it so, with a new name and —it is to be hoped—a mandate from the Congress to "give the small farmer a chance."

U. D. A. CONGRESSIONAL NEWSLETTER

COOLEY COMMITTEE COMES OUT AGAINST MARRIAGE--After a year's investigation of Farm Security Administration, Cooley Committee on May 10 made report to House: smearing by misrepresentation administrations of Tugwell & C.B. Baldwin; condemning agency for "studiously carrying into effect each & every recommendation of President's Special Committee on Farm Tenancy" (helping 950,000 farm families to win security on land they cultivate); recommending FSA's abolition and transfer of its functions to a Farmers' Home Corporation.

In course of its paste-and-patch report, Committee lumped holy wedlock with "communistic" resettlement projects, paying of poll taxes (to vote) & going to theaters.

"Congress did not authorize resettlement projects along communistic lines; neither did it authorize loans to provide for payment of marriage expenses, the payment of poll taxes, attendance at theatres..." (Pg.9, Rept. 1430)

Disagreeing with St. Paul's observation that "it is better to marry than to burn," committee barred use for marriage fees of "rehabilitation" loan funds; consequently is in politically unhappy position of sanctioning free love among FSA borrowers.

Cooley committee members: Harold D. Cooley (N.C.), chairman; John W. Flannagan, (Va.); Orville Zimmerman (Mo.); Stephen Pace (Ga.); Clifford R. Hope (Kans.), who knows better; Anton J. Johnson (Ill.), & Ross Rizley (Okla.)--all respectably married.

Cooley Bill (HR4384) still bottled up in House Agriculture Committee. Best hope now is that Senate's action restoring FSA funds can be put thru House. If House Tories kill or maim FSA, look for another Grapes of Wrath after war, millions of dispossessed farm families competing with city unemployed for less & less work at lower & lower wages.

In past votes on FSA, city Congressmen have ducked; only their constituents can make them stay on floor this time to fight & vote for it & economic democracy for rural America.

As goes agriculture, so goes U.S.A.

U. D. A. CONGRESSIONAL NEWSLETTER

Issued on the first and fifteenth of each month by the UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

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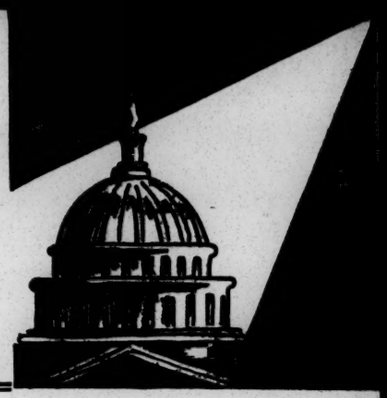

July 1, 1944

Dear Voter:

A MODERN POLITICAL FABLE TO PASTE IN YOUR HAT--And it came to pass that in the midst of a Great War & near the end of the Third Term of the Chief Executive of a Certain Nation, a lowly liberal Member of Congress was being Propositioned to Make the Race for a Higher & Harder Office that would have to Ratify the Peace.

And because he was both a Politician & a Liberal, the M.C. spake unto the No. 1 Man & said in this wise: But the Race will be Tougher, if you Know What I Mean, because, lo, many New Dealers in My Neck of the Woods are Upset & Confused by Concessions to the Antis which seem to amount to downright Appeasement & Surrender.

And the Big Boy made answer To This Effect: You don't know the Half of It! Before long the Whole Story must be Told.

Whereat, the M.C. marvelled greatly, but Being Practical, he said: You Alone can tell it, Boss!

And the Boss Ducked Not, but uttered this mighty oath: Fear not, as soon as this shooting war is on Tracks to victory, All the Shanties are going to Come Down--and you can tell your friends I Said So!

And, lo, it came to pass that this was done & some said "Hallelujah!" while others, noting New Shanties being Jerrybuilt for the Transition & Postwar by a mighty Prophet & his Followers in Divers Parties & Agencies, said "Oh, Yeah!" & "Show Me!" & other uncouth expressions of a Sceptical Faith peculiar to that Nation.

BLACK MARKET ACT OF 1944 IS SUGGESTED TITLE FOR FINAL COMPROMISE OPA BILL CONCOCTED BY HOUSE & SENATE & APPROVED BY BYRNES & BOWLES--As predicted, inflationist forces sacrificed Bankhead & Dirksen amendments, keeping little land mines which, despite all OPA can do, are likely to wreck enforcement, lift prices, provide added reason (in fatter profits & rising prices) for higher wage demands,

thus creating more home-front dissension, disunity & bitterness.

Stage is set for inflation, which may flare beyond control as war in Europe ends & buying stampede for scarce civilian goods begins.

Labor, working farmers, professional & consumers who fought OPA's fight thru Congress, were sold out by Byrnes & Bowles, who weakly agreed to avoid a veto & a demand by FDR for simple continuance of price control without amendment.

STRONG PUBLIC OPPOSITION IN NEXT FEW WEEKS IS NEEDED TO HALT HIGH-POWERED DRIVE to rush Bailey-Walter Bill (HR 3270) thru Senate after June 22 House passage by vote of 283-54. As predicted, 6/15/44, the recent Supreme Court decision that insurance is interstate commerce was used to stampede House into approving exemption of insurance from anti-trust laws.

Vote was result of long & careful preparation by fire insurance lobby, desperately attempting to block Justice Dept.'s criminal prosecution of 200 fire insurance companies for boycott & monopoly.

Bill's opponents were gagged by Hancock (R. N.Y.), an insurance lawyer, & Sumners (D., Tex.), who controlled time for debate.

LaFollette (R. Ind.), Celler (D. N.Y.), & Anderson (D. N.M.), were choked off.

If bill should become law, thorough Federal regulation of insurance within two years is predicted; surrender of regulation to States would result in public demand for

UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION, 9 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y., Reinhold Niebuhr, Chairman; Albert Sprague Coolidge, Treasurer; James Loeb, Jr., Executive Secretary; Howard Y. Williams, Field Director; Claire G. Sifton, Washington Representative.

protection. Senator O'Mahoney will fight bill after recess, but fast mobilization of support among public & in Senate is needed to head off passage. Write Rep. Charles La Follette for complete analysis of issue.

THANKS TO HEAVY CRITICISM BY LABOR, FARMERS & CONSCIENTIOUS CPAs, George-Murray Bill (S. 1718) for terminating war contracts underwent last-minute transformation in House-Senate conference.

As sent to FDR, it (a) contains new teeth with which to bite war profiteers, crooks & their pals within Gov't.; (b) threw out Baruch-Hancock Santa Claus features guaranteeing profits, substituting tough policy of paying off on "reasonable" basis judged by single standard of "protecting government's interest" (Sec. 6-C).

Looting will be discouraged by new section 19-C (P. 6465, Cong. Rec. 6/21/44).

Tough penalties for trickery, false statements, conspiracy, etc., apply not only to contract termination but also to "negotiation, renegotiation, performance, procurement or award of a contract."

S. 1718 still permits broad, unsupervised delegation of authority to negotiate & make settlements, but they must be reviewed by Settlement Review Boards with Director having final responsibility.

Improvements set moral precedent for later conversion & post-war legislation, are a set-back for Tories & a gain for liberals digging in for hard fight to pass Kilgore Bill (S. 1893) which would insure full post-war employment, maximum use of war plants & adequate unemployment compensation during crucial period of transition from war to peace. Bill adds $3.3 billion to $6.6 in G.I. & State benefits.

Cost of NOT adopting Kilgore Bill: Economic tailspin, possible 20 million unemployed, delay and/or defeat in transition to full production & employment; total money cost many times $10 billion in unproduced goods, unpaid wages, unsold & underpriced farm products & in taxes wasted in panicky inefficient relief spending.

Majority Whip Lister Hill & Senator Guffey (D. Pa.) have joined sponsors of Kilgore Bill.

TAX RELIEF FOR BIG BUSINESS GETS UNDER WAY in new joint committee drawn from House Ways & Means & Senate Finance Committees. As per Baruch exhortation, cuts will be designed to "encourage" investment, despite SEC & Commerce Dep't. figures showing surplus savings & profits in excess of postwar needs. Labor, farm, professional groups should have tax & fiscal experts on duty starting now, to keep up with highpriced C of C, NAM & swarm of other lobbyists; would save members million in soak-the-poor levies later. Look for taxes on co-ops, labor unions, etc., in next year's Tax Bill, also federal sales tax. And if the GOP takes over - - !!

AGENDA FOR COZY CHATS WITH YOUR REPRESENTATIVES DURING THE RECESS -- Kilgore Bill (S1893); Rivers & Harbors and Flood Control Bills (ask them to return both to committee for change to all purpose development along TVA lines); oppose Cooley Committee's probable recommendation -- after newly-authorized "investigation" of ALL farm credit agencies -- that all be merged, control fanned out to States and functions subordinated to private banker priority on borrowers; Wagner-Murray Dingell Bill extending Social Security; amendment of fake Soldiers Vote bill (only 1/3 will qualify; fewer will vote); put Congress on the air.

YOU & YOU & YOU CAN MAKE IT TRUE THAT HIGH TIDE OF ANTI-DEMOCRATIC REACTION PASSED WITH DEFEAT OF STARNES, COSTELLO, HOLMAN & DIES POLITICAL DEMISE. The future of the U.S.A. & the free world is in your minds.

Sincerely,

Paul Sifton

For UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Letter No. 21

Next issue U.D.A. Congressional Newsletter August 1. Subscription: $5.00.

Voting Record Supplement No. 12
U.D.A. CONGRESSIONAL NEWSLETTER
July 1, 1944

File but DON't forget

ROLL CALL ON DIRKSEN AMENDMENT OF OPA BILL.
June 14, 1944

The Dirksen Amendment, which would have taken from the Price Control Act a uniform jurisdiction, such as the Emergency Court of Appeals has, in favor of "about 300 different interpretations on a price order," according to Mike Monroney (D. Okla.) allowed -- again to quote Mr. Monroney -- "one Federal district judge (to) rule, for instance, that the price ceiling on corn was not correct at $1.07 & that it should be $1.12. Imagine what effect that would have in this nation, with its interlocked economy. You would not have any more price ceilings on corn at $1.07 & you would not have any at $1.12, because speculation would take effect."

But Mr. Dirksen (R. Ill.) said, before the vote was recorded: "We are going to determine today a large issue -- namely, whether in achieving an economic objective, such as price control, we shall throw the court system of this country overboard... ..Shall we deprive the humble citizen of the right to have his equity determined in an accessible court?" (At least three slurring misstatements).

What if inflation comes, what if people starve, "the manuscript dead hand of authority" of the courts must be saved, the effigy of justice must remain:

The conferees rejected this amendment in the end. But for the record, here are the Congressmen who were willing to disrupt the Price Control Act by accepting this amendment. (Pg. 6006, Congressional Record, June 14, 1944)

FOR THE AMENDMENT--200

Democrats

Abernathy*, Allen (La.), Andrews* (Ala.), Barden, Beckworth, Bland*, Boykin, Brooks, Cannon (Fla.), Colmer, Cooley, Costello, Cox, Cravens, Disney, Durham*, Engle* (Calif.), Fernandez, Fisher, Gathings, Gossett, Grant* (Ala.), Green, Hare*, Harris (Va.), Hebert, Hendricks, Hobbs, Luther Johnston, Johnson (Okla.), Kilday, Kleberg, Lanham, Larcade, Lea, McGehee, McKenzie, McMilland, Mahon, Mansco, Morris (La.), Murray (Tenn.), Newsome, Norrell, Patton, Peterson (Fla.), Philbin*, Poage, Rankin, Rivers, Russell, Sheridan*, Sikes, Slaughter, Starnes (Ala.), Summers (Tex.), Tarver*, Thomason, Tolan*, West, Winstead*, Worley.

Farm-Labor

Hagen.

Republicans

Allen (Ill.), H. Carl Anderson, Anderson (Calif.), Andresen, Angell*, Arends, Auchincloss*, Barrett, Beall, Bennett* (Mich.), Bennett (Mo.), Bishop, Bradley (Mich.), Brehm, Brown (Ohio), Brumbaugh*, Buffett*, Busbey, Butler*, Carlson (Kans.), Carrier, Carson (Ohio), Carter, Case*, Chenoweth, Chiperfield, Church, Clason*, Clevenger, Cole-(Mo.), Cole (N.Y.), Compton, Cunningham*, Curtis, Day, Dewey, Dirksen, Douglas*, Dworshak*, Eaton*, Ellsworth*, Elmer, Elston (Ohio), Fellows*, Fenton, Fish, Gavin, Gearhart, Gerlach*, Gilchrist, Gillespie, Gillette, Gillie*, Goodwin*, Grant (Ind.), Griffiths, Gwynne, E. A. Hall, Halleck, Harness (Ind.), Hartley, Heidinger, Hess*, Hill, Hoeven*, Hoffman, Holmes* (Wash.), Hope, Horan, Howell, Jeffrey*, Jenkins, Jennings, Jensen, A. J. Johnson, C. D. Johnson, Johnson (Ind.), Ward Johnson, Jones, Jonkman, Keefe*, Knutson, Lambertson, Landis, McConnell, McCowan, McGregor, McWilliams, Maas*, Martin* (Iowa), Martin* (Mass.), Mason, Miller (Mo.), Miller* (Nebr.), Miller (Pa.), Mott*, Mruk*, Mundt*, Murray (Wis.), Norman, O'Hara, Phillips, Pittinger, Ploeser, Powers*, Reece (Tenn.), Reed (Ill.), Reed (N.Y.), Rees, Rizley, Robsion (Ky.), Rockwell, Rogers* (Mass.), Rohrbaugh, Rolph, Schwabe, Scott*, Scrivner, Shafer*, Short, Simpson (Ill.), Simpson (Pa.), Smith (Ohio), Smith* (Wis.), Springer*, Stefan*, Stevenson, Stigler, Stockman, Talle, Thomas (N.J.), Tibbott, Towe*, Treadway*, Troutman, Vorys* (Ohio), Sundstrom*, Vursell, Weichel, Willey, Winter, Wolfenden (Pa.), Woodruff (Mich.).

(over)

Democrats

Anderson (N.M.), Baldwin* (Md.), Barry*, Bates (Ky.), Bloom*, Bonner*, Bradley* (Pa.), Brown* (Ga.), Bryson*, Buckley*, Bulwinkle*, Burch* (Va.), Burchill* (N.Y.), Burgin*, Byrne*, Camp*, Cannon* (Mo.), Celler*, Chapman, Clark*, Cochran*, Coffee*, Cooper*, Courtney*, Crosser*, Curley*, D'Alessandro*, Davis*, Dawson*, Delaney*, Dickstein*, Dilweg*, Dingell*, Doughton, Drewry*, Eberharter*, Elliott, Feighan*, Fitzpatrick*, Flannagan*, Fogarty*, Folger*, Forand*, Fulmer*, Furlong*, Gordon*, Gore*, Gorski*, Gregory, Harris (Ark.), Hart*, Hays*, Heffernan*, Hoch*, Hollifield*, Izac*, Jackson*, Jarman*, Lyndon Johnson*, Kefauver*, Kelley*, Kennedy*, Keogh*, Kerr*, King, Kirwan*, Lane*, Lesinski*, Lynch*, McCormack*, McMurray*, Madden*, Maloney*, Mansfield* (Mont.), Merritt*, Monroney*, Murdock*, Murphy*, Myers*, Norton*, O'Brien* (Ill.), O'Brien* (Mich.), O'Neal*, O'Toole*, Outland*, Pace, Pfeifer*, Priest*, Ramspeck*, Randolph, Robertson*, Robinson* (Utah), Rowan*, Sabath*, Sadowski*, Sasscer*, Satterfield*, Scanlon*, Smith* (Va.), Smith* (W.Va.), Snyder*, Somers (N.Y.), Sparkman*, Spence*, Sullivan*, Thomas (Tex.), Vincent (Ky.), Vinson (Ga.), Voorhis* (Calif.), Walter*, Ward*, Wasielewski*, Weaver*, Weiss*, Wene*, White, Whittington*, Wickersham, Woodrum*, Wright*, Zimmerman*.

Farm-Labor

Hull*, Sauthoff*

American-Labor

Marcantonio*

Republican

Andrews (N.Y.), Baldwin* (N.Y.), Bates* (Mass.), Bender*, Blackney*, Bolton*, Canfield*, Crawford, Dondero*, Ellison* (Md.), Engel (Mich.), Gale*, Gamble*, Graham, Hale*, L. W. Hall, Hancock, Herter*, Hinshaw, Holmes (Mass.), Leroy Johnson, Judd*, Kean*, Kearney*, Kilburn*, Kinzer, Kunkel*, LaFollette*, LeCompte*, LeFevre, Luce*, McLean*, Michener*, Miller* (Conn.), Monkiewicz*, O'Brien (N.Y.), O'Konski*, Poulson*, Pracht*, Pratt*, Ramey*, Rodgers (Pa.), Rowe*, Schiffler, Smith* (Me.), Stanley*, Sumner (Ill.), Taber, Talbot, Taylor*, Torrens*, Wadsworth, Welch*, Wigglesworth*, Wilson*, Wolcott*, Wolverton* (N.J.)

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* denotes Congressman voted against increasing the price of oil, rejecting the inflationary Disney amendment to the Price Control Act. The vote was 178-204. (Pg. 6005, Congressional Record, June 14, 1944.)

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N.B.--Here are the 21 die-hard Senators who voted to strike from the War Agencies bill a $500,000 fund to finance the Fair Employment Practices Committee:
(Pg. 6343, Congressional Record, June 20, 1944)

Democrats--14

Bankhead	George	McKellar
Bilbo	Hill	Overton
Byrd	Johnson (Colo.)	Russell
Connally	Maybank	Stewart
Eastland	McClellan	

Republicans--7

Brewster	Holman	White
Bushfield	Millikin	
Gurney	Robertson	

Underlines indicate the Senator is up for re-election.

THE NEGRO VOTE & THE COMING CAMPAIGN

If you are interested in knowing how close to a wedding of expediency is the southern coalition with the Republican side of the Senate and the House, look to the Republican stand on legislation affecting the Negro people. Current issues are anti-lynching and anti-poll tax legislation and pending bill for a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission.

Basis of the courtship lies in the fact that the Democrats in Congress cannot carry any legislation through without southern colleagues. The Administration's strong stand on non-discrimination has driven equally strong-minded and often reactionary southerners into arms of waiting Republicans where gifts of the wooing period are being exchanged. Arm-in-arm, southerners and Republicans can control the Congress.

The Republican dream is to crack the solid South. It was no accident that Republican Senator Bushfield (S.D.) who boomed Deep South Senator Byrd of Virginia for Vice Presidential nominee of the Republican Party, voted against the FEPC. Senator Brewster (R. Me.) who also cast his vote against the FEPC, similarly endorsed Byrd for the Republican slate.

The Republican Party is the historic friend of the Negro who has gratefully delivered his vote en masse. But the gains achieved by the present Administration contrasted with the wavering position of Republican legislators on Negro issues makes the vote doubtful. The Negro vote must be courted by the Republicans in the coming campaign if it is not to be lost. But Republicans cannot keep its southern admirers and its Negro friends at the same time. It must choose.

Thus far Republican strategy has been to straddle issue, if possible. In the case of the poll-tax, they hid behind constitutional and states-rights smoke-screen. When FEPC appropriation emerged from the House by a bare four-vote majority (after Republican Representatives split to join hands with Southern bloc) the Senate found itself in spotlight as Lord High Executioner with reprieve pardon for one more year of life for the President's FEPC.

A quick survey of the Senate situation found northern democrats, with very few exceptions, favorably disposed. But wavering Republicans were a source of alarm. Terrific back-home and party pressure whipped election-alert fence-straddlers into line except for party-leader White of Maine and seven Republican colleagues. A number of Republicans (party whip Wherry, Reed, Revercomb) let it be known that theirs was a reluctant vote. Gallery observers made note that in three days of debate on the appropriation, not one Republican on the Senate floor rose to its defense.

Bill for permanent FEPC, just introduced in Senate by Senator Chavez (N.M.) will be real test. Four democratic sponsors of the bill (Chavez, Wagner, N.Y., Downey, Calif., Murray Mont.) against two republicans (Capper, Kans. and Langer, N.D.) indicate how difficult it is to get Republican sponsorship on this type of legislation. Outside supporters of the measure have said that every effort was made to persuade Republican Senators to co-sponsor the bill on an equal basis.

The Republican Party, at its Convention in Chicago, has included enactment of the bill for a permanent FEPC in its party platform. Whether or not that plank means the passage of a genuine & discriminating bill which includes punitive powers or a bill providing for "educational" activity remains the $64 question.

However, the action of the Republicans at their convention has effectively put the Democratic Party on the spot. A number of its southern delegates have openly threatened "to take a walk" if the "white supremacy" theory is challenged in the Democratic platform. The gadfly people at the Democratic convention will be whether the Party believes it sufficient to coast on its record or will chance a break with the southern vote.

TO MAKE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT MORE REPRESENTATIVE

Representation in Congress (as well as in the Electoral College) is determined on the basis of population. As a result, Southern states, including of course the poll tax states, have a disproportionate share of men in Congress who represent a minority. Seniority rules compound their power and disfranchise the majority.

Tables inserted in the Congressional Record, June 19 (Pgs. A3351-2) by Congressman Harry Sauthoff from a paper prepared by W. L. Forrest of Madison, Wis., are eloquent pleas for enfranchising the majorities; for giving the people who can and do vote their rights in a democracy.

Mr. Forrest recommends: (1) amending the Constitutional provision for Congressional representation by changing the base from population to the number of votes cast in a Presidential election year for Congressmen; (2) reducing the age of voting to 18; (3) simplifying election ballots; (4) teaching political democracy in the schools.

The Army has delegated Col. Robert Cutler, who pled for a simple workable Federal ballot before the Senate & House Privileges & Elections Committees, to hold seminars for officers on how to vote the complicated state ballots. Officers who attend will return to their commands & instruct unit officers in voting methods. These, in turn, will instruct the individual soldier on how to fill out his state ballot IF he comes from a state which will allow him to vote; IF he gets the ballot on time; IF he can take that much time from the war.)

According to Mr. Forrest: 79 Congressmen from Texas, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Virginia, Mississippi, Arkansas & South Carolina, who represent only 2,746,599 voters, are equal to

79 Congressmen from New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Florida, Maine, Rhode Island, New Hampshire & Vermont who represent 10,138,017 voters; or

79 Congressmen from Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Maryland & Delaware, who represent 9,655,377 voters; or

79 Congressmen from Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Indiana, & Wisconsin who represent 10,842,558 voters.

With representation in Congress by population, the states line up as follows in number of Congressmen:

1. New York	11. No. Carolina	21. Oklahoma	31. Florida	41. Idaho
2. Pennsylvania	12. Indiana	22. Louisiana	32. Nebraska	42. N. Hamp.
3. Illinois	13. Wisconsin	23. Mississippi	33. Colorado	43. N. Mexico
4. Ohio	14. Georgia	24. Arkansas	34. Oregon	44. Arizona
5. Texas	15. Tennessee	25. Kansas	35. Maine	45. Vermont
6. California	16. Kentucky	26. W. Virginia	36. Rhode Island	46. Delaware
7. Michigan	17. Alabama	27. So.Carolina	37. So. Dakota	47. Wyoming
8. Massachusetts	18. Minnesota	28. Maryland	38. No. Dakota	48. Nevada
9. New Jersey	19. Virginia	29. Washington	39. Montana	
10. Missouri	20. Iowa	30. Connecticut	40. Utah	

If representation were in proportion to the number of voters, the lineup would be like this:

1. New York	11. Wisconsin	21. Washington	31. So. Dakota	41. N. Mexico
2. Illinois	12. Minnesota	22. Maryland	32. Georgia	42. Mississippi
3. Pennsylvania	13. Iowa	23. Nebraska	33. Alabama	43. Vermont
4. Ohio	14. Texas	24. Colorado	34. Utah	44. Arizona
5. California	15. Kentucky	25. Oregon	35. Maine	45. Delaware
6. Michigan	16. W. Virginia	26. Tennessee	36. Montana	46. Wyoming
7. Massachusetts	17. No. Carolina	27. Florida	37. Idaho	47. So. Carolina
8. New Jersey	18. Kansas	28. Louisiana	38. N.Hampshire	48. Nevada
9. Missouri	19. Connecticut	29. Virginia	39. No. Dakota	
10. Indiana	20. Oklahoma	30. Rhode Island	40. Arkansas	

U. D. A. CONGRESSIONAL NEWSLETTER

Issued on the first and fifteenth of each month by the UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

225 Kellogg Building, Washington 4, D. C.

See M 2 Lewis

August 1, 1944

Dear Voter:

SIMULTANEOUS POLITICAL EARTHQUAKES IN TOKYO & BERLIN (such as will precede end of shooting war) again remind Washington that U.S.A. is more unprepared for peace than any of its major allies.

Ass't. President Byrnes, whose Vice Presidential boom at Chicago would have lasted longer if he had not blocked Kilgore Bill (S1893) last May, is now frantically beating Administration drums for immediate action by Senate Military Affairs Committee to report out either Kilgore Bill, George-Murray Bill (S1730), or a compromise.

Byrnes warns peace in Europe &/or Pacific must not catch us with part of our war plants down & no plans for shifting to peace production.

Britain, Russia, China & French Committee for Liberation have made plans & provisions for quick transition from war to peace economy of FULL employment.

But U.S.Congress, bewitched by wartime prosperity & multi-million dollar "free enterprise" & state's rights propaganda, junked Nat'l. Resources Planning Board, ignored TNEC reports showing growing concentration of economic power (accelerated during war) & now faces awful responsibility for being too late with too little in conversion legislation.

Danger is that Byrnes (backed by Baruch, Jesse Jones, Will Clayton & Big Business) will use peace jitters in coming weeks to stampede George-Murray Bill thru Senate, Colmer Bill (HR5125) thru House & then present President with a bill that

omits practical provision for FULL postwar employment;

excludes labor, farmers, industry & public from participation in framing & administering policies for production, employment & best use (in people's interest) of greatest industrial plant & stockpile of materials in history of the world;

provides inadequate compensation & re-training for unemployed veterans & war workers;

but gives Surplus War Property Administrator Will Clayton a free hand to unload $19 billions in war plants & facilities & up to $75 billions in surplus war goods into private hands as fast as business will take them at prices business will pay, with no provision against speculation or scrapping,

amounting to a return to a pre-war basis of chronic mass unemployment & underconsumption.

Already, with production scheduled to increase to a November peak, unemployment (now at 700,000) is expected to rise, due to increased productivity of labor & employers' release of hoarded labor as cutbacks continue to reduce backlogs of orders, etc.

When European war ends, total production (civilian & war) is expected to drop 30% in as short a time as six weeks, leaving available for civilian production 230% of aluminum available in 1939, 170% of copper, 110% of steel.

WE WILL BE FACE TO FACE WITH ABUNDANCE.

Forces that would use monopoly to liquidate abundance & create scarcities

UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION, 9 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y., Reinhold Niebuhr, Chairman; Albert Sprague Coolidge, Treasurer; James Loeb, Jr., Executive Secretary; Howard Y. Williams, Field Director; Claire G. Sifton, Washington Representative.

to pyramid profits, have received two recent setbacks:

1. Clayton, big cotton broker & ex-Liberty Leaguer, has stubbed his toe in giving disposal of military lands to RFC, as Nat'l. Ass'n. of Real Estate Boards wishes.

(Senator Bankhead will push legislation giving job to Agriculture Department & Interior.)

2. Big war contractors (fighting resumption of gradual civilian production by other firms) & procurement agencies (fighting for reserves of plant & manpower to meet any sudden demand for more war goods) together ran head on into Senator Truman, who came to help of WPB Chairman Nelson, labor & little business. Combined, they got reversal of Admiral Leahy's order reversing Nelson's first conversion order.

Now, with increased prestige as Democrats' chief campaigner & as co-sponsor of Kilgore Bill, Truman may be able to cut clear track thru Congress to point up postwar preparedness during campaign.

Needed: combined strength of peoples' organizations, labor, farmers, religious, civic, welfare, professional & consumer groups, mobilized & directed at (1) Senators, (2) Congressmen, (3) FDR, demanding enactment of Kilgore Bill now, before peace blows up in faces of civilians & veterans alike & a pit of unemployment opens under our feet as a third to half our national income drops away.

TWO IMPORTANT COMMITTEE HEARINGS ARE IN WORKS FOR AUGUST: Whether or not Congress gets to work during dog days,

Tax relief ("simplification"), easing of rates for big payers, is to be discussed before Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation. A new lobby (Twin Cities Research Bureau, Inc.) proposes to transfer load to low incomes, plus 5% sales tax. Taxes for labor unions & farmers co-operatives will be proposed.

(If GOP organizes House, this is certain; if FDR wins & carries in thumping House majority, it isn't.) "Incentive taxation," very tricky, will get big play.

Permanent FEPC (Fair Employment Practice Committee) Bill, now endorsed in GOP & (vaguely) in Democratic platforms, is being revised to insure support by all labor; may have further hearings before Rep. Mary Norton's Labor Committee & Senate Education & Labor Committee. Drive to pass bill in September & take issue out of campaign has fighting chance of success.

WHO GETS NEGRO VOTE IN 1944? Close observers say it's lost to Roosevelt & Truman unless

(1) Democrats sponsor & pass FEPC Bill;

(2) Dept. of Justice releases for publication findings that Supreme Court decision in Texas white primary case applies to white primaries in all other states now practicing such discrimination.

Justice Dept.'s interpretation can be let go whenever advisors to FDR (even those who persuaded him to abandon Wallace) make up their minds it's smart politics to do so.

Southern politicians recognize that white primary is dead & poll tax is doomed. Northern Democratic big brains should stop scaring themselves to death.

Status & feeling of Southern Negroes will, more than ever before, influence voting of Northern Negroes in doubtful industrial-agricultural States.

Democratic platform's vagueness, plus Wallace's defeat, give Negro New Dealers little to tie to except FDR's own efforts in their behalf (no firm mooring against drift back to party that still trades on name of Abraham Lincoln.)

Negro war heroes, dying to defend what their race has never had much of, are making the faces of white liberals redder & redder.

VOTING RECORD SUPPLEMENT NO. 13
U.D.A. CONGRESSIONAL NEWSLETTER
Aug. 1, 1944.

File but DON'T forget.

THE FOUR STAR CONGRESSMEN

We name for high honors in the People's Bloc in Congress the following Representatives. They voted right or were paired right on the seven most important issues before the 78th Congress. Their re-election is vital.

The issues: Subsidies, taxes, poll tax repeal, Smith-Connally act, the soldier vote, United Nations Relief & Rehabilitation, and price control.

The Four Star Congressmen: ****

Hollifield (D.) Calif.
Outland (D.) Calif.
Voorhis (D.) Calif.
Dawson (D.) Ill.
Gorski (D.) Ill.
Gordon (D.) Ill.
O'Brien (D.) Ill.
Rowan (D.) Ill.
Madden (D.) Ind.
Spence (D.) Ky.
Lane (D.) Mass.
McCormack (D.) Mass.
Dingell (D.) Mich.
Lesinski (D.) Mich.
Sadowski (D.) Mich.
Mansfield (D.) Mont.
Bloom (D.) N.Y.
Dickstein (D.) N.Y.
Fitzpatrick (D.) N.Y.
Kennedy (D.) N.Y.
Keogh (D.) N.Y.
Lynch (D.) N.Y.
Marcantonio (ALP) N.Y.
Merritt (D.) N.Y.
Somers (D.) N.Y.
Hart (D.) N.J.
Crosser (D.) Ohio
Feighan (D.) Ohio
Bradley (D.) Pa.
Furlong (D.) Pa.
Hoch (D.) Pa.
Kelley (D.) Pa.
Myers (D.) Pa.
Scanlon (D.) Pa.
Snyder (D.) Pa.
Wright (D.) Pa.
Fogarty (D.) R.I.
Robinson (D.) Utah
Coffee (D.) Wash.
Kee (D.) W.Va.
Dilweg (D.) Wis.
Hull (Prog.) Wis.
McMurray (D.) Wis.

The Three Star Congressmen: ***

(They would have qualified for Four Stars if they had not been absent on one vote & failed to record themselves as paired right on the rollcall).

Izac (D.) Calif.
King (D.) Calif.
Rogers (D.) Calif.*
Welch (R.) Calif.
Sabath (D.) Ill.
Rabaut (D.) Mich.
Cochran (D.) Mo.
O'Connor (D.) Mont.
Norton (D.) N.J.
Buckley (D.) N.Y.
Burchill (D.) N.Y.
Byrne (D.) N.Y.
Capozolli (D.) N.Y.
Delaney (D.) N.Y.
Heffernan (D.) N.Y.
Klein (D.) N.Y.
Pfeifer (D.) N.Y.
Kirwin (D.) Ohio
Murphy (D.) Pa.
Weiss (D.) Pa.
Forand (D.) R.I.
Jackson (D.) Wash.
Magnuson (D.) Wash.

The Two Star Congressmen: **

(Two Stars go to the following Congressmen who voted right four times or better on the seven issues).

Harless (D.) Ariz.
Murdock (D.) Ariz.
Hays (D.) Ark.
Ford (D.) Calif.
Toland (D.) Calif.
Miller (R.) Conn.
Monkiewicz (R.) Conn.
Green (D.) Fla.
LaFollette (R.) Ind.
Ludlow (D.) Ind.
Bates (D.) Ky.
O'Neal (D.) Ky.
Vincent (D.) Ky.
Morris (D.) La.
Smith (R.) Maine
D'Allesandro (D.) Md.
Ellison (R.) Md.
Sasscer (D.) Md.
Ward (D.) Md.
Curley (D.) Mass.
Herter (D.) Mass.
Philbin (D.) Mass.
Blackney (R.) Mich.
Engel (R.) Mich.
O'Brien (D.) Mich.
Gale (R.) Minn.
Hagen (F-L) Minn.
Judd (R.) Minn.
Cannon (D.) Mo.
Zimmerman (D.) Mo.
Sullivan (D.) Nev.
Canfield (R.) N.J.
Hartley (R.) N.J.
Powers (R.) N.J.
Wene (D.) N.J.
Wolverton (R.) N.J.
Anderson (D.) N.M.
Fernandez (D.) N.M.
Andrews (R.) N.Y.
Baldwin (R.) N.Y.
Barry (D.) N.Y.
Celler (D.) N.Y.
Fay (D.) N.Y.
Kearney (R.) N.Y.
Mruk (R.) N.Y.
O'Toole (D.) N.Y.
Bonner (D.) N.C.
Bulwinkle (D.) N.C.
Burgin (D.) N.C.
Folger (D.) N.C.
Morrison (D.) N.C.

* resigned to go into the Army before last issue came up.

(over)

The Two Star Congressmen (Cont'd):

Weaver (D.) N.C.
Burdick (R.) N.D.
Bender (R.) Ohio
Bolton (R.) Ohio
Ramey (R.) Ohio
Johnson (D.) Okla.
Monroney (D.) Okla.
Wickersham (D.) Okla.
Angell (R.) Oreg.
Eberharter (D.) Pa.
Kunkel (R.) Pa.
Pracht (R.) Pa.
Walter (D.) Pa.
Cooper (D.) Tenn.
Courtney (D.) Tenn.
Davis (D.) Tenn.
Gore (D.) Tenn.
Kefauver (D.) Tenn.
McCord (D.) Tenn.
Priest (D.) Tenn.
Johnson, Lyndon (D.) Texas
Patman (D.) Texas
Patton (D.) Texas
Granger (D.) Utah
Flannagan (D.) Va.
Satterfield (D.) Va.
Randolph (D.) W.Va.
Schiffler (R.) W.Va.
Smith (D.) W.Va.
Sauthoff (Prog.) Wis.
Wasielewski (D.) Wis.

THE CONGRESSMEN WHO DESERVE DEFEAT

The following Congressmen voted wrong on all seven issues vital to liberals or were absent, or were recorded as paired against in the rollcalls. They should be defeated:

0 0 0 0 0 0 0

Boykin (D.) Ala.
Hobbs (D.) Ala.
Cravens (D.) Ark.
Cox (D.) Ga.
Gibson (D.) Ga.
Whelchel (D.) Ga.
Mason (R.) Ill.
McKenzie (D.) La.
Treadway (R.) Mass.
Bradley (R.) Mich.
Hoffman (R.) Mich.
Woodruff (R.) Mich.
Knutson (R.) Minn.
Maas (R.) Minn.
O'Hara (R.) Minn.
Colmer (D.) Miss.
McGehee (D.) Miss.
Reed, Daniel (R.) N.Y.
Smith (R.) Ohio
Disney (D.) Okla.
Rizley (R.) Okla.
Murray (D.) Tenn.
Kleberg (D.) Texas
West (D.) Texas

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The following Congressmen voted wrong on six out of seven issues vital to liberals. Group (a) voted right on UNRRA; (b) on the Poll Tax; (c) on price control; (d) on the soldier vote; & (e) on subsidies:

(a)

Grant (D.) Ala.
Manasco (D.) Ala.
Newsome (D.) Ala.
Starnes (D.) Ala.
Gathings (D.) Ark.
Norrell (D.) Ark.
Peterson (D.) Ga.
Jensen (R.) Iowa
Martin (R.) Iowa
May (D.) Ky.
Allen (D.) La.
Domengeaux (D.) La.
Fellows (R.) Maine
Abernathy (D.) Miss.
Rankin (D.) Miss.
Whitten (D.) Miss.
Winstead (D.) Miss.
Bell (D.) Mo.
Slaughter (D.) Mo.
Curtis (R.) Nebr.
Miller (R.) Nebr.
Douglas (R.) N.Y.
Fuller (R.) N.Y.
Simpson (R.) Pa.
Hare (D.) S.C.
McMillan (D.) S.C.
Lanham (D.) Texas
Russell (D.) Texas
Plumley (R.) Vt.

(b)

Gearhart (R.) Calif.
Phillips (R.) Calif.
Dworshak (R.) Ill.
Chiperfield (R.) Ill.
Dirksen (R.) Ill.
Heidinger (R.) Ill.
Johnson, Anton (R.)Ill.
Johnson, Calvin (R.)Ill.
Simpson (R.) Ill.
Vursell (R.) Ill.
Halleck (R.) Ind.
Harness (R.) Ind.
Carlson (R.) Kans.
Hope (R.) Kans.
Lambertson (R.) Kans.
Winter (R.) Kans.
Rogers (R.) Mass.
Jonkman (R.) Mich.
Wolcott (R.) Mich.
Arnold (R.) Mo.
Elmer (R.) Mo.
Ploeser (R.) Mo.
Short (R.) Mo.
Buffett (R.) Nebr.
Clevenger (R.) Ohio
Griffiths (R.) Ohio
Jones (R.) Ohio
Stockman (R.) Oreg.
Smith (R.) Wis.

(c)

Pace (D.) Ga.
Sumner (R.) Ill.
Pratt (R.) Pa.

(d)

Boren (D.) Okla.

(e)

Sheridan (D.) Pa.

WILL WE HAVE TOO MANY DOCTORS IN 1948?--Miller Bill (HR5128) now in Committee on Military Affairs, proposes to amend Selective Service Act to defer "not less than 6,000 medical students & not less than 4,000 dental students" a year to maintain "the national health, safety & interest."

Bill was introduced to combat Selective Service dictum, in refusing deferment for medical students, that by 1948 we'll have too many doctors!

ANOTHER TRY AT FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION is being led by National Education Ass'n, which is trying to get enough House signatures to Motion 12, to discharge Committee on Education from further consideration of Ramspeck Bill (HR2849) probably about as good as can be had from present Congress.

Already 84 signature & 15 promises to sign have been obtained from Congressmen. A total of 219 are needed.

Quiz your Congressman while he's home. It's a step toward "taxing wealth where it is to educate children where children are."

BITS & PIECES--G.I.loans for veterans don't look so hot with Gov't. underwriting only 50%; $2,000 loan to start farming is about enough to get married to a patch of poverty...

Fulmer Bill (HR4911) for restoring Crop Insurance is inadequate in coverage of crops, spread of risk, amounts of premiums & payments, but is worth supporting as a new beginning; has good chance to pass before election...

Lease Lend can continue delivery on contracts made before end of war for three years after war; will sustain production during conversion & is fine bit of practical postwar planning...

States-righters seem to have chloroformed Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill (S1161); same powerful state machines will fight Unemployment Compensation provisions of any conversion bill & demand breakup of U.S.Employment Service into 48 pieces. Labor will have to fight this state by state.

(Dewey, a pal to 26 GOP Governors, will work "back to States" theme hard.)

While we plan a postwar world order, we permit balkanization of U.S.A.....

FDR's worst handicap will be a popular feeling that he can't lose, so why register and vote? What his campaign needs is a Gil Dobie to gloom the prospects --and they can be plenty bad.

GOP, having gypped millions of soldiers of vote, sends Dewey on a "speechless tour," hoping he will whisper to his variegated friends while his enemies sleep, thereby holding vote down to 40 million, mostly his. (Judging by the crew of anti-liberal, anti-labor, isolationists, that has moved into GOP control, Dewey's cabinet would surpass Harding's.

Campaign thought: Starve quicker with Dewey & Bricker!

If you want to stay human, take FD & Truman!

Dies' attempt to fix CIO Political Action Committee in public mind as puppet of Roosevelt Administration (by publishing lists of phone calls to White House & names of former gov't. employees now working with PAC) ignores two facts:

(1) most of "men around President" opposed Wallace candidacy at Democratic Convention;

(2) Hillman, C.B. Baldwin, & other ex-govt. employees in PAC are nearly all New Deal "expendables" dropped by Roosevelt Administration under reactionary pressures from within & without.

Sincerely,

Paul Sifton

For UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Letter No. 22

Next issue U.D.A. Congressional Newsletter, Aug. 15, 1944. Subscription: $5 a year.

THEY MAY BE CALLED UPON TO DIE FOR IT, BUT--

Only twenty states have made it easy for men & women in the armed services to vote, by permitting use of the simple Federal ballot. They are:

California	Michigan	Oregon
Connecticut	Nebraska	Rhode Island
Florida	New Hampshire	Texas
Georgia	New Jersey	Utah
Maine	New Mexico	Vermont
Maryland	North Carolina	Washington
Massachusetts	Oklahoma	

New York has registered less than 100,000 of its 1,000,000 service people since Governor Dewey turned down a liberal interpretation of New York's constitution, thereby prohibiting use of the Federal ballot. Dewey's opposition to giving fighting New Yorkers access to an easily voted ballot may be explained by statistics on past elections which show that the bigger the total vote, the less likely a GOP majority. Dewey's hope lies in a small total vote.

New Jersey, as a result of a State wide house-to-house survey, reports that 337,000 of its 375,000 servicemen & women are on its voting lists. They can use the Federal ballot.

Pennsylvania claims 100 per cent registration among its 500,000 eligible men & women in the armed forces.

South Carolina & Kentucky have banned use of postcard ballot application forms provided by the Federal voting law.

Arizona servicemen had to execute & return their state ballots by July 18 (before Roosevelt & Truman were nominated) in order to have their votes counted.

Servicemen's executed ballots had to be back at the state capitol of Arkansas by July 25 to be counted in the primary; or, for the run-off, by August 8.

Delaware has no absentee ballot for soldiers.

The Kansas primary date is August 1. Absentee soldier ballots had to be back in Kansas by July 31.

Mississippi allows executed absentee ballots to be counted if back at the office of the Secretary of State by August 29.

Missouri service men & women have until August 2. Montanans had only to July 18. Tennessee gave its servicemen & women until August 3; Virginians until July 24. Wisconsin gives them until August 15. But Wyoming soldier votes had to be in by July 18.

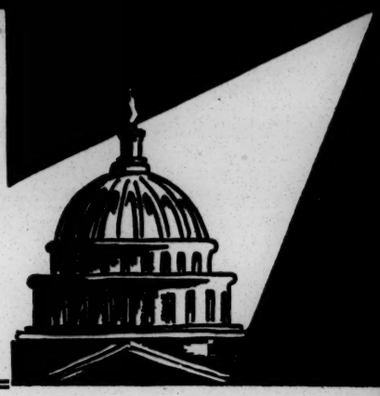
Most of these deadlines are for primary votes; some for run-offs; some for the final elections. In any case the confusion is compounded by the exigencies of war.

An officer aboard a large battleship, assigned to help officers & men to vote, found that three-fourths of the personnel were too young to vote; & that most of the remaining men came from states with complicated or no absentee voting regulations making it possible for them to vote.

U. D. A. CONGRESSIONAL NEWSLETTER

Issued on the first and fifteenth of each month by the
UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

225 Kellogg Building, Washington 4, D. C.



September 5, 1944

Dear Voter:

(Tight manpower: our multilithers, hard-pressed, eased up over Labor Day, delayed this issue. Next issue September 20.)

PEPPER MOVES TO PUT CONGRESS ON THE AIR-- Here you are, citizens, editors, businessmen, union members, farmers, teachers, students-- direct access to the truth, the whole truth & nothing but the truth of Congressional words & actions. It's yours for the asking--if you ask hard & long enough:

"Whereas during the coming months & years most of the major social, economic & political issues of the United States & the world will be debated by the Congress of the United States; and...

"Whereas, the interests of every citizen are vitally affected..

"Whereas, there has been mounting public interest... in the proceedings of the Senate & the House..

"Whereas (they) are of necessity presented only in brief extracts or summaries by newspapers & news broadcasters... and,

"Whereas, radio broadcasting makes it possible to bring the proceedings directly to the people of the U.S.,

"Therefore, be it resolved by the Senate & the House... that radio broadcasting stations .. & networks are hereby authorized to broadcast any proceedings on the floor... provided... no station... shall be required to broadcast...

"Nor shall any proceeding be broadcast when (either) House otherwise orders... The Architect of the Capitol is... directed to make available at cost copies of .. mechanical recordings to broadcasting stations & networks desiring to broadcast them."

The Bill, SJR 145, is in the Senate Rules Committee and will die there unless you make your candidates for both Houses say yes or no, now.

No one will want to listen to all the broadcasts, but all will listen to some and many to much.

Congress can rank No. 1 in the Crosley rating, as it should.

Take it from here-- even if it puts this Newsletter out of business.

"BACK TO NORMALCY" COALITION, ON VERGE OF VICTORY, FEARS FDR MAY THROW A SUNDAY PUNCH--Don't take it for granted, but with the shooting war won in Europe, New Deal may be taken down from shelf (where FDR put it Nov. 1942) & put to work again in critical days & weeks ahead. Signs multiply:

1. TVA's J.A. Krug goes in as WPB boss, may run reconversion.
2. Senator Murray introduces S2083 creating a Missouri Valley Authority along TVA lines (Gillette put in S 2100 for an MVA, but with priority for navigation, against whole TVA all-purpose idea.)
3. Justice Dept. files anti-trust suit against 47 Western railroads & promises revival of suits against 100 big firms who have had war time immunity.
4. Senator Hill, Majority Whip, puts in bill (S2085) to end freight rate discriminations.
5. Budget Director Smith starts work year early on Census of Manufactures to catch top war production figures for use as basis for full postwar employment.

UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION, 9 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y., Reinhold Niebuhr, Chairman; Albert Sprague Coolidge, Treasurer; James Loeb, Jr., Executive Secretary; Howard Y. Williams, Field Director; Claire G. Sifton, Washington Representative.

6. Truman says in his first campaign speech that $20 billion in war plants, patents, etc., must be fully used to get full postwar employment.

7. Agriculture Sec'y. Wickard & WFA Administrator Jones give Congressional committees straight National Farmers Union doctrine: full employment essential to sustain farm markets & prices; family type farming must be promoted; parity of income, living, education, health & other services.

8. Hex is put on Will Clayton's Surplus Disposal set-up, policies & plans; sales won't be speculator's idea of heaven under bill being worked out in Senate-House conferences; his RFC farmland disposal program will be slapped down & lands put under Interior & Agriculture.

9. FDR selects a labor meeting for his opening campaign speech.

10. Dem. Chairman Hannegan says 3 issues are: Victory, peace, & guaranteed full employment.

NOTE: Baruch, variously described as sage, Marlin, witchdoctor or Rasputin of Administration, but who hates to be left out, speaks up with strange double-talk about need for unemployment benefits adequate to meet varying local needs--after he helped beat Kilgore-Murray Bill with George Bill.

Smart Tories are chattering with fright as they wake up to fact that their record of class legislation on reconversion--

relief for billionaire war contractors in profits, tax refunds, negotiated settlements; the fake George-Doughton "human demobilization" bill for war workers & Colmer-Clayton surplus property bill--

has laid them wide open for a political knockout in campaign. Fearing veto message or signature with blistering analysis attached, they may accept Senate improvements in both bills. But chances are that coalition will carry thru do-nothing program formulated by Dewey & his crew of states-righters, labor-haters & isolationists.

They will have double-dared FDR to make postwar resumption of New Deal the campaign's ace domestic issue.

Trouble to date in fight for Kilgore-Murray & other conversion bills is that people show little interest--not enough at least to make legislators stop, look, listen & vote right.

People's lobbyists ran their legs off, talked themselves hoarse, but were not backed up strongly by enough letters & wires from home.

Your untiring interest, your letters, your wires (to Congress & FDR), your registration, your questions to candidates, your vote, together can make the difference between winning & losing the peace.

(It's light enough duty, compared with chores fighting men are doing abroad. It's your share).

Unless Senate-House conferences are over by time you read this, write or wire your Congressmen & Senators:

1. To support Senate surplus property provisions;
2. To support (God save the mark!) George Bill as better than Doughton Bill. (See back of Supplement No. 14, enclosed.)

Send carbons to FDR to offset pressure of anti-New Dealers. Truman likes to get mail, too.

PITY POOR LITTLE RICH BOYS OF INDUSTRY, their backs bent & their hearts bursting under tax-load so heavy during war they've only accumulated $43 billions in net profits & up to $30 billions in possible tax refunds to offset postwar losses.

The new tax plan of the Committee for Economic Development is designed to put new heart into high income individuals & corporations, giving them fresh profit incentives to risk their money to give jobs to rest of us (called "a favorable climate

VOTING RECORD SUPPLEMENT NO. 14
U.D.A. Congressional Newsletter
September 5, 1944

File but DON'T forget!

HOUSE ROLL CALL FOR POSTWAR UNEMPLOYMENT & DEPRESSION

The unholy coalition of poll tax Democrats & states' rights Republicans, working with smooth precision, killed every attempt to liberalize the provisions of the House War Mobilization & Reconversion Bill of 1944, reported out by the powerful House Ways & Means Committee, whose chairman is the octogenarian Robert L. Doughton of North Carolina.

Faced with an election in November, after primaries which have knocked down quite a few reactionaries, the coalition walked in water, leaving no tracks. They refused to stand up & be counted.

The vote: *

(over)

* There was no rollcall vote. The only way you will find out how your Congressman voted is to write & ask him. If he says he wasn't there, that, too, is indicative.

WHY DID THEY REFUSE TO STAND UP & BE COUNTED?

Here are the reasons:

1. Because the George Bill (S 2051), a measly measure as it passed the Senate, was further limited in its scope in the House & because "the bill does absolutely nothing to help either war mobilization or reconversion," according to John D. Dingell (D. Mich.), Walter A. Lynch (D. N.Y.), Aime J. Forand (D. R.I.), & Herman P. Eberharter (D. Pa.) in their DISSENTING VIEWS ON THE COMMITTEE REPORT (No. 1798).

2. The bill had no public hearings in which employers, employees & the general public, all vitally affected, could speak their piece. Jimmy Byrnes, Assistant to the President, and Marion Folsom of Eastman Kodak in his capacity as economist for the House Postwar Planning Committee testified in executive session.

3. The Ways & Means Committee amendments weakened the objective of having an over-all Office of War Mobilization & Readjustment.

4. Title II of the Senate Bill, dealing with retraining & re-employment was completely eliminated by the committee, as were the transportation allowances provided for in Section 303 of the Senate bill, which would have given up to $200 to move a worker's family to his home or to another job during the transition period from war work to peace time jobs.

5. No provisions whatsoever dealing with unemployment insurance were included in the bill, only a token provision for advances (loans) to State unemployment insurance funds with their wholly inadequate benefits.

6. The recommendations with respect to public works are useless & inadequate because any bank would loan to a State or political subdivision thereof the cost of plans at a much lower rate of interest than the rate set in the House bill.

7. The provision that the bill must terminate one year after end of war overlooks prevailing opinion of most competent economists that it will take two years or longer to make a full transition to peace.

8. "The Congress has passed legislation protecting the rights of veterans & of business...

"The Congress has not yet provided adequate unemployment insurance protection for the men & women who will lose their jobs when war work stops.

"The Congress has not yet provided unemployment insurance protection to workers in Government arsenals & navy yards.

"The Congress has not yet extended unemployment insurance to the millions of employees who are not now covered by such protection under existing State laws.

"The Congress has not yet protected the old-age insurance rights of the men & women who left private enterprise to work for the Government for the duration of the war...

"We believe that the bill does not adequately protect human rights. The men & women who make up this great Nation of ours are deserving of more considerate & liberal treatment than is provided in this bill.

"In fact, the bill does not provide ANYTHING AT ALL..."

(From the Dissenting Views of the men listed above.)

***

Where was your Congressman? Did he vote? How? Ask him!

for free enterprise.")

Stripped of camouflage, CED tax plan is bold proposal to transfer tax load from rich to poor. (There are so many more of 'em.)

It turns present tax law upside down. At present, 63% of revenue is paid by corporations & individuals with incomes over $5,000; 37% by taxpayers with incomes under $5,000.

Under CED plan, 67% would be paid by taxpayers with incomes under $5,000 & 33% by persons & corporations with incomes over $5,000.

It would pile up surplus savings by the few & dry up jobs for & buying by the rest.

Ernest Kanzler, Henry Ford's credit man, a CED member, dissented from proposal because he believes such sharp increases in direct taxes couldn't be put over politically. He argues, instead, for continuing indirect excise taxes & imposing sales taxes which aren't so noticeable. (They work while the people sleep, sucking away at their incomes so that nothing is felt save a chronic weakness in the pocketbook.)

MUCH BLAME FOR POST-ARMISTICE DISCRIMINATION AGAINST MINORITIES (of color, race, national origin & religion) will lie on Congress because both GOP & Democrats refuse to bring to a vote the bill S2048 for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission.

Chairman Mary Norton of House Labor Committee killed hope of passage when she postponed further hearings until after election on Dawson-Scanlon-LaFollette Bill. But GOP leaders are equally to blame. They ran out on GOP platform pledge for a permanent FEPC.

Dewey aides are weighing FEPC value in terms of votes; Dewey may speak, but too late to pass bill.

Meantime organized conscience of Nation, represented by religious, civic, welfare & minority leaders, file before Senator Chavez' subcommittee, warning of rising discrimination as we return to pre-war patterns & begin competing with each other for more & more of less & less.

ASSUMING SHRINKING EMPLOYMENT, WAGES, PURCHASING POWER, MARKETS & RESULTING FOOD "SURPLUSES," reactionary farm leaders & food industries are ready with acreage reduction, two-price system (foreign sales at "world prices," U.S. sales at higher level, as in Capper Bill, S2041) & perhaps extension of food stamp plan to assure adequate diets to employed but underpaid persons, as in Aiken Bill, S1331.

Though they fought subsidies during wartime, farm bloc will accept (insist on) support prices for 2 years after end of war.

Farmers Union, which urged subsidies, likewise will insist support price pledge be kept, but continues prime emphasis on full employment as only salvation for all groups.

Discount scare stories of oncoming food "surpluses." Facts: using 1935-39 as 100, farm production this year about 138; next year 126.

Lease lend & military relief will take 25% this year & next; U.S. demand this year & next, 115, leaving net U.S. deficit, except in cereals.

Real danger: U.S. & Allies won't keep food pledges to liberated peoples, thus passing up best basis for quick, just & durable peace among peoples--FREEDOM FROM WANT.

THE MEN ELECTED NOVEMBER 7 CAN MAKE OR BREAK THE PEACE, abroad & at home!

Sincerely,

Paul Sifton

For UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Letter No. 24.

Next issue U.D.A. Congressional Newsletter, September 20, 1944. Subscription: $5 a yr.

THE FOUR STAR SENATORS & OTHERS WORTH NOTING BEFORE YOU VOTE

The Four Star Senators are two. They voted right 18 times out of 18 opportunities when the issue was human versus property rights, using the significant roll call votes in the 78th Congress as listed in the U.D.A.-New Republic Supplement. An additional star indicates the Senator also voted right on the Kilgore-Murray amendment to the George Bill.

TUNNELL**** * (D. Del.)
GUFFEY**** * (D. Pa.)

The Three Star Senators are three. They voted right 17 times out of 18 chances & were absent the one time their vote was not recorded.

WAGNER*** * (D. N.Y.)
MEAD*** * (D. N.Y.)
GREEN*** * (D. R.I.)

The Two Star Senators voted right 15 times or better out of 18 chances.

PEPPER** * (D. Fla.)
BARKLEY** * (D. Ky.)
THOMAS** * (D. Utah)
BONE** (D. Wash.)
KILGORE** * (D. W.Va.)

The One Star Senators voted right 10 times or better out of 18 chances.

Hill * * (D. Ala.)
Hayden* * (D. Ariz.)
McFarland* * (D. Ariz.)
Downey* * (D. Calif.)
Johnson* * (D. Colo.)
Maloney* (D. Conn.)
Danaher* (R. Conn.)
Lucas* (D. Ill.)
Chandler* (D. Ky.)
Ellender* (D. La.)
Radcliffe* (D. Md.)
Vandenberg* (R. Mich.)
Ball* (R. Minn.)
Truman* * (D. Mo.)
Murray* * (D. Mont.)
Hatch* * (D. N.M.)
Langer* * (R. N.D.)
Burton* (R. Ohio)
Davis* * (R. Pa.)
Murdock* (D. Utah)
Wallgren* * (D. Wash.)
LaFollette* * (Prog. Wis.)
O'Mahoney* (D. Wyo.)

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The following Senators voted against the people's interest 10 times or more out of 18 opportunities (The star indicates he voted right on Kilgore-Murray Amendment to George Bill. # indicates he is already eliminated in the primaries):

McClellan (D. Ark.)
Millikin (R. Colo.)
Buck (R. Del.)
Russell (D. Ga.)
Thomas (R. Idaho)
Brooks (R. Ill.)
Willis (R. Ind.)
Gillette* (D. Ia.)
Wilson (R. Iowa)
Capper (R. Kans.)
Reed (R. Kans.)
Overton (D. La.)
White (R. Me.)
Tydings (D. Md.)
Walsh* (D. Mass.)
Shipstead * (R. Minn.)
Eastland (D. Miss.)
Clark (D. Mo.)
Wheeler* (D. Mont.)
Butler (R. Neb.)
Wherry (R. Neb.)
Hawkes (R. N.J.)
Bailey (D. N.C.)
Reynolds* (D. N.C.)
Taft (R. Ohio)
Moore (R. Okla.)
Holman (R. Oreg.)
Gerry (D. R.I.)
Smith (D. S.C.)
Bushfield (R. S. D.)
McKellar (D. Tenn.)
Connally (D. Tex.)
O'Daniel (D. Tex.)
Byrd (D. Va.)
Revercomb (R. W.Va.)
Robertson (R. Wyo.)

Underlines indicate the Senator is up for re-election in November.

U. D. A. CONGRESSIONAL NEWSLETTER

Issued on the first and fifteenth of each month by the UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

225 Kellogg Building, Washington 4, D. C.

Oct. 20, 1944

Dear Voter:

There's so much to be said about importance of your decision on Nov. 7--& much of it has been well said already--that words fail us. During past year, we have tried to lay before you smooth-muscled anatomy of an anti-democratic bi-partisan coalition that, in the midst of war, was doing its postwar planning early, determined to take Nation back to Harding-Coolidge-Hoover normalcy, to unregulated so-called "private enterprise," (Meaning mushrooming monopoly merging with black internationals of cartels, insuring a return of chronic mass unemployment, isolationist imperialism, AND WORLD WAR III.)

Now, with fateful day, NOV. 7, only two weeks away, we offer only one observation & a checklist of alternatives. The list is to prick you into seeing that every last vote is cast--cast for FDR & for men who are mostly likely to advance

(1) world organization for peace,
(2) full production & employment within & among nations,
(3) practical democracy & civil liberty.

THE THREE ARE INDIVISIBLE.

Our observation: The People can and do move ahead. A few weeks ago, flying over TVA country, the writer saw the town of Dayton, Tenn., where in the gaga Twenties the Scopes "Monkey Trial" was held. Last spring, the people of Tennessee united to defend TVA against capture & destruction. They won.

Now, we propose to extend TVA idea, to make it a pilot operation for the nation. The question is, will the next advance come quickly as part of winning of People's peace, or will next great progressive wave follow another great depression?

I.W.W.'s used to say people think best on empty bellies. TVA's victory contradicts that. It can be contradicted again on Nov. 7, by electing a President & a Congress that, under progressive insistance, will move decisively to organize the People's victory & the People's peace at home & among nations.

HERE IS THE CHECKLIST OF ALTERNATIVES FOR YOUR CHOICE NOV. 7:

1. Full employment (publicly planned) or great pools of chronic unemployment (privately planned). (Dewey, reserving unemployment compensation & public works for the 48 States, said owlishly that "Unemployment occurs in the States," thereby equalling Coolidge's definition: "Unemployment occurs when people do not have jobs.")

2. Adequate income taxes based on ability to pay or lowering & shifting of taxes to propitiate "the job-givers" (who already have, as a group, more money than can be invested.)

3. Maintenance & improvement of civil liberties for all everywhere in U.S.A. or invasion & impairment of civil liberties. ("Tapping Tom" Dewey broke the great liberal tradition in New York State by legalizing wire tapping for law enforcement & introduced cute tricks in sequestrating prisoners & witnesses. Recently his State Guard threw

UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION, 9 E. 46th St., New York 17, N. Y., Reinhold Niebuhr, Chairman; Albert Sprague Coolidge, Treasurer; James Loeb, Jr., Executive Secretary; Howard Y. Williams, Field Director; Claire G. Sifton, Washington Representative.

rural New York counties into panic by manoeuvres to rehearse suppression of civil disorder. A few months ago, the Guard held drills in a New York armory to break up labor demonstrations of unemployed, unions, etc.)

4. Abolition of the poll tax or continuance under GOP-poll tax Democrat coalition (FDR & Northern Democrats will try to get Senate cloture vote. GOP platform proposal of poll tax amendment to U.S. Constitution is basis for more stalling & refusal to vote cloture on poll tax bill debate.)

5. Permanent FEPC or intensified economic discrimination against minorities. (FDR started the Fair Employment Practices Committee; Dewey stalled on similar action in New York State, referring committee report for further action. Old Guard majority will continue deal with poll tax Democrats.)

6. Federal aid to education (Thomas Bill, S 637) or "States Rights" approach whereby only them as has will git. (Taft beat Thomas Bill last year with phoney non-discrimination stipulation).

7. End of freight rate discrimination (Hill Bill, S 2089), or continued treatment of South & West as colonies of the East. (Dewey is on record in support of present discriminatory rates.)

8. Continued protection of women in industry or exposure under so-called equal rights amendment. (Both Democrats & GOP platforms endorse this amendment, but Democratic progressives will fight it.)

9. Support of labor & social security legislation or whittling away of present laws by delegation to 48 states competing for lower operating costs for industry. (Dewey's West Coast "forthwith" demand for broader social security stipulated reservation of control to the States.)

10. Support of family-type farming & cooperatives as basic pattern of American agriculture (thru Farm Security, Soil Conservation, Farm Credit, AAA, etc.) or balkanization of farm programs, turning control over to 48 State Extension Services, many of them chore boys for the Farm Bureau (the spokesman for Big Agriculture trending toward land monopoly.) In New York State under Dewey, Extension Service is arm of Farm Bureau & has made deal with Southern County Agents for exchange of farm labor in gangs under "group leaders."

Also at stake are: reorganization of Congress to wipe out seniority rule; putting Congress on air to increase democratic participation in affairs of government, etc.; adequate training & education of youth & veterans, etc.

THROUGHOUT IS THE ISSUE OF FEDERAL & REGIONAL ACTION IN THE PEOPLE'S INTEREST vs. balkanization of the nation into 48 conflicting states, played against each other by concentrations of economic power, in turn resulting in U.S. isolation & balkanization of the world.

Interwoven with all these alternatives is the end result: lasting world peace or World War III.

Here it is, folks. It's up to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Sifton

For UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Letter No. 27

Next issue U.D.A. Congressional Newsletter, after Nov. 7, 1944 Subs. $5:00 a yr.

A FURTHER CHECK LIST ON YOUR CONGRESSMEN

A rollcall vote puts a Congressman on record, makes it easy to evalute his stand. However, on issues of especial interest to consumers, but opposed by powerful lobbies, certain Congressmen go to exceptional parliamentary lengths to avoid going on the record so far as a vote is concerned. They stop at nothing to put over the "job" for their "friends".

The school lunch program is a case in point. It never came up for a roll call vote. But in case you want to know who fought for continuation of the program in the Senate, here they are:

McFarland (D. Ariz.)
Russell (D. Ga.)
Lucas (D. Ill.)*
Reed (R. Kans.)*
Capper (R. Kans.)
Ellender (D. La.)
Langer (R. N.Dak.)
Hatch (D. N.Mex.)
Wagner (D.N.Y.)*
Stewart (D. Tenn.)
Thomas (D. Utah)*

* indicates Senator is up for re-election

Representatives who spoke up for the School lunch program were:

Murdock (D. Ariz.)
Outland (D. Calif.)
Philips (R. Calif.)
Voorhis (D. Calif.)
Sabath (D. Ill.)
Gilchrist (R. Iowa)
Carrier (R. Ky.)
Hagen (FL. Minn.)
Pittinger (R. Minn.)
Cochran (D. Mo.)
Zimmerman (D. Mo.)
Norton (D. N.J.)
Marcantonio (ALP. N.Y.)
Bolton (R. Ohio)
Rizley (R. Okla.)
Wickersham (D. Okla.)
Angell (R. Ore.)
Poage (D. Tex.)
Flannagan (D. Va.)
Coffee (D. Wash.)
Dilweg (D. Wis.)
Keefe (R. Wis.)

Grade labeling as a deterrent to increases in farm prices & production is another consumer problem which runs into a powerful lobby of special interests. The House Agriculture Committee hearings were not recorded. But a poll of the committee, taken in the presence of consumer representatives, recorded all the members as opposed to the requirement of grade labeling in OPA price orders, except for Voorhis (D. Calif.), who expressed some doubts in favor of the consumer.

The following are members of the committee who refuse to recognize that price and quality are both sides of the same coin:

Fulmer (D. S.C.)
Kleberg (D. Tex.)
Zimmerman (D. Mo.)
Grant (D. Ala.)
Wickersham (D. Okla.)
Granger (D. Utah)
Hope (R. Kans.)
Gilchrist (R. Iowa)
A. J. Johnson (R. Ill.)
Clevenger (R. Ohio)
E. A. Hall (R. N.Y.)
Hill (R. Colo.)
Flannagan (D. Va.)
Cooley (D. N.C.)
Pace (D. Ga.)
Poage (D. Tex.)
Cannon (D. Fla.)
McCord (D. Tenn.)
Kinzer (R. Pa.)
Andresen (R. Minn.)
Murray (R. Wis.)
Gillie (R. Ind.)
Rizley (R. Okla.)
Phillips (R. Calif.)

The following Senators actually went on record, Jan. 17, 1944, against suspending the 10¢ Federal tax on a pound of colored margarine (the poor man's butter) for the duration of the war: (N.B.: even liberal Senators refused to buck dairy interests.)

Downey (Calif.)
Johnson (Colo.)
Millikin (Colo.)
Maloney (Conn.)
Danaher (Conn.)
Tunnell (Del.)
Buck (Del.)
Willis (Ind.)
Gillette (Iowa)
Capper (Kans.)
Reed (Kans.)
Barkley (Ky.)
White (Me.)
Brewster (Me.)
Tydings (Md.)
Radcliffe (Md.)
Walsh (Mass.)
Vandenberg (Mich.)
Ferguson (Mich.)
Shipstead (Minn.)
Ball (Minn.)
Clark (Mo.)
Truman (Mo.)
Wheeler (Mont.)
Butler (Nebr.)
Wherry (Nebr.)
Bridges (N.H.)
Tobey (N.H.)
Hawkes (N.J.)
Walsh (N.J.)
Chavez (N.M.)
Nye (N.D.)
Langer (N.D.)
Taft (Ohio)
Moore (Okla.)
Holman (Ore.)
Davis (Pa.)
Gerry (R.I.)
Green (R.I.)
Gurney (S.D.)
Bushfield (S.D.)
Thomas (Utah)
Murdock (Utah)
Austin (Vt.)
Aiken (Vt.)
Byrd (Va.)
Bone (Wash.)
Wallgren (Wash.)
Kilgore (W.Va.)
Revercomb (W.Va.)
LaFollette (Wis.)
Wiley (Wis.)
Robertson (Wyo.)

Voting Records (Senate & House)

Appropriations to Executive Offices, (Senate)	Sup. No. 9	April 1, 1944
Civil Rights for Ag. Employes (Senate)	Sup. No. 11	June 1, 1944
Cloture, Poll Tax Debate (Senate)	Sup. No. 11	June 1, 1944
Consumer Subsidies (House)	Sup. No. 3	Dec. 1, 1943
(Senate)	Sup. No. 6	Feb. 15, 1944
Commodity Credit Corporation		
Vote to Sustain Veto (Senate)	Sup. No. 8	Mar. 1, 1944
" " " " (House)	Sup. No. 8	Mar. 1, 1944
Demobilization (House)		
Unemployment Ins. for Fed. workers	Sup. No. 15	Oct. 5, 1944
Travel Pay for Stranded war workers	Sup. No. 15	Oct. 5, 1944
FCC, Restoring Adequate Funds (Senate)	Sup. No. 9	Apr. 1, 1944
Farmer Co-Op & Union Reporting (Senate)	Sup. No. 5	Feb. 1, 1944
Federal Aid to Education (Senate)	Sup. No. 2	Nov. 1, 1943
Four Star Congressmen		
And Congressmen who deserve defeat	Sup. No. 13	Aug. 1, 1944
Four Star Senators	Back Page	Sept. 5, 1944
Fulbright Resolution (House)	Sup. No. 1	Oct. 1, 1943
Full Employment (House)	Sup. No. 14	Sept. 5, 1944
(Senate)	Back Page	Aug. 15, 1944
People's Bloc in Congress	Sup. No. 8	Mar. 1, 1944
Price Control		
Bankhead Amendment (Senate)	Back Page	July 15, 1944
Dirksen Amendment (House)	Sup. No. 12	July 1, 1944
Red Cross Emblem (Senate)		
Commercial Use	Sup. No. 10	May 1, 1944
Soldier Vote (Senate)		
First Roll Call	Sup. No. 4	Jan. 3, 1944
Amendments	Sup. No. 6	Feb. 15, 1944
Eastland-McKellar States' Rights Amend.	Back Page	Dec. 15, 1943
Soldier Vote (House)		
Stand Up & Be Counted Roll Call	Sup. No. 7	Feb. 15, 1944
Tax Bill (House)		
Vote to Sustain Veto	Sup. No. 8	Mar. 1, 1944
Unholy Coalition (Senate)	Sup. No. 9	Apr. 1, 1944
(House)	Back Page	Feb. 1, 1944
UNRRA (Senate)	Back Page	Mar. 1, 1944

WILL YOUR CONGRESS DREAM OF "NORMALCY" or FACE THE FUTURE?

After D-Day Comes V-Day

and then the boys will be coming home. What kind of America will greet them? After the parades up Main Street, will there be jobs for them—or breadlines?

The 79th Congress must translate the will of the American people into concrete terms, into a just, enduring peace, into work, homes and health for returning soldiers and for the men and women who backed them up in the fields and factories of the nation.

The greatest home-front task from now until November is electing a Congress which understands these common aspirations, a Congress that will legislate for the general welfare.

The Union for Democratic Action

intends to work overtime on this job. Our national office, our Washington office, which publishes the UDA CONGRESSIONAL NEWSLETTER, our branch chapters throughout the country and our entire membership, all are enlisted in this fight for a Congress competent to tackle and solve the big problem of transition from war to peace.

The Ballot Is the Pay-off!

Get into the fight. Take this weapon, the full record of the 78th Congress, which has been prepared by the UDA in coöperation with the editors of The New Republic. Bring it to bear on the battle in your district. Order as many copies of this handbook as you can. Get others to order them. Distribute them widely. If you are a member of a union, a church, professional or civic group, persuade your organization to place a quantity order.

A candidate who can't face the facts, can't face the future. Here are the facts. It's up to you to make the future.

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James Loeb Jr., *Executive Secretary*
Howard Y. Williams, *Field Director*

UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
9 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y. PLaza 8-0703

☐ I enlist in the fight to elect a Congress to win the war and the peace.

☐ I am contributing to the UDA for this fight the sum of $.....

☐ Please send me immediately.....copies of the New Republic Supplement. (One copy, 10 cents; 16 copies $1; 90 copies $5; 200 copies, $10; 1,000 copies, $40.)

☐ Please send me details on special low-cost editions of 5,000 copies or more, with additional pages on my Congressional district.

Name.....

Address.....

(Make checks payable to Albert Sprague Coolidge, Treasurer)

A Foreign Policy for Americans

The Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy is concerned with the creation at the earliest possible date of a general world organization, comprising both large and small nations, with power to keep the peace. *But its primary emphasis is on the imperative need of an informed public scrutiny of the daily acts and present attitudes of our policy-makers.* We assert that blueprints of future world organizations, however precise and well-intentioned, are of little avail without a careful check on the specific lines of policy pursued from day to day in particular countries. The peace and the postwar world will not spring full-blown from the brains of planners seated at a conference table; they are being determined now by our immediate acts—or failures to act. Moreover, governments do not function in a diplomatic vacuum, but within the framework and atmosphere created by public awareness or indifference.

The world's future is bound up with the preservation and extension of the United Nations partnership and with a constantly deepening understanding among the great powers—Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China and the United States. *But such a partnership cannot be built upon the shifting sands of great power alliances and zones of influence. There must be an international framework within which all nations, great and small, may achieve mutual security and freedom by a pooling of sovereignty in the interests of the general welfare.* Permanent prosperity is incompatible with war. Our national self-interest dictates the creation of an international organization because unbridled sovereignty, unilateral diplomacy and imperial arrogance are incompatible with world peace.

World War II is not only a national struggle between "peace-loving" and aggressor states; it is also a deep-going social upheaval, of which the military battles are a surface manifestation. In proportion as the war becomes "less ideological in character", the struggle and sacrifice become meaningless. *To have moral justification, it must be waged as a global fight for freedom—a contest between the liberating forces of democracy and the repressive tyranny of fascism.* Fascism, the modern form of political tyranny and economic enslavement, dominant in the aggressor states, is an ever-present threat in all countries, including our own. Therefore, a democratic and stable world order is not possible without progressive social reform at home.

Finally, we must beware of policies of so-called "expediency", which, under the guise of respecting "legitimacy" and preserving "law-and-order", will actually play into the hands of reactionary minorities and block the legitimate aspirations of the peoples now under Nazi domination. The primary concern of American foreign policy, not only in principle but in practice, must be the active assistance and protection of the democratic forces in all countries.

* * *

A policy of preserving and extending democracy in all countries is neither altruism nor impractical idealism, but enlightened self-interest. To make such a policy prevail is the responsibility of the American people as a whole. The single purpose of the Committee for a Democratic Foreign Policy is to awaken the American people to this responsibility.

HELP US IN THIS GREAT TASK
SHOW THIS STATEMENT TO A FRIEND
SEND A CONTRIBUTION TO ENABLE US TO REACH MORE PEOPLE

COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FOREIGN POLICY
AFFILIATED WITH THE
UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

UNITED COUNCIL FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT, INC.

PROSPECTUS

August 7, 1964

Adrienne Zuckert
Executive Director

Efforts to eliminate discrimination in employment must be vigorous and unceasing. While some gains have been made in this area in recent years through Federal, State and municipal employment laws, progress has been slow. The great majority of Negro citizens are still employed in inferior or menial jobs. Thus, additional and expanding efforts must be made to correct this inequity.

A promising method of helping to achieve fair employment was suggested by the National Council of Churches' adoption in November, 1963, of the following guide line -

> "Churches should examine their investment portfolios to determine if funds are invested in enterprises that practice racial discrimination and to end investments in companies that cannot be persuaded to 'cease and desist' from racial discrimination."

The United Council For Fair Employment proposes to be the single coordinating body through which the investor power of a number of non-profit organizations will be united to form an effective force to help in the achievement of fair employment.

The Council, a membership corporation organized under New York law, has applied for tax exempt status with the Internal Revenue Service.

The United Council's program will comprise two parts; Under Part I, the support and participation of as many religious and other non-profit institutions as possible will be enlisted. These organizations working together will form the United Council For Fair Employment. Under Part II, the collective investor power of these various organizations will be concentrated in a way designed to help correct the disparity of opportunity which is prevalent in many corporations.

Once having mobilized the required support, the United Council will conduct the second part of its program in this manner:

The United Council's staff will compile a list of companies which responsible sources indicate fail to meet minimum standards of fair employment. From this research approximately five companies initially will be selected for intensive individual study. Further groups of five will subsequently be examined. These studies by the United Council will result in a realistic evaluation of the particular company's employment policies and a plan for the elimination of unfavorable practices.

The staff will then organize a committee consisting of the Board Chairman of the United Council, prominent industrial relations consultants, and representatives of participating organizations which are security holders in the corporation under examination.

The committee will first meet to discuss the findings of the United Council's staff. Then company officials will be invited to appear before the committee to discuss the issues raised by the Council's findings. The committee will next draw up a list of suggestions and proposed changes which it feels the company management could reasonably implement. A committee delegation will submit this list to the management and if necessary attempt to persuade management to adopt the suggested policy.

If management accepted the recommendations, the United Council would make periodic studies to check on actual implementation. If management rejected them, the committee would determine what action it might take to influence the corporation to modify its practices. Participating organizations would decide independently whether to divest themselves of their security holdings in a corporation which refuses to adopt a fair employment policy.

Obviously, to be effective, the above program needs widespread and substantial support. Success will be proportionate to the magnitude of its organized investor strength. Clearly then, the burden rests with non-profit organizations. Their response will determine the extent to which the United Council's goal will be realized.

It seems probable that the impact of the United Council will be immediate, strongly felt, and constructive, and that it will make a valuable contribution toward achieving equal employment opportunity throughout American industry.

UNITED COUNCIL FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT, INC.

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

Code 212 TN 7-7350

Rec'd 9/1/64 Make folder

RAV
VJ
MJ-file

August 31, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to confirm our appointment on Thursday, September 3,1964, in your office at approximately 12:00 noon.

Enclosed is some background material on the United Council. The Council grew out of a project originally launched by one of the more distinguished Civil Rights organizations, and the incorporators are serving as members of the Board of Trustees. They are as follows:

President	Malcolm Andresen, Corporate Attorney
Vice-President	James Hollyday, Advertising Executive
Treasurer	Nelson Bengston, Securities Analyst
Secretary	Frank Duffy, Corporate Attorney
	Dr. Truman Douglass, Executive Vice-President, United Church Board for Homeland Ministries
	Ralph Major, Public Relations Executive

- over please

In addition, our Advisory Council presently includes:

Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Julius Thomas, Consultant, Industrial Relations

The Rev. John B. Morris, Executive Director, The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

I look forward to seeing you on Thursday,

Sincerely,

Adrienne Zuckert

Adrienne Zuckert
Executive Director

AZ/pp
Enclosure

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT AND CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern R[illegible] Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AV[illegible] GEORGIA
[illegible]2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date 9/1/64

To: LWD From: WJE

Subject: UCFE, Inc.

My heart's with U.C.F.E., but
- I doubt that their program's effect will be "immediate, strongly felt..." (p. 5).

My thinking:

(1) - Their program, as outlined (pp. 2-3) will take much time to carry out, unless they have a rather large investigation staff, or unless UCFE will make some snap judgments.

(2) Conceivably the loss of a substantial portion of the investor market by job-discriminating firms (which is the ~~best~~ most a successful UCFE program could achieve) would have but one effect: to drop the market price of these firm's stocks. This, without, as I see it, having any measurable effects on these firms' earnings. Which

(over)

means, a higher earnings/price ratio for these stocks, making them a more attractive investment for non-anti-discrimination investors — who, let us face it, are in the majority.

(3) Constructive effects might come from unfavorable publicity, or the threat thereof, given to job-discriminating corporations by UCFE's attempts to pressure them — but, is this what UCFE's really after?

Make Folder

Pass by 9/18/64

UNITED COUNCIL FOR FAIR EMPLOYMENT, INC.

342 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

Code 212 TN 7-7350

September 17, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

May I express my appreciation for our meeting in Atlanta on Thursday, September 3rd.

Your comments on the obstacles the Council will face in pursuing its investigations were most enlightening. I am presently following up on some of your suggestions, and will keep you informed of new developments.

With kind regards and again, my thanks.

Sincerely,

Adrienne Zuckert

Adrienne Zuckert

AZ/pp

Rec'd 9/17/64

COPY

September 15, 1964

File

Dr. Donald Shaughnessy
Associate Director of
University Seminars
206 Haskell Hall
Columbia University
New York 27, New York

Reference: Proposal To Encourage Anti-Discrimination Investment Portfolios For Religious And Other Non-Profit Institutions

Dear Dr. Shaughnessy:

At the suggestion of Dr. Leslie Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council, we are enclosing the Prospectus of the United Council, a newly formed organization which proposes a constructive approach toward achieving the goal of nation-wide fair employment.

The Council grew out of a project originally launched by one of the more distinguished civil rights organizations, and was officially incorporated on May 1st of this year. Currently, the incorporators are serving as members on the Board of Trustees. The attached list indicates those presently on the Board and the other list shows those members now serving on our recently formed Advisory Council. Eventually, the Board will include representatives from our participating organizations and the Advisory Council will also be enlarged.

Some church boards have independently attempted to investigate the employment practices of companies in which they hold securities. Other church boards are now discussing whether to take similar action. It is felt that a single coordinating body,

- over please

the United Council, can best organize the investor power of a number of churches and non-profit organizations to influence corporations to adhere to realistic and equitable employment policies.

The specific aims and procedure of the United Council are fully described in the enclosed material. We would appreciate learning your reaction to this program and would welcome your comments and suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

Adrienne Zuckert
Executive Director

AZ/pp
Enclosures (3)
cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council
Malcolm Andresen, Esq., President

COPY

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONSULTATION WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Approved by the Council, 21 June 1946

I. PRINCIPLES TO BE APPLIED IN PLACING ORGANIZATIONS ON THE LIST OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS ELIGIBLE FOR CONSULTATION UNDER ARTICLE 71

The committee, taking note of the organizations which have expressed their interest in consultation, and considering that many other organizations are likely to indicate such an interest, recommends that the following principles be applied in establishing a list of non-governmental organizations* which would be eligible for consultation:

1. The organization shall be concerned with matters falling within the competence of the Economic and Social Council with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters.

2. The aims and purposes of the organizations should be in conformity with the spirit, purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. Organizations proved to be discredited by past collaboration in fascist activities shall not for the present be admitted.

4. The organization shall be of recognized standing and shall represent a substantial proportion of the organized persons within the particular interest field in which it operates. To meet this requirement, a group of organizations may form a joint committee or other body authorized to carry on consultation for the group as a whole.

5. The organization shall have an established headquarters, with an executive officer. It shall have a conference, convention, or other policy-making body.

6. The organization shall have authority to speak for its members through its authorized representatives. Evidence of this authority shall be presented, if requested.

7. The organization should be international in its structure, with members who exercise voting rights in relation to the policies or action of the international organization.

8 National

* Any international organization which is not established by inter-governmental agreement shall be considered as a non-

8. National organizations should normally present their views through their respective governments or through international non-governmental organizations to which they belong. It would not, save in exceptional cases, be appropriate to include national organizations which are affiliated to an international non-governmental organization covering the same subjects on an international basis. National organizations, however, may be included in the list after consultation with the Member State concerned if they cover a field which is not covered by any international organization or have special experience upon which the Council wishes to draw.

9. The Committee recommends that the Council, in determining the scope and methods of consultation with each non-governmental organization, take as a basis the nature and scope of activities of each organization considering the assistance that may be expected by the Council from this Organization in carrying out the tasks set out in Chapter 9 of the Charter of the United Nations.

10. The Committee considers that most close consultative connection should be established with the World Federation of Trade Unions which has already applied to the Economic and Social Council with a request to establish connection.

II. MACHINERY FOR APPLYING THE PRINCIPLES FOR PLACING ORGANIZATIONS ON THE ELIGIBLE LIST

1. The Economic and Social Council shall establish a standing Committee composed of the President of the Council and five members of the Council* who will be assisted by the Assistant Secretaries-General for Economic and Social Affairs respectively. This Committee will review applications for consultative status submitted by non-governmental organizations, and make recommendations to the Council. It shall be known as the "Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-governmental Organizations" (short title: "Council NGO Committee").

2. The Council

* The Report of the Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations (E/43/Rev.1) approved by the Council at its Fourteenth Meeting, 21 June 1946, provided that this Committee consist of the President and four members of the Council. At its Fifteenth Meeting, 21 June 1946, the Council decided that the Committee should be composed of the President and five Members of the Council. The five members elected were: China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States.

2. The Council NGO Committee may direct the Secretariat to screen applications on the basis of the criteria adopted by the Council for this purpose.

3. The list of applications so screened shall be circulated to the Members of the United Nations by the Secretariat before it is considered by the Council Committee.

III. PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE NATURE OF THE CONSULTATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

1. It is important to note that a clear distinction is drawn in the Charter between participation without vote in the deliberations of the Council, and the arrangements for consultation. Under Articles 69 and 70 participation is provided for only in the case of states not members of the Council, and of specialized inter-governmental agencies. Article 71 applying to non-governmental organizations provided for suitable arrangements for consultation. It is considered that this distinction, deliberately made in the Charter, is fundamental and that the arrangements for consultation should not be such as to accord to non-governmental organizations the same rights of participation accorded to states not members of the Council and to the specialized agencies brought into relationship with the United Nations.

2. It should also be recognized as a basic principle that the arrangements should not be such as to over burden the Council or transfer it into a general forum for discussion instead of a body for coordination of policy and action, as is contemplated in the Charter.

3. Decisions on arrangements for consultation should be guided by the principle that consultative arrangements are to be made, on the one hand for the purpose of enabling the Council or one of its bodies to secure expert information or advice from organizations having special competence on the subjects for which consultative arrangements are made and, on the other hand, to enable organizations which represent important elements of public opinion, to express their views. Therefore, the arrangements for consultation made with each organization should involve only the subjects for which that organization has a special competence or in which it has a special interest. In general these arrangements should be made for a definite period, reviewable at the end thereof.

4. Consultative arrangements should not be made with an international organization which is a member of a committee or group composed of international organizations with which

consultative

consultative arrangements have been made except for different subjects than those for which consultation arrangements have been made with that committee or group.

5. In several of the fields covered by the Council there will exist specialized inter-governmental agencies brought into relationship with the Council, and participating in its deliberations as provided in Article 70. There may be close connection and co-operation between these agencies and the non-governmental organizations whose specific field of interest is the same as or similar to that of the specialized agency.

The Council should take this consideration into account.

IV. ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONSULTATION WITH THE COUNCIL

1. It is recognized that the nature of the consultations will vary with the character of the organization. Accordingly, it is recommended that in drawing up its recognized list of organizations the Council should so far as possible define the field of interest of each and should distinguish between:

(a) Organizations which have a basic interest in most of the activities of the Council, and are closely linked with the economic or social life of the areas which they represent;

(b) Organizations which have a special competence but are concerned specifically with only a few of the fields of activity covered by the Council;

(c) Organizations which are primarily concerned with the development of public opinion and with the dissemination of information.

2. Organizations in category (a) may designate authorized representatives to sit as observers at all the public meetings of the Council. Representatives of these organizations which will include organizations of labour, of management and business, of farmers and consumers, will be entitled to circulate to the various members of the Council written statements and suggestions within their competence. Such communications will be addressed to the Secretariat, which will transmit them to the members of the Council.

3. To insure effective consultation on matters in which organizations have special competence or knowledge, it is recommended that those included in category (a) may be invited by the Council to consult with a standing committee

appointed

appointed for that purpose, if the Council so desires or the organization requests such consultation. The Chairman of the Standing Committee should be the President of the Council. The representatives of the organizations should be able to participate fully in any consultations of this kind so that the Committee may report to the Council on the basis of a full exchange of views. Upon recommendation of the Standing Committee, the Council as a whole may receive representatives of organizations in category (a) for the purpose of hearing their views.

4. Organizations in categories (b) and (c) may designate authorized representatives to sit as observers at public meetings of the Council. They may submit written statements and suggestions on matters within their competence, and the Secretariat will prepare and distribute a list of all such communications briefly indicating the substance of each. On the request of any member of the Council, a communication will be reproduced in full and distributed. Any lengthly communications will be distributed only if sufficient copies are furnished by the organization concerned.

5. To insure effective consultation on matters in which organizations have special competence or knowledge, it is recommended that those included in categories (b) and (c) may be invited by the council to consult with a committee appointed for that purpose, if the Council so desires or the organization specifically requests such consultation. Their representatives should be able to participate fully in any consultations of this kind so that the Committee may report to the Council on the basis of a full exchange of views.

V. ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONSULTATION WITH COMMISSIONS

To insure effective consultation with Commissions on matters in which organizations have special competence or knowledge, it is recommended that consultation with organizations in category (a) should normally be with the Commission itself. These organizations which have comparatively limited fields of interest (i.e., those included in categories (b) and (c) above) would normally be linked for consultation purposes with the particular Commission or Commissions concerned with these fields of interest. The Commission or Commissions might consult with these organizations either directly or through a committee or committees established for the purpose. In all cases, such consultations may be arranged on the invitation of the Commission or on the request of the organization.

VI. GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS

Because the peoples of the United Nations, in accordance with the Preamble of the Charter, have a basic and continuing

interest

interest in the policies and operations of the United Nations, and because the arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations provide an important means for insuring that their interests be fulfilled, it is urged that the Secretariat be so organized as to render all appropriate assistance to non-governmental organizations and offer to them all appropriate facilities. Such assistance might include the arrangement of interviews with individual members of the Council or its Commissions, and the arrangement of informal discussions on matters of special interest to groups of organizations. The Secretariat would also aid organizations in obtaining documentation and securing special facilities, e.g., the use of the library, meeting place, etc.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PARAGRAPH 2 (b) OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF 16 February 1946

1. In pursuance of paragraph (a) of the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 14 February 1946, calling upon the Economic and Social Council to adopt suitable arrangements enabling the World Federation of Trade Unions and the International Co-operative Alliance to collaborate for purposes of consultation with the Council, the Committee recommends that the organizations named above be placed under paragraph 1 (a) of Part IV of this report.

2. In pursuance of paragraph (b) of the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 14 February 1946, calling upon the Economic and Social Council to adopt suitable arrangements enabling the American Federation of Labor to collaborate for purposes of consultation with the Council, the Committee recommends that the organization named above be placed under paragraph 1 (a) of Part IV of this report.

MAILING ADDRESS:
BOX 1000, NEW YORK 1, N. Y., U. S. A.

memo to GKH

CABLE ADDRESS:
UNO NEW YORK

UNITED NATIONS • NATIONS UNIES

HUNTER COLLEGE, BRONX 63, NEW YORK • MELROSE 5-4701

IN REPLY REFER TO:

19 July 1946

RECEIVED
JUL 22 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter of 15 July, and for the pamphlet Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs.

We would like very much to enter a complimentary subscription to all of your literature and are very appreciative of your offer.

Yours sincerely,

Margaret Kitchen.

Margaret Kitchen
Social Affairs Officer

MK:C

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MAILING ADDRESS:
BOX 1000, NEW YORK 1, N. Y., U. S. A.

CABLE ADDRESS:
UNO NEW YORK

UNITED NATIONS • NATIONS UNIES

HUNTER COLLEGE, BRONX 63, NEW YORK • MELROSE 5-4701

IN REPLY REFER TO:

15 July 1946

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I wish to obtain a copy of "The South: America's Opportunity Number One" for the Research Department of the Commission on Human Rights.

I would be very glad if you would send it to me at the above address (Room 1-323) together with the invoice for the amount due which should be made out to the Social Affairs Department, United Nations.

Yours very truly,

Margaret Kitchen

Margaret Kitchen
Social Affairs Officer

MK:L

Stubbs Dept
S-Auth
Free

RECEIVED
JUL 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

July 15, 1946

Miss Margaret Kitchen
Social Affairs Officer
United Nations
Hunter College
Bronx 65, New York

Dear Miss Kitchen:

Thank you for your letter of July 10, 1946. We are glad to send you with our compliments a copy of the pamphlet Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs.

We will be glad to enter a complimentary subscription to all of our literature, if you desire it.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

MAILING ADDRESS:
BOX 1000, NEW YORK 1, N. Y., U. S. A.

CABLE ADDRESS:
UNO NEW YORK

UNITED NATIONS • NATIONS UNIES

HUNTER COLLEGE, BRONX 63, NEW YORK • MELROSE 5-4701

IN REPLY REFER TO:

10 July 1946

RECEIVED
JUL 12 1946
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I wish to obtain a copy of "Supreme Court Decisions Affecting Southern Customs" The Commission, May 1942, for the Research Department of the Commission on Human Rights.

I would be very glad if you would send it to me at the above address (Room 1-323) together with the invoice for the amount due which should be made out to the Social Affairs Department, United Nations.

Yours truly,

Margaret Kitchen

Margaret Kitchen
Social Affairs Officer

MK:C

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CABLE ADDRESS:
UNO NEW YORK

UNITED NATIONS • NATIONS UNIES

HUNTER COLLEGE, BRONX 63, NEW YORK • MELROSE 5-4701

IN REPLY REFER TO,

10 July 1946

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I wish to obtain a copy of "The Changing Character of Lynching" by Jessie D. Ames, published by the Southern Regional Council, 1942, for the Research Department of the Commission on Human Rights.

I would be very glad if you would send it to me at the above address (Room 1-323) together with the invoice for the amount due which should be made out to the Social Affairs Department, United Nations.

Yours truly,

Margaret Kitchen.

Margaret Kitchen
Social Affairs Officer

MK:C

E.M.
7/16/46

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to G. B. T.

Send the leaflet with our compliments. Tell them we will be glad to enter a complimentary subscription if they desire it.

GBJ

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
PL - 91646

August 14, 1946

To Organization Presidents:

During the coming year, organizations may play an important role in counseling on the formulation of United States policies with respect to the United Nations. As Senator Warren R. Austin said, shortly after his designation to become United States Representative to the United Nations, there should be "public participation in the setting of peace goals and the task of organizing collaboration of the nations to achieve the goals agreed upon." National organizations should "look ahead and discuss what they hope to see accomplished through United Nations machinery, particularly the goals toward which they want their representatives in the various organs, commissions, and specialized agencies to work."

The Division of Public Liaison accordingly is giving special attention to a two-way program providing for an exchange of views and information with respect to the United Nations. The purpose of this letter is to report on recent matters of interest and prospective developments in this connection.

1. Publications. The Department is preparing a current United Nations chart and two foreign affairs outlines which will be ready for distribution early in September.

September. Advance copies will be sent to you and reasonable supplies will be available upon request. A list of materials available from the Department of State is enclosed (enclosure no. 1).

2. Documentation for Libraries. At the request of the American Library Association, the Department of State has agreed to furnish copies of its publications to libraries that have informed the American Library Association of their intention to participate in the Association's world affairs information program. It is hoped that this plan will be in operation by October 1. You will receive a subsequent communication with full explanation of the plan together with a list of participating libraries and the six Area Distribution Centers.

In addition, temporary arrangements have been made by the Delegation in New York to supply twenty-five depository libraries with current mimeographed documentation. Each of these libraries has promised to make this documentation available to organization leaders in its respective area. A list of depository libraries selected by the American Library Association is enclosed (enclosure no. 2).

3. Meetings with Organization Representatives. The Department plans to hold a meeting in New York for organization representatives in September, shortly before the United Nations Assembly meeting. Members of the United States Delegation and the Department of State will discuss questions that are likely to come before the Assembly, and organizations will be given an opportunity to express their views. The Department will continue to arrange conferences with organization representatives as new developments arise in the various organs of the United Nations. The Department will also continue to provide, upon request of organizations, basic documentation, program counseling, and reference and editorial assistance. National organizations are invited to call upon officers of the Division of Public Liaison for information with respect to policies of this Government in the United Nations.

4. New York Office of Division of Public Liaison. The Division of Public Liaison, in addition to its principal office in the Department, maintains an office

at

at the headquarters of the United States Delegation to the United Nations at 250 West 57th Street, New York. Mr. Chester S. Williams, of the Division of Public Liaison, is in charge of liaison with organizations at this office. Mr. Williams will act as a point of contact for organizational leaders with members of the United States Delegation. Meetings will be arranged for American organizations for the purpose of enabling them to present their views to the United States Delegation and through the United States Delegation to organs of the United Nations. American organizations should, as a general rule, express their views on policy questions through the Department of State and the United States Delegation except as they may be consulting with the Economic and Social Council under Article 71 (see paragraph no. 5 below).

5. Liaison Program of United Nations Department of Public Information. Many American organizations conducting informational and educational programs on international affairs, which have maintained liaison with the Department of State, have made arrangements with the United Nations Secretariat to have representatives accredited to attend the sessions of the United Nations. This accreditation covers the Economic and Social Council, Commissions, Committees and the General Assembly, as well as the Security Council. Organizations interested in designating a representative to attend all of the United Nations meetings should apply directly to Mr. J. B. Orrick, Chief, Section for Voluntary Organizations, United Nations Department of Public Information, 610 Fifth Avenue, New York (Circle 5-8060).

Accreditation will entitle an organization to obtain a permanent pass for one representative; to request additional tickets for attendance at United Nations meetings; to be on a list to receive notification of certain events; and to have access to lounge and library facilities. The United Nations Department of Public Information will arrange meetings from time to time at which representatives of organizations of all countries can meet with members of the United Nations Secretariat to discuss matters relating to the work of the United Nations.

Most documentation from the United Nations will be obtainable by subscription. Arrangements have been

made

made by the United Nations Secretariat with the International Document Service of the Columbia University Press, New York, for the sale of United Nations documents. In addition, accredited organizations may secure at the United Nations such daily documentation as the United Nations Secretariat may make available.

Copies of the first two issues of the United Nations Weekly Bulletin are enclosed (enclosure no. 3). Orders and subscription for this publication should be sent to the Columbia University Press.

6. Implementation of Article 71 of the United Nations Charter. The Economic and Social Council on June 21st adopted a report of the Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations. Enclosed is a copy of that report (enclosure no. 4). You will note that the language of Article 71 of the United Nations Charter is interpreted to mean that consultative arrangements with ECOSOC will be established for eligible non-governmental international organizations. The report states that "national organizations should normally present their views through their respective governments or through international non-governmental organizations to which they belong." In establishing a list of organizations eligible for consultation, consideration will also be given to inclusion of national organizations that "cover a field which is not covered by any international organization or have special experience upon which the Council wishes to draw."

The nature of the consultations will vary with the character of the organization; special arrangements are made for organizations of labor, of management and business, of farmers and consumers. Provision is also made by which the Economic and Social Council may seek the advice and secure the help of other non-governmental organizations.

A special committee of the Council will review applications for consultative status submitted by non-governmental organizations, and make recommendations to the Council.

7. Liaison

7. Liaison Programs of Specialized Agencies of the United Nations. Arrangements are also planned for securing the counsel of public leaders for this Government's participation in the specialized agencies of the United Nations. A National Commission will advise this Government and serve as a link with national private organizations in matters relating to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. President Truman has recommended consideration of the creation of a citizens' advisory committee in connection with this Government's participation in the Food and Agriculture Organization. Similar patterns may be followed for a number of the other specialized agencies. Such special arrangements, of course, do not preclude American organizations from presenting their views on matters relating to the United Nations and all other foreign policy questions through the regular channel of the Division of Public Liaison of the Department of State.

Very truly yours,

Francis H. Russell

Francis H. Russell
Acting Director
Office of Public Affairs

Enclosures:

1. List of Publications on the United Nations available from the Department of State.

2. List of Depository Libraries selected by the American Library Association to receive certain United Nations Documentation from the United States Delegation.

3. United Nations Weekly Bulletins.

4. Report of the Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations, approved by the Council, 21 June 1946.

File
United Nations

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

September 4, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 5 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

I am enclosing data for non-governmental organizations, who may be interested in applying for Consultative Status with the Economic and Social Council of United Nations. I do not know whether the Southern Regional Council would be interested in this type of relationship. However, it might be worth while giving it executive consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Chairman

IDR:rha
Enclosure

Hold. I am going to look into this before applying

GBJ 9/13/46

E/Form 3
16 April 1946

DO YOU APPLY FOR CONSULTATIVE STATUS WITH THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL? YES____ NO____

DATA ON NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. Name of Organization: (English) _____
   (French) _____

2. Address of Headquarters:

3. Address of Branch or Regional Headquarters (for international organizations only):

4. Address of Representative in U.S.A.: (If no Headquarters or Branch Office is located in U.S.A.)

5. Membership: (Total number of persons. Do these persons pay subscriptions directly or are the subscriptions paid by affiliated organizations? List the affiliated organizations (with their country, if an international organization) with the total number of persons belonging to each. Mention also any other types of members, such as associate members, with pertinent facts.)

6. General Purposes of the Organization:

7. Can officially designated representatives speak authoritatively for the membership on matters concerned with the stated purposes of the organization? _____. And if so, on what subjects? If not, clarify under Item 8 below how the representative could carry on consultation.

8. Specific interests with reference to the work of the Economic and Social Council: (Reason for consulting with Council bodies.)

9. Officers: (names and positions held, including the Chief Executive Officer or Secretary and other principle administrative officials. What is the number of paid officer personnel?)

10. Structure: (Policy-making bodies (Conference, Governing Body, Executive Committee), frequency of meetings, with date of last meeting for each.)

11. Finance: (Annual budget and sources of income)

12. History: (Date when founded; principle historical developments)

13. Activities: (A statement of the most important activities or accomplishments and membership in or connections with other organizations, including international organizations.)

14. Publications: (Name the regular publications, how often they appear, and their general nature. State what kind of special reports, etc., are issued, mentioning any of particular importance.)

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONNAIRE

IF YOUR ORGANIZATION IS INTERESTED IN THE WORK OF THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ITS SUB-COMMISSIONS AND/OR THE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN, PLEASE RETURN SIX COPIES OF THIS QUESTIONAIRE. CHECK BELOW THE SUBJECTS IN WHICH YOUR ORGANIZATION IS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED:

INTERNATIONAL BILL OF RIGHTS
PROTECTION OF MINORITIES
PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION AND PRESS
CIVIL LIBERTIES
STATUS OF WOMEN
LIST OTHER SUBJECT RELATING TO HUMAN RIGHTS BELOW:

1. NAME OF YOUR ORGANIZATION: (ENGLISH) _____
(FRENCH) _____

2. ADDRESS OF HEADQUARTERS, AND NAME OF CHAIRMAN:

3. NAME AND ADDRESS OF REPRESENTATIVE TO WHOM FURTHER COMMUNICATIONS RELATING TO THE ABOVE MENTIONED SUBJECTS MAY BE DIRECTED:

4. OFFICERS: (NAMES, ADDRESSES, POSITIONS HELD, INCLUDING CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER OR SECRETARY AND OTHER PRINCIPLE OFFICIALS)

5. PLEASE EXPLAIN FULLY THE SPECIFIC INTEREST AND ACTIVITIES OF YOUR ORGANIZATION IN THE FIELDS OUTLINED ABOVE. LIST RECENT IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS:
(USE BOTH SIDES OF THIS PAGE AND AN APPENDUM IF NECESSARY.)

HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONNAIRE CONTINUED (2)

6. LIST NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS, GROUPS, AGENCIES, ETC. (GIVE TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN EACH GROUP, IF POSSIBLE.)

7. STRUCTURE: (POLICY-MAKING BODIES, CONFERENCE, GOVERNING BODY, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, ETC. PLEASE LIST FREQUENCY OF MEETINGS AND DATES OF LAST AND NEXT MEETINGS OF EACH)

8. HISTORY: (DATE WHEN FOUNDED, PRINCIPLE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS, ETC.)

9. PUBLICATIONS:* (NAME REGULAR PUBLICATIONS, HOW OFTEN THEY APPEAR, AND THEIR GENERAL NATURE. STATE WHAT KIND OF SPECIAL REPORTS ETC. ARE ISSUED, ELABORATING ON ANY OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE AS RELATING TO THE FIELDS COVERED BY THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.)

* IMPORTANT NOTE: WE SUGGEST THAT YOU PLACE US ON YOUR REGULAR MAILING LIST FOR ALL PERTINENT MATERIAL. PLEASE ADDRESS THIS MATERIAL TO:

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS SECTION
DIVISION OF LIAISON AND COORDINATION OF THE ECONOMIC & SOCIAL DEPARTMENTS
UNITED NATIONS
BOX 1000, NEW YORK

HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONNAIRE (3)

10. EXPLAIN IN DETAIL ANY RECENT OR CURRENT STUDIES OF YOUR ORGANIZATION IN THE FIELDS COVERED BY THIS QUESTIONNAIRE:

11. LIST NAMES OF INDIVIDUALS, OTHER THAN OFFICIALS OF YOUR ORGANIZATION, CONSIDERED BY YOU TO BE EXPERTS IN THE FIELDS WITH WHICH WE ARE DEALING. INCLUDE ADDRESSES AND A SHORT OUTLINE OF THEIR QUALIFICATIONS, ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND EXPERIENCE, IF POSSIBLE. (SEE SUBJECT LISTING UNDER QUESTIONNAIRE HEADING)

12. WHAT SPECIAL TECHNIQUES IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEMS COVERED BY THIS QUESTIONNAIRE HAS YOUR ORGANIZATION DEVELOPED WHICH YOU FEEL MIGHT BE OF INTEREST TO THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, ITS SUB-COMMISSIONS, AND THE COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN? PLEASE EXPLAIN METHODS AND RESULTS:

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
OCT 7 1946
Southern Regional Council

In reply refer to
PL - 92046

September 30, 1946

To Organization Presidents:

This letter is intended to supplement the Department's letter of August 14 and to outline arrangements that will enable American organizations to keep fully informed and to have their views taken into account in connection with matters that are the concern of the Economic and Social Council, its commissions, and the international specialized agencies. It is the desire of the United States Government to develop and maintain actively arrangements of this nature.

1. Interpretation of Article 71 of United Nations Charter with respect to National Organizations. A number of national organizations have applied to the Economic and Social Council for accreditation as consulting organizations under Article 71 of the United Nations Charter. Article 71 reads "The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned".

The policy of the United Nations Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organizations which was established by the Economic and Social Council is that "national organizations should normally present their views through their respective governments or through international non-governmental organizations to which they belong".

2. Services through Division of Public Liaison, Department of State. The responsibility for effecting and correlating arrangements to enable United States national non-governmental organizations to obtain information and present their views rests with the Division of Public Liaison of the Office of Public Affairs of the Department of State. To implement this

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Exec. Director,
Southern Regional Council,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

responsibility

responsibility other offices of the Department of State and other departments and agencies of the Government which have a special interest in the work of particular commissions and international specialized agencies are cooperating with the Division of Public Liaison. This Division has also established an office with the American Delegation at the Seat of the United Nations in New York which will work closely with the United States representative on the Economic and Social Council.

3. Steps for Obtaining Information. Organizations that are interested in the work of the Economic and Social Council and the international specialized agencies should fill out and return the enclosed data sheet. Upon receipt of the data sheet, indicating the fields of activity of the Economic and Social Council and the international specialized agencies in which your organization is interested, the Division of Public Liaison will inform you of necessary steps to be taken to obtain information of the kind your organization may find of interest on the work of the Economic and Social Council, its commissions, and the international specialized agencies.

This Division will also assist organizations in obtaining appropriate documentation and admission to public meetings in which you may be interested. In general, in this connection please see the letter of August 14.

As a further means of enabling organizations to obtain information on current developments, the Division of Public Liaison in cooperation with the other offices concerned will continue to arrange meetings for organization representatives at which reports will be given by government officers and members of American delegations on problems, policies and developments in connection with the Economic and Social Council, the commissions, and the specialized agencies.

It is recommended that organizations subscribe to the State Department Bulletin and the United Nations Bulletin as sources of information of this nature.

4. Methods for Presenting Views. Organizations which desire to present their views, the results of studies, or other material bearing on the work of the

Economic

Economic and Social Council may do so in the following ways:

(a) By letter addressed to the Office of Public Affairs, Department of State,

(b) By communicating resolutions or other forms of action of the organization, as in (a),

(c) By personal interviews with appropriate officers of the Government and particularly members of the United States Delegation to the Economic and Social Council (which will be arranged by the Division of Public Liaison),

(d) By participation in joint meetings of organizations' representatives with officers of the Government, and particularly members of the United States Delegation to the Economic and Social Council (which will be arranged by the Division of Public Liaison),

(e) By consultation with members of the United Nations Secretariat (upon arrangement through the Division of Public Liaison).

The Division of Public Liaison of the Department of State will be glad to assist organizations in any of these ways. Upon receipt of material of the nature referred to in the previous paragraph from any organization, the Division of Public Liaison will be responsible for assuring that it is brought to the attention of the Office of the United States representative on the Economic and Social Council, appropriate policy officers of the United States Government, and American delegations to international conferences that are concerned with the subject matter of the material presented. In appropriate cases the material will be forwarded to the Economic and Social Council, commissions, international specialized agencies, or to the United Nations Secretariat for their information.

In some instances, special arrangements have been or will be established for providing cooperation by

national

national organizations in the work of specialized agencies. This will not in any way preclude the expression of views on subjects of concern to the specialized agencies by other American organizations.

In the attached data sheet are listed the commissions of the Economic and Social Council and the international specialized agencies. You are asked to indicate those in which you are interested and about which you wish to be kept informed. With respect to certain commissions and international specialized agencies, other offices of the Department of State and other government agencies will provide channels for direct communication with United States representatives. Information with respect to these special arrangements will be sent to you on receipt of the enclosed data sheet indicating the areas of your interest.

National organizations affiliated with international non-governmental organizations which have a consultative arrangement with the Economic and Social Council under Article 71 may, of course, avail themselves of any means afforded by such affiliation to have their views taken into account through the consultative relationship of these international non-governmental organizations with the Economic and Social Council.

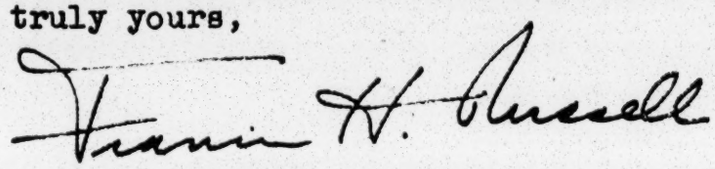
The arrangements outlined in this letter are designed primarily for organizations with national membership. Local organizations which are affiliated with national bodies are requested to present their views through their national organization. National organizations may in some instances wish to associate with other national organizations for the purpose of obtaining information and reflecting views in connection with the work of the Economic and Social Council, its commissions, and the international specialized agencies.

Communications should be addressed to the Division of Public Liaison, Office of Public Affairs, Department of State, or, where the communication relates to a specific matter at the seat of the United Nations, to the Office of Public Affairs, Department of State, in care of the United States Delegation to the United

Nations

Nations, Fisk Building, 250 West 57th Street, New York 19, New York.

Very truly yours,



Francis H. Russell
Director
Office of Public Affairs

Enclosure:

Data sheet.

October 8, 1946

Refer to: PL-92046

Mr. Francis H. Russell, Director
Office of Public Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Russell:

Thank you for the materials on United Nations, which you were kind enough to send us.

I have filled out the organisational data sheet which you enclosed and am returning it herewith. Since the SRC is a regional agency, I am not certain that it would be eligible for consultative status, but we would at least like to be able to obtain informational materials from the Economic and Social Council of United Nations.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

Miss Ellie McKinney, Librarian
Bureau of Public Administration
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

November 11, 1946

1 Yr. Subscription to NEW SOUTH. $1.00

2nd attempt 12/4/46

not received

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

RECEIVED
NOV 6 1946
Southern Regional Council

November 4, 1946

Miss Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Clay:

This Bureau would like to renew its subscription to NEW SOUTH. Please bill us for the amount.

Very truly yours,

Ellie McKinney

Ellie McKinney
Librarian

E.K.H. 11/20/46

November 21, 1946

Mr. E. Ita
West African People's Institute
P. O. Box 52
Calaban, Nigeria

Dear Mr. Ita:

It was good to hear from you again last month. You will be interested to know that when I was at Howard University recently I saw our mutual friend, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, who spoke very highly of you and your work. As you may know, he has now retired from active work with the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

I am entering a complimentary subscription for you to our monthly magazine New South. Let's call it a Christmas present from America! I hope that it reaches you safely each month and will remind you of the things we are trying to do in behalf of democratic human relations.

With highest regards and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

West African People's Institute
P.O. Box 1-2, Ibadan, Nigeria
21st Aug. 1946

Guy B. Johnson Esq
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3 Georgia.

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr Johnson,

I have to thank you immensely for your kind letter of 14th June 1946 and for the printed materials sent me under separate cover. I notice the changes that the Commission on Interracial Cooperation has undergone and the new Council which now takes it in.

I used to read the Journal of Negro Education while I was studying at Columbia 1931 - 1933. But restrictions in foreign exchange as war measure do not permit us to subscribe for any valuable journal. Thanks however for kind suggestion.

It is of immense interest for young Africans to know what the Negro youths in America are thinking & planning to do with themselves in these post-war days. With the world now changed as it is young Africans are wondering what is their place in it. What they can & should do with themselves to adjust themselves to the new world condition. Perhaps the work of your council will help them to find some answer.

Sincerely yours E. Ete

January 2, 1948

Mr. Francis H. Russell
Director, Office of Public Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

PL - 12546

Dear Mr. Russell:

Your letter of December 27, directed to Dr. W. W. Alexander, Executive Director, Commission on Interracial Coop ration, has come to my attention. The Commission on Interracial Coop ration was absorbed by the Southern Regional Council when the Council was organized in January 1944. The Council carries on the work of the Commission as one phase of a broader program for social progress in the South.

Sometime ago I filled out your "Organizational Data Sheet" for the Southern Regional Council. I suggest that you remove the Commission on Interracial Cooperation from your list.

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED
JAN 2 1947
Southern Regional Council

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

DEC 27 1946

In reply refer to
PL - 12546

To Organization Presidents:

Some weeks ago this office sent you a letter concerning the interests your organization might have in the activities of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, its Commissions, and international specialized agencies. An "Organizational Data Sheet" blank was enclosed for completion and return to this office to indicate the extent and nature of interests.

We should appreciate hearing from you if your organization is not interested in the services outlined in our letter of September 30.

If your organization does wish to receive the information and services outlined in the September 30th letter, we would be glad to receive from you a completed Data Sheet. An additional copy of the Data Sheet is enclosed for your convenience.

Very truly yours,

Francis H. Russell

Francis H. Russell
Director
Office of Public Affairs

Enclosure:

Data Sheet

DSL-295
12-6-46

FORM DSP-8
9-23-46

BUDGET BUREAU 47-R053
APPROVAL EXPIRES JUNE 30, 1947

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
DIVISION OF PUBLIC LIAISON

ORGANIZATIONAL DATA SHEET

NAME OF ORGANIZATION

HEADQUARTERS ADDRESS

American organizations which desire to receive information and present their views with respect to policies and activities of the Economic and Social Council, its commissions and the international specialized agencies, are requested to fill out and return this data sheet.

OFFICERS OF ORGANIZATION

HEAD	TITLE	TENURE FROM	TENURE TO

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY	NO. OF PAID STAFF PERSONNEL

WASHINGTON REP.	NEW YORK REP.	CHAIRMAN OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

STAFF OFFICER DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM	EDITOR OF PERIODICAL AND PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM

LIST MEMBERS OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, OR OTHER GOVERNING BODY

MEMBERSHIP OF ORGANIZATION

DO YOU HAVE AFFILIATES? ☐ YES ☐ NO *(If "yes" list below)*

DO YOU HAVE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP? ☐ YES ☐ NO		ESTIMATED NUMBER
DO YOU HAVE LOCAL UNITS? ☐ YES ☐ NO	IF SO, HOW MANY	
DO YOU HAVE STATE ORGANIZATIONS? ☐ YES ☐ NO		IF SO, HOW MANY

WHAT ARE REQUIREMENTS FOR MEMBERSHIP?

HISTORY

DATE WHEN FOUNDED

PRINCIPAL HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS *(List any changes in organization name and any recent mergers with other organizations)*

GENERAL STATEMENT ON NATURE AND PURPOSES OF ORGANIZATIONS

PUBLICATIONS AND PERIODICALS

NAME OF PERIODICAL	EST. CIRCULATION

FREQUENCY: WEEKLY	FORTNIGHTLY	MONTHLY	QUARTERLY

NEWSLETTER OR OTHER REGULAR COMMUNICATION	EST. CIRCULATION	FREQUENCY

DO YOU PUBLISH PAMPHLETS? ☐ YES ☐ NO | AV. NO. PER YEAR

LIST TITLES SINCE JANUARY 1945 ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ACTIVITIES ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SPEAKER'S BUREAU ☐ YES ☐ NO	NATIONAL	REGIONAL	LOCAL	EST. NUMBER OF SPEAKERS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CONFERENCES ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS ☐ YES ☐ NO	NATIONAL	REGIONAL	LOCAL	ANY SET DATE?

STUDY GROUPS ☐ YES ☐ NO	EST. NUMBER ACTIVE	PUBLIC MEETINGS OR FORUMS ☐ YES ☐ NO	EST. NO. PER YEAR	EST. NO. 1945-46 ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

EST. ATTENDANCE | ARE LOCAL UNITS ENCOURAGED TO COOPERATE WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN SPONSORING JOINT PROGRAMS? ☐ YES ☐ NO

OTHER ACTIVITIES AND FIELDS OF INTEREST

DOES YOUR ORGANIZATION PRODUCE OR UTILIZE MOTION PICTURES? ☐ YES ☐ NO

PRODUCE RADIO PROGRAMS? ☐ YES ☐ NO | USE RECORDINGS? ☐ YES ☐ NO

IF SO, PLEASE INDICATE SUBJECTS COVERED.

IF YOUR ORGANIZATION CARRIES ON RESEARCH ACTIVITIES, PLEASE INDICATE SUBJECT FIELDS

LIST AREAS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FIELD IN WHICH THE PROGRAM OF YOUR ORGANIZATION CONCENTRATES

FORM DSP-8 9-23-46

IS YOUR ORGANIZATION AFFILIATED WITH ANY INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION? ☐ YES ☐ NO

IF SO, PLEASE GIVE NAME OF SUCH ORGANIZATION AND THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP

DOES YOUR ORGANIZATION MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES? ☐ YES ☐ NO

PLEASE GIVE DETAILS:

SPECIAL ISSUES OF INTEREST TO YOUR ORGANIZATION AT PRESENT TIME AND SPECIAL PROJECTS BEING UNDERTAKEN FOR 1947.

IS YOUR ORGANIZATION INTERESTED IN COOPERATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON MATTERS RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS, PROFESSORS AND OTHER PERSONS, AND OTHER PHASES OF INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL AFFAIRS? ☐ YES ☐ NO

IF SO, PLEASE INDICATE NATURE OF INTEREST:

CHECK LIST- IF VARIOUS COMMITTEES OR OFFICES OF YOUR ORGANIZATION ARE INTERESTED IN DIFFERENT SUBJECT AREAS, PLEASE INDICATE THEIR NAME, TITLE AND ADDRESS, FOLLOWING AREA OF SPECIAL INTEREST LISTED BELOW.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

INDICATE GENERAL AREAS OF INTEREST IN THE WORK OF ECOSOC:

CHECK COMMISSIONS *(established or proposed)* OF SPECIAL INTEREST

☐ HUMAN RIGHTS	☐ SOCIAL	☐ ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT	☐ TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS	
☐ STATUS OF WOMEN	☐ STATISTICAL	☐ NARCOTIC DRUGS	☐ DEMOGRAPHIC	☐ FISCAL

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES WHICH HAVE BEEN OR ARE BEING ESTABLISHED

CHECK AGENCIES IN WHOSE WORK YOU ARE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED AND STATE THE NATURE OF YOUR INTEREST IN THESE AGENCIES.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

PROVISIONAL INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION

INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION

ANY OTHER INTER-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

University Ala.

February 10, 1947

Miss Ellie McKinney, Librarian
Bureau of Public Administration
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Miss McKinney:

Thank you for your letterof February 3 concerning various notices which you have received about membership dues in the Southern Regional Council and subscriptions to New South. I think that the following information will help you to straighten out your records.

Dr. Roscoe C. Martin, of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama, is a charter member of the Southern Regional Council. His name has been on the Council membership rolls since it was organized in February, 1944. As an individual member of SRC, Dr. Martin pays $2.00 a year dues and receives copies of all our publications. The letter dated May 27, 1946, to which you refer, was in regard to Dr. Martin's 1946 dues. Check for $2.00 to cover these dues was received by us June 3, 1946. The letter which you received dated January 29, 1947, is notice reminding Dr. Martin that 1947 dues are now payable.

On checking the records, I find that in addition to Dr. Martin's membership, there has been a subscription to our monthly magazine, New South, for the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama. The notice you received in October referred to this subscription. This subscription has not yet been renewed, and you may not want to continue it, as Dr. Martin receives all the literature, including New South.

The subscription to New South for the Electoral Process Study was entered as a separate subscription in October.

I hope that this information will clear up the matter, and that we may hear from you soon. If you have any further questions I shall be glad to try to answer them.

Cordially yours,

Inez B. Tillison

Secretary-Treasurer

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

BUREAU OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

RECEIVED
FEB 5 1947
CH

February 3, 1947

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

On May 23, 1946 we received a notice that our annual dues for membership in the Southern Regional Council were payable. On May 27 we sent you $2.00. (Dr. Martin) On October 16 you sent us another notice that our subscription expired in August, 1946. We now have another notice dated January 29 which says that our membership dues for 1947 are payable. Please advise us as to what date our membership expires so that we may straighten out our records in this matter.

Our records show that on October 25, 1946, 1946 this Bureau sent you $1.00 for one year's subscription to New South for the use of the Electoral Process Study. This subscription is entirely different to the above mentioned dues.

Very truly yours,

Ellie McKinney

Ellie McKinney
Librarian

Dr. Roscoe C. Martin - C.M.
Pd. 6-3-46.

April 18, 1947

Mr. Egbert White, Publisher
United Nations World
385 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Sir:

It appears that your publication United Nations World will be useful to us in our work.

Please enter our subscription for one year, giving us the benefit of any discount available to a non-profit, educational organization of this type.

Thank you.

Very truly yours,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

UNITED NATIONS WORLD

The International Magazine

385 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

★

CABLE ADDRESS
UNATWORLD

Subscribe

RECEIVED
APR 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

"WHODUNIT?"

... Who shattered American-Soviet accord? The United States? ... Russia?

"WHODUNIT?" Who paralyzed the peace in Palestine? Bevin has accused President Truman. The Jews find Britain guilty.

"WHODUNIT?" Who destroyed the coalition government in China? America ... The Communists? ... The Kuomintang?

The opinions are as varied as the weather! Every day you listen to diverse and heated arguments on these and many other key questions of the day. Where is there a single, unbiased source of information to interpret these questions from a "One World" point of view?

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Answering the need for a new kind of global journalism ... UNITED NATIONS WORLD gives you uncensored reports from the very people who live in these centers of conflict. It answers the need for a broader journalism ... world-wide in concept ... and will be printed simultaneously in many different countries, in many different languages.

Written and edited by outstanding citizens of the world ...

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> Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize Winner for Literature.
> Louis Dolivet, author of the book, "The United Nations," which has been endorsed by 49 United Nations.

And our staff of contributing editors includes such prominent authors as Vincent Sheean, and Thomas Mann ... top-flight journalists Vernon Bartlett, Chief Diplomatic Correspondent of the London News; Geraud Jouve, Chief of International News for the French Press Agency; Gunnar Fagrel, Editor-in-Chief of Handels Tidningen; and V. P. Krishna Menon, Foreign Editor, Bombay Herald. Add to this imposing company Jawaharlal Nehru and Lin Yutang ... and it's easy to see why UNW gives you unprecedented world-wide coverage.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD helps you know your fellow world neighbors - just as

(over)

you know the folks next door or the family around the corner. Meet them at play, at work, at home. Know the books they read and the movies they see. For that's the kind of understanding that builds a firm foundation for peace ... breaks down mistrust.

And that's the kind of understanding and insight you'll find in UNITED NATIONS WORLD. UNW is detached from partisan politics ... owes allegiance to NO individual nation. It is published in close cooperation with the United Nations, but is privately owned, independent, non-partisan and authoritative.

These are just a few of the reasons I feel sure you'll subscribe to UNITED NATIONS WORLD ... because it's the ONLY magazine that keeps you up-to-date with world happenings - in politics, economics, in the theater, in radio, in books.

And if you act promptly ... your subscription will start with the March issue. In it you'll find the answers to the many questions you've been asking about atomic power. An EXCLUSIVE article by Frederick Joliot-Curie, Chief of French Atomic Research tells an amazing story of France's bid for a return to world power - through the construction of an "atomic village" on a broad plain near Paris.

In addition, this month's issue features a "behind the scenes" story of the "Rise and Fall of the Morgenthau Plan" for the partition of Germany! This article by Fred Smith, confidential war-time assistant to Secretary Henry Morgenthau, will be the center of a storm of controversy.

Assure yourself of a "first hand" reading of these and many other topical, exclusive articles by sending for your subscription TODAY! A full year's subscription - 12 eventful issues - 80 pages of features, cartoons and pictures - costs only $4! Take advantage of our SPECIAL subscription rate of $7 for 2 years ... and only $9 for three FULL years!

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Sincerely,

Egbert White

EG/DAB

Egbert White,
Publisher

P. S. You'll get one extra copy FREE if you enclose your check or money order along with the return card in the postage-free envelope ... saving us the expense of billing. So don't wait! Send for your subscription TODAY!

Yes, Mr. White . . .

. . . please start my subscription to UNITED NATIONS WORLD with the very next issue at the rate of ☐ $4 for 1 year, ☐ $7 for 2 years, or ☐ $9 for 3 years. (Choice is indicated by check mark.)

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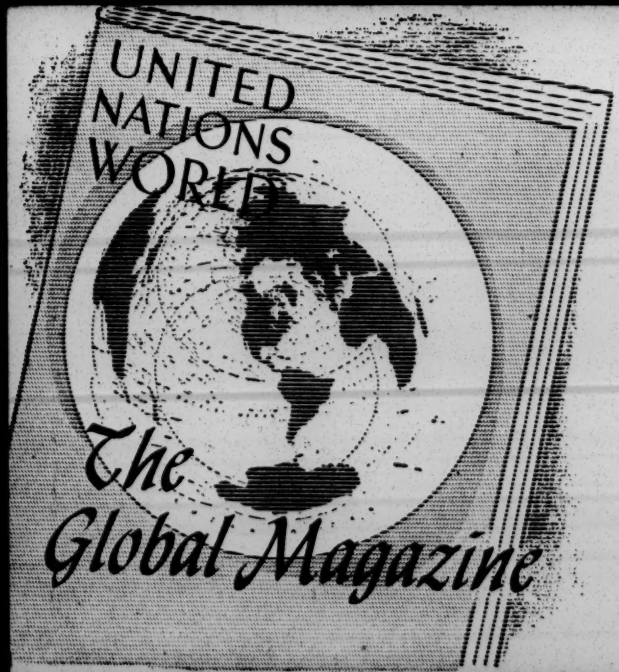

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UNITED NATIONS WORLD

385 MADISON AVE.

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA
ATHENS

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 19, 1947

Dear Fellow-Citizen of Georgia:

The release of atomic energy has brought into our world a revolutionary force. The uses that are made of this basic power of the universe may profoundly affect the future course of history. Atomic energy will not only bring about radical effects in the field of science but it will also have far-reaching political, economic, and social implications.

It is essential that the people of our country have an understanding of the simple facts about this new force and their implications for society. With this thought in mind meetings are being held in many states for the purpose of informing citizens about these matters and for the further purpose of creating an informed public opinion that will demand that atomic energy be used only for constructive and humane purposes.

A conference will be held in Atlanta on the evening of May 23 at the Erlanger Theater. This meeting is sponsored by the Extension Division of the University System of Georgia, the Department of Political Science of the University of Georgia, and a group of Atlanta organizations listed on the enclosed program. All plans have been made in cooperation with the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education. Speakers will include scientists who have worked on the development of atomic energy and political and social scientists. Opportunity will be given for questions and general discussion.

We hope very much that you and your friends will be able to attend the conference. Your help is needed in an attempt to arrive at an intelligent and concerted decision on one of the major problems of our time.

Sincerely yours

Harmon Caldwell

Harmon Caldwell

HC:CM

GEORGIA CONFERENCES ON ATOMIC ENERGY

"When we are clear in heart and mind—only then shall we find courage to surmount the fear which haunts the world."

—Albert Einstein

COLUMBUS	MAY 12
ALBANY	MAY 13
VALDOSTA	MAY 14
BRUNSWICK	MAY 15
SAVANNAH	MAY 16
AUGUSTA	MAY 19
MACON	MAY 20
GAINESVILLE	MAY 21
ROME	MAY 22
ATLANTA	MAY 23

ATLANTA CONFERENCE

Friday Evening, May 23, 1947

Erlanger Theatre

Eight O'Clock

Sponsored By

Agnes Scott College
Emory University
Georgia School of Technology
University System Center
Oglethorpe University
Georgia Workers Education Service
American Veterans Com.
Atlanta Federation of Women's Clubs
Atlanta League of Women Voters
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The University of Georgia Committee on Atomic Education

Dr. Harmon W. Caldwell, *President, Ex-Officio*
Dr. Merritt B. Pound, *Chairman*

Dr. R. P. Brooks
Dr. George H. Boyd
Dr. O. C. Aderhold
Dr. J. Thomas Askew
Dr. B. Davie Napier

PROGRAM

Dr. Goodrich C. White, *Presiding*

Movie—"One World or None"

(10 minutes)

"Is Atomic Power a United States Monopoly?"

Dr. Simon Freed, Scientist
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

"The Atom at War and Peace"

Dr. Myron T. Kelley, Scientist
Oak Ridge, Tennessee

"Nuclear Energy and National Sovereignty"

Dr. Merritt B. Pound
Department of Political Science
University of Georgia

"Mastery of the Atom"

Dr. J. Thomas Askew
Department of Political Science
University of Georgia

"Social and Religious Implications of Atomic Energy"

Dr. B. Davie Napier, Chaplain
Department of Religion
University of Georgia

Discussion led by Dr. Myron T. Kelley

Exhibit of Printed Materials on Atomic Energy in Lobby.

Sponsored by

DIVISION OF GENERAL EXTENSION
UNIVERSITY SYSTEM OF GEORGIA

THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, ASSOCIATION
OF SCIENTISTS FOR ATOMIC EDUCATION

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.

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Research Affiliate:
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National Headquarters, 45 EAST 65TH ST., NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

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C.-E. A. Winslow
Quincy Wright

**Member, Executive Committee*

RECEIVED
MAY 26 1947
Southern Regional Council

May 21, 1947

Dear Friend:

Today is the crisis of the United Nations. The national debate which arose in the wake of President Truman's declaration of March 12th has served to make plain that the United Nations is and can only be what we make it. It is for each of us to do his part if the United Nations is to live to fulfill its declared mission - "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

The purpose of the enclosed statement, which goes to 100,000 Americans for consideration, is to give evidence of our support of the ideal of world organization for peace through the United Nations, and of our determination to stand by mankind's last and best hope of peace on earth. It supports the American policy of aid to Greece and Turkey as amended in the Congress, clearly bringing American policy within the framework of the United Nations.

I request your signature to this statement which will be presented to the President and the Congress as an act of reaffirmation of our faith in the United Nations. Please help further through subscription to our fund with which to mobilize and make effective in this crisis the millions of American friends of the United Nations who share our view.

Sincerely yours,

Eleanor Roosevelt

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt

P.S. In order that the enclosed statement may be circulated widely, many cooperating organizations have supplied us with their membership lists. Should you receive a duplicate copy, please give it to someone who will be interested in this message.

A Reaffirmation of Faith In the UNITED NATIONS

TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE MEMBERS OF THE 80TH CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

THE IDEAL of world organization for peace through the United Nations is at stake. A crisis has been precipitated by President Truman's speech of March 12th calling for a new orientation in American policy. If the United Nations is to endure and to achieve that strength which will enable it to function as the guarantor of world peace and security, a widespread understanding of its role in a world just emerged from the most ruinous war in history is necessary.

The United Nations, as envisioned by the drafters of the Charter, was designed to guarantee peace by a method of conference and conciliation in which all nations had voice but in which existing power relationships were also recognized. This realistic approach to the problem of world organization looked beyond the present to the period in which power relations would be radically altered by a building up of the police and military contingents assigned to the United Nations and the eventual scaling-down of the member states' military strength. A new era in history was envisioned when the power of the international organization would exceed that of any possible malefactor nation or bloc of nations. The Charter contains the provisions for such a development. The Security Council and other bodies of the United Nations are moving in that direction.

In the short eighteen months since the ratification of the Charter, the old world of rampant nationalisms has not died nor has the United Nations reached its power maturity. Meanwhile there remain for solution the problems of a world, tortured by an unparalleled war, whose economic recuperative powers outside the borders of the United States are at the lowest ebb in modern history.

This moral crisis of our times was brought into sharp focus by the President's recent declaration of policy on Greece and Turkey. Since then a nationwide debate has taken place. Our projected policy is not unilateral but has been brought within the framework of the United Nations. In this debate the American people have gone overwhelmingly on record in support of the ideal of world organization through the United Nations.

We urge upon every citizen full support of American policy in Greece and Turkey including specific authorization to the United Nations to modify or halt our program of aid at any stage. We fully recognize the overriding interest of the United Nations in the accomplishment of our common objective—the preservation of the Greek nation from internal economic collapse and the safeguarding of its independence, as well as that of Turkey.

We urge that whenever possible the financial and economic power of the United States shall be used through the agency of the United Nations to accomplish common objectives and that those governments benefitting from such aid shall take prompt and effective steps to democratize their governmental institutions.

We urge that the United States take the lead to assure speed on the part of the United Nations Military Staff Committee in setting up contingents for international police purposes and in creating those military complements which will enable the United Nations to fulfill its historic function as a guarantor of world peace and security.

We urge a rededication on the part of every American to the ideal of international organization for peace and security through the United Nations. Now is the time for all men of good will to stand with the United Nations in its struggle "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

PLEASE SIGNIFY YOUR ASSOCIATION WITH THIS STATEMENT BY SIGNING THE ENCLOSED BLANK FORM AND RETURNING IT TO MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, 45 EAST 65TH STREET, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

THE STATEMENT, WITH A COMPLETE LIST OF SIGNERS, WILL BE PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE MEMBERS OF THE 80TH CONGRESS AT THE CURRENT SESSION. PLEASE REGARD IT AS CONFIDENTIAL AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION UNTIL ITS PRESENTATION IN WASHINGTON, AT WHICH TIME IT WILL BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS.

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
PL

RECEIVED
AUG 1 1947
Southern Regional Council

July 28, 1947

Dear Mr. Johnson:

In view of the interest which your organization has expressed in the work of the United Nations Economic and Social Council and particularly in view of the wide public interest in the formulation of an International Bill of Human Rights, I wish to bring to your attention the work which has been undertaken by the Commission on Human Rights of the Economic and Social Council.

The Commission's Drafting Committee of eight members has recently concluded its first session which met in New York. The Committee produced a preliminary draft of an International Bill of Human Rights which will be submitted to the Human Rights Commission at its next meeting in August 1947 scheduled to be held at Geneva, Switzerland. Later, the draft as revised by the Commission will be circulated to all Members of the United Nations for their comments. It is expected that the proposed bill of rights will be presented in final form for the approval of the United Nations General Assembly at its 1948 meeting.

The Department of State would appreciate any comment or suggestions which your organization may wish to make regarding the proposed bill of rights. A copy of the preliminary draft submitted by the Drafting Committee is enclosed. Additional copies are available on request from the Division of Public Liaison, Department of State. Copies of drafts in the various later stages of revision will also be distributed on request to interested organizations as they become available.

If your

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

If your organization is interested in taking part in consultations on the bill of rights which may be held as the program develops, please let the Division of Public Liaison know of this interest in order that the participation of your organization in such consultations may be arranged.

Sincerely yours,

Francis H. Russell

Francis H. Russell
Director
Office of Public Affairs

Enclosures:

1. List of Drafting Committee Members and Members of Commission.
2. Draft of bill of rights.

27

July 31, 1947

Mr. Harold E. Synder, Director
Commission for International Educational Reconstruction
744 Jackson Place N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Synder:

This is in reply to your letter of July 14 to Dr. Howard W. Odum, formerly president of the Southern Regional Council.

The Southern Regional Council program relates entirely to constructive work in the Southern States. While we have every sympathy for and wish to help with your program, I do not see anything specific that we can do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:EE

INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL SCIENCE
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL

July 22, 1947

U N

RECEIVED
JUL 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
The Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Here is a letter that is self-explanatory.

I keep hoping I will have a time to drop in and see you in Atlanta.

My best wishes.

Cordially yours,

HOWARD W. ODUM

HWO/rb

COMMISSION FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION
744 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

TELEPHONE: NATIONAL 5691
CABLE ADDRESS: AMCONED

July 14, 1947

RECEIVED
JUL 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Howard W. Odum
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Odum:

It has been suggested to our Commission that the Southern Regional Council, Inc. is interested in the United Nations Educational, Sciertific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and may be able to provide information needed by that organization and by our Commission.

May we invite your attention to the attached memorandum and inquiry form which is being sent to foundations and organizations concerned either directly or indirectly with the reconstruction of education, science and culture in the war-devastated countries.

I know that you share with us a desire to present as completely as possible to UNESCO the extent of the American effort in these fields. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harold E. Snyder

Harold E. Snyder
Director

Commission for International Educational Reconstruction
744 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

gm

July 11, 1947

TO: American Organizations, Foundations and Institutions Concerned with the Reconstruction of Education, Science and Culture in the War-Devastated Countries

FROM: Harold E. Snyder, Director, Commission for International Educational Reconstruction

ON BEHALF OF: UNESCO and the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

BACKGROUND: The Commission for International Educational Reconstruction (CIER) was established in September, 1946 at the initiative of the American Council on Education by means of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. It endeavors to stimulate and coordinate American voluntary efforts designed to aid in the educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction of the war-devastated countries. It has been officially recognized by UNESCO and the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO.

THE UNESCO CAMPAIGN: Recognizing that reconstruction in the war-devastated countries is basic to the success of its long range projects, UNESCO has appealed for contributions totalling one hundred million dollars to rebuild educational, scientific and cultural institutions in those areas most seriously damaged by the war. These contributions may take many forms -- cash, gifts through established organizations, gift-in-kind, fellowships, and other services, etc.

AMERICAN PARTICIPATION: A considerable portion of this goal has already been achieved through the efforts of scores of American organizations. The CIER has been requested by UNESCO to determine the extent of American contributions to date so that it may give them full credit in its reporting.

You will find inclosed the first edition of the CIER Handbook which endeavors to summarize the activities of some of the organizations interested in this field. It is our desire to make the second edition of this Handbook far more complete and to include the information now requested by UNESCO.

NEEDED INFORMATION: May we urge your attention to the attached reply form. If your organization or institution has done any work in this field, we are eager that it be given full credit. Even if your activity is not of an emergency nature but part of an on-going program, it should be listed.

Educational, scientific and cultural reconstruction is very broadly defined for purposes of this inquiry. It may include (1) the sending of educational supplies, equipment and materials; (2) the provision of books and periodicals; (3) the offering of scholarships, fellowships and study grants; (4) the sending of educational missions; (5) cooperation in voluntary service projects or educational work camps. Kindly include any activities of your organization which you consider to have educational implications. Even contributions of food, clothing, medicines and non-educational services to educational, scientific and cultural institutions or personnel in the devastated areas should be reported although the figures for such aid should be submitted separately from the other totals.

In estimating the approximate dollar value of the work of your organization, please include: (1) purchased and contributed goods; (2) cost of handling, crating, shipping, distributing and reporting; (3) cost of administration. If you cannot provide exact statistics, please give us at least a rough estimate. In order to have the statistics in time for reporting to the UNESCO Executive Board, will you kindly return the attached form by July 20. Thank you very much indeed for your cooperation. Please let us know if we can be of service to your organization.

1. Organization:

Headquarters:

Executive Officer:

2. Summary of program - dealing with assistance to the war-devastated countries in the field of education, science and culture. (PLEASE LIMIT TO 200 WORDS):

3. Estimated dollar-value by countries (in war-devastated areas):

Country	Jan. 1 - Dec. 31, 1946	Jan. 1 - June 30, 1947
(Aid to Displaced Persons)		
TOTAL VALUE OF SERVICES		

Return to: Commission for International Educational Reconstruction
744 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

August 11, 1947

Our subscription (in the name of George S. Mitchell) is from an organization; hence many of the questions on the enclosed questionnaire are not applicable. We are glad to answer those we can, however.

M Price

CABLE ADDRESS: UNATWORLD PLAZA 9-7030

UNITED NATIONS WORLD
THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY
385 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY 17

August 1, 1947

RECEIVED
AUG 11 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Reader:

In this crisis in the world's affairs the interest and support of an enlightened public opinion is of supreme importance. UNITED NATIONS WORLD is dedicated to the mission of providing its readers with information which will contribute to their thinking and influence on international matters. If we are to be successful in this mission, we must be commercially successful, and therefore a substantial volume of advertising is essential.

In presenting UNITED NATIONS WORLD to advertisers and advertising agencies, it is important that we be able to answer their questions about our readership. We must tell them how many readers we have, how they are divided geographically, and what kind of folks they are.

You will be making a real contribution to our success if you will fill out the enclosed questionnaire and return it to us promptly. You do not need to sign your name, since advertisers are not interested in individual identity, but only in the facts about our circulation as a group.

The addressed envelope which requires no postage is enclosed. Won't you do it right now!

Cordially yours,

Egbert White

Egbert White
Publisher

EW:rah
Encl.

questionnaire sent in Aug 11, 1947
M. P.

The UNITED NATIONS FUND

of the

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, INC.

(Formerly: The League of Nations Association, Inc.)

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Member, Executive Committee

National Headquarters, 45 EAST 65TH ST., NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

September 9, 1947

RECEIVED
SEP 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

I am writing to you almost on the eve of the second meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York on September 16th, 1947. The record of the past year is profoundly discouraging. We are today entering a most dangerous period. Recent events are already threatening to divide the world into two hostile camps. We, ourselves, have made damaging mistakes to the detriment of world peace through our tendency to "bypass" the United Nations. The Soviet leaders have shown themselves to be pathologically suspicious as well as increasingly fearful of the military and economic strength of the West. By their most recent maneuvers they are doing irreparable damage to the vital interests of the Russian people as well as to those of the rest of the world.

We are therefore confronted, in certain quarters, by sentiment for a very hazardous step. Some people demand revision of the Charter and a limitation of the veto right. But already the Soviet Union faces an adverse majority on almost every issue coming before the United Nations. From Russia's standpoint, her veto right is her only assurance that the United Nations will not endanger Russian security. Thus, under present world conditions, the Kremlin will not relinquish the right of veto. In effect the forcing of the demand for Charter revision and abolition of the veto would have the practical result of either bringing forth another Russian veto, in which case the present split between the East and the West would be still further intensified, or Russia and her satellites would abandon the United Nations. There would no longer be a universal organization.

Neither the late President Roosevelt nor any of his advisors suffered under the illusion that the establishment of the United Nations would end national rivalries and solve every international problem. It was understood from the outset that the United Nations, as a universal organization, could not succeed unless Soviet-American cooperation could be achieved. Because issues have grown so sharp and tempers risen so high must we now scrap the last and best hope of peace on earth?

An American foreign policy designed to maintain the United Nations intact, while at the same time based upon a long-range program of world reconstruction intended to check Soviet expansionism wherever it may be attempted, cannot be a dramatic policy nor can it be a popular policy. For it implies protracted patience, persistent effort and continued

Sumner Welles/eh

burdens upon the American taxpayer. Yet it is the only policy that may prevent war and that may eventually convince the Russian leaders that cooperation, rather than antagonism, between the West and the East, is in their own interest.

The choice confronting thinking men is not an all-powerful United Nations as against one with all of its present imperfections and weaknesses since neither the Russians nor our own country, in today's moral climate, would consent to the sacrifices in sovereignty implicit in the first case. The real choice is either today's United Nations or a strengthened and vitalized United Nations which grows and draws its strength from the tasks with which it is entrusted. Just as our own federal government grew great by a gradual assumption of responsibilities in ever wider fields, so can the United Nations grow in the world community.

Shall we by our unwillingness to entrust the United Nations with responsibilities clearly within the purview of the Charter, contribute to its defeat and disintegration? Or shall we make it the cornerstone of American policy, seeking to build through the slow painful processes of growth a truly United Nations adequate to its task of guarding peace for the peoples and security for every nation of the earth?

On the eve of this second meeting of the General Assembly, a group of us who believe in the United Nations, and surely we represent the overwhelming majority in this country, have worked to indicate a way of growth for the world organization. On the basis of our study, we have prepared a report recommending measures, within the framework of the present Charter, calculated to promote a growth in power of the international organization rather than an increased friction between its national members. I am enclosing with this letter a summary of our report on "Security Under the United Nations" reproduced from the magazine, NEWSWEEK. It is my hope that you will be sufficiently interested in this study to write me a request for one or a number of printed copies of the complete 36-page report using the enclosed blank form for this purpose.

It is my further hope that you will contribute financially to the support of this essential work for peace. It is easy to destroy the work of man's hand and brain - every war in history has shown this. It is very difficult to create within our fellowmen a consciousness of our role and of our potential effectiveness in the struggle for peace. That is our task today. I hope that you will join with us in accepting a part of that responsibility which today falls upon every American for the building of a world in which all peoples may live in peace and security.

Sincerely yours,

Sumner Welles

SW/eh

SECURITY UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS

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A Plea for Peace Through World Opinion

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Summary of a report prepared by the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace—Research Affiliate of the American Association for the United Nations

Reprinted from NEWSWEEK, June 16, 1947

Security Report: A Plea for Peace Through World Opinion

The shadow of the fear of another major war hugs the earth. Through it no one can see clearly what lies ahead. A recent survey showed that there are today nearly 19,000,000 men under arms in 40 countries which are spending about $27,000,000,000 a year for their military establishments, plus huge additional sums for research in new weapons. This labor, wealth, and scientific knowledge withheld from the mainstream of productive activity constitute one of the heaviest drags on the world's slow progress toward a more peaceful future. The UN, the beginning of a new world effort to organize the peace, has been moving slowly toward its ultimate goal.

This week the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace issued a set of recommendations for UN action on security and disarmament. It was drafted by a group of distinguished specialists headed by Dr. James T. Shotwell and former Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles.

The report urgently emphasizes the fact that only an enlightened and alert public opinion can bring the various governments to translate the promise of disarmament into reality. Believing it to be a valuable contribution to the public's thinking on the over-riding issue of peace in the world, NEWSWEEK presents a summary of the report and recommendations.

The Report in Summary:

Despite all the obvious difficulties, the United Nations organization can do more than it has done to organize the peace of the world. It has actually made more of a start than most impatient people realize, but it can be speeded up. Action on disarmament and security is possible now, and it can be successful if world public opinion gets behind it. Peoples everywhere want peace and the assurance of a secure future. This popular will is the strongest power on earth. It must make its way to the dominant place at the conference tables of the nations.

Today there are grave disagreements among the major powers, particularly between Russia and the United States. The United Nations has already played a historic role in preventing the aggravation of this conflict. It can do more by boldly approaching the problems of universal security and disarmament. Action along these lines can help whittle down the area of political disagreement and thereby widen the area of international security. Along this road, rocky as it is, there are many concrete and practical steps that can be taken to lessen and ultimately to remove the threat of war, and this can be done within the framework of the present UN charter. An alert public opinion is needed. Persistent patience is needed. Bold leadership is needed.

Political Agreement: The outstanding need of the moment is an over-all understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States. The UN has furnished the framework within which the powers can move toward mutual understanding. Indeed, had it not been for the United Nations, the relations between the great powers might well have deteriorated beyond repair. Ultimately, the UN must become strong enough not only to alleviate conflict but to outweigh any member that attempts to defy it.

The factor of political agreement is decisive. While the powers remain deadlocked on so many issues, progress toward disarmament will necessarily be glacial in pace. But does this mean, that nothing effective can be done to solve the problem of the control of atomic energy, the reduction of conventional weapons, trusteeship for strategic bases, etc., so long as discord continues among the great powers? Quite the contrary, the statesmen should push forward as vigorously as possible . . . It may well be that the constant discussions to achieve these agreements will smooth the way to the political understanding so greatly needed. Once there is a greater measure of agreement and mutual confidence, the nations can move toward security and disarmament with the speed of an avalanche.

The drafters of this report are further aware that the impoverished state of the world . . . is a major cause of political instability and that the efforts of the UN not only for immediate relief but long-range economic reconstruction will have much to do with making possible the achievement of political agreements, security, and disarmament.

The disarmament resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly last December upon the initiative of Russia was the starting point of a new chapter in the history of the United Nations. It is possible now to amplify and implement it by a total effort covering atomic energy, conventional armaments, bases and waterways, and the UN's own machinery for handling these problems. Specific recommendations:

Supply of Forces: Renewed efforts must be made to bring the negotiations of the Military Staff Committee of the UN to a successful conclusion because disarmament and the existence of the UN forces to prevent aggression are inseparable. Pending this agreement, however, member states should immediately contribute "temporary" forces which would be available to the UN to cope with any actual or potential aggression. Other proposals include:

- Establishment of a small international air police force under UN control and command for reconnaissance and warning purposes in the event of any overt act of aggression. A similar proposal was made by Russia at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944.
- Creation of a UN police force to guard UN installations and to police any area placed under UN control.
- Drafting of plans and arrangements for making instantly available to the UN national air force contingents to be maintained at designated bases and to pass, when called, under UN command.
- For more extensive operations, larger forces would be needed, and agreements should be made as quickly as possible specifying the contribution of land, sea, and air forces which each member would supply at the call of the Security Council.

Bases and Waterways: Military bases of different nations can be one of the major causes of insecurity, but placed in the service of the UN they can actually become bastions of international security. The UN should immediately undertake a broad study of the question of air and naval bases and strategic waterways, as well as the Arctic and Antarctic regions. The entire question should be studied in relation to the proposed international contingents, special regional agreements, and other arrangements for control and inspection of armaments. Action need not wait on completion of all technical findings but in some cases can be carried out at once. Other recommendations:

- Strategic bases in trust areas should be regarded as UN facilities for enforcement of peace. The United States, e.g., has already declared that its Pacific bases would form part of any such arrangements.
- An international regime for Antarctica should be established under direct control of the UN.
- Administration of straits and canals connecting high seas should assure freedom of all peaceful navigation and prevention of use by any aggressor. In particular, the freedom of the Dardanelles, long conceded by previous agreements, should be guaranteed by a new convention reestablishing an International Straits Commission under the UN.

Armaments Regulation: Reduction or regulation of national armaments can only come as the collective security of the United Nations is built up. Security and disarmament are indivisible. Hence the broadest action must be taken as rapidly as possible to deal with the control of atomic weapons, other mass destruction

Security Report: A Call for Action on Disarmament Now

weapons, and conventional armaments.

▶ *Atomic energy:* The commission supports the principles of control of atomic energy recommended by the Atomic Energy Commission's report to the Security Council in December 1946. These include creation of an International Control Agency, effective inspection, and assurance of prompt punishment for violators unimpeded by the action of any one government. The Soviet Union's proposal for a convention to outlaw use of atomic energy for war purposes should be accepted as part of the general agreement. Since Russia has indicated willingness to accept the principles of the Atomic Energy Commission's report, there should be greater flexibility and open-mindedness in approaching the remaining points of difference between the Soviet Union and the United States.

▶ *Other mass-destruction weapons:* Such weapons include long-range rockets and guided missiles, gas, and bacteria. It is too seldom recalled that the Atomic Energy Commission of the UN was also charged with the task of making plans to eliminate these weapons as well. As soon as the method of control of atomic energy is clearly defined and accepted, the commission should proceed to devise methods of control for these other weapons.

▶ *Conventional armaments:* Present disarmament negotiations should utilize the experience of the abortive conferences in the past. That experience showed that simple ratios would not work, that inspection and control are absolutely necessary, and that it is easier to apply control to war-making potential rather than to completed armaments. It also showed that agreement on disarmament is possible only when the powers agree that such measures are needed for their own security. As such agreement and mutual confidence are achieved, the UN can make progress toward achieving full publicity and exchange of information on all armaments and expenditures, on strict regulation, control, and inspection, and on certain qualitative and quantitative reductions of armaments.

Advisory and Technical Bodies: UN action depends largely upon the quality of the advice and information supplied to it by its various committees and commissions. The commission believes that the problem of security and disarmament is so crucial that a special committee of the General Assembly should be set up to deal with it. There should be a Commission on Security and Armament Policy which shall have purely advisory functions and shall, through interlocking membership, be in a position to coordinate and harmonize the work of all UN bodies concerned with these matters.

In addition to the Military Staff Committee and the proposed atomic International Control Agency, an Economic Staff Committee should be set up at the next General Assembly as a third operational of the UN to plan use of economic weapons in restraining and checking aggression.

Penal Sanctions: Penal action for violation of security arrangements must be possible not only against states but against individuals. The UN charter authorizes action against aggressor states. The General Assembly has endorsed the Nuremberg finding that individuals shall also be held criminally liable for violation of the law of nations. The commission therefore proposes:

▶ That international criminal law be codified, approved by the General Assembly of the UN, and ratified by all member states. Offenses should include individual acts violating international agreement for control of armaments of every description.

▶ That this code shall recognize, following the Nuremberg precedent, that official position in a government or orders from a superior shall not be a defense against violation of the law of nations.

▶ That an international criminal tribunal should be set up by the UN with competence to try individual offenders in all cases where a national tribunal could not adequately deal with the matter. National criminal courts should not be relied upon to enforce an international criminal code.

Power of Decision: One serious weakness of the UN has been its inability in many cases to arrive at prompt decisions. Unwarranted use of the veto power has been in part responsible for this weakness. The commission does not at this time propose to amend the charter's provisions on the veto, but proposes methods whereby the UN's ability to reach decisions will be strengthened without modifying the veto principle:

▶ The already established practice of not regarding an abstention as a negative vote should be continued.

▶ Special agreements, such as that proposed on atomic energy, should operate free of the veto.

▶ While the charter speaks of individual or collective defense against "armed attack," the special armaments agreements should recognize that certain violations are tantamount to an actual "armed attack" and therefore call for collective defensive action free of the veto power.

▶ Any action undertaken by a state on its own responsibility that is deemed to be a threat to peace should be terminated if disapproved by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council.

Conclusion: There must be a reaffirmation of faith. The present discouragement, economic isolationism, and distrust between the great powers is a betrayal of the men and women who died in the war. It is unworthy of the United Nations. Indeed, there is evidence that even if the governments may be far apart, the peoples of the world long for peace and stability as never before. From that standpoint, the deadlock is not as great as it appears. The power of this popular will for peace is the power which can and must break the deadlock.

We appeal for a world public opinion in support of the United Nations. We appeal particularly for an American public opinion which will support our government in taking bolder initiatives in the interests of peace and we are certain that such leadership will have the overwhelming support of the American people . . .

Every effort should be made, without sacrifice of the fundamental principles of the charter and without appeasement, to reach an over-all agreement with Russia.

A more constructive approach to the problems of world economic reconstruction should be made through the United Nations.

The United States Mission to the United Nations should continue with perseverance, patience, and courage to insist upon an approach to the total problem of security and disarmament.

The Authors

The report on security and disarmament within the framework of the United Nations, summarized in these pages, has been under preparation since January under the auspices of the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, research affiliate of the American Association for the United Nations.

The drafting committee included:

Sumner Welles, former Under Secretary of State.

James T. Shotwell, Bryce professor emeritus of history at Columbia University and consultant to the State Department, 1942-43.

Malcolm W. Davis, acting director of the Division of Education, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Clyde Eagleton, professor in the Department of Government, New York University, and legal expert of the Division of International Organization, State Department, 1943-45.

Clark M. Eichelberger, director of the American Association for the United Nations and consultant to the State Department, 1942-43.

Arthur N. Holcombe, professor of government, Harvard University.

Quincy Wright, professor of international law, University of Chicago, and adviser to the United States member of the military tribunal at Nuremberg.

A WELL-INFORMED PUBLIC IS THE WORLD'S GREATEST SECURITY

"IN A DEMOCRACY such as ours no government can be far ahead of the prevailing climate of public opinion. There is an absolute necessity for public leadership on the part of responsible citizens in preparing that climate so that statesmen may be assured of public support for progressive policies. . . . If we Americans, who have the opportunity for leadership, accept our responsibilities in the creation of a world in which men may live in peace and security, we need not fear the judgment of posterity."

SUMNER WELLES

Mr. Sumner Welles,
American Association for the United Nations,
45 East 65th Street, New York 21, N. Y.

Believing in the United Nations, I endorse this appeal for SECURITY UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS as the road to peace. Enclosed is my gift of $..... for your campaign of popular education.

Name.....

Address.....

Please make checks payable to the American Association for the United Nations. Gifts are deductible for income tax purposes

United Nations

July 7, 1950

Mrs. Ethel C. Phillips
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Phillips:

The memoranda on the Genocide Convention and the letters from the American Association for the United Nations are admirable in every way.

I would be grateful for your getting to me fifteen copies of each.

In addition, it would be very helpful if you could have copies sent to the persons on the enclosed list. They are officers of the State Divisions and affiliated or cooperating Committees of the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encl.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

MURRAY HILL 5-0181

ETHEL C. PHILLIPS
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

RECEIVED
JUN 9 1950
Southern Regional Council

June 8, 1950

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The enclosed is just hot off the mimeograph machine, and I am rushing it to you, hoping you will have it for your Director's meeting on June 10.

The enclosed, as you will note, is going to editors from the American Association for the United Nations. Some 1,700 daily newspapers and a selected list of 600 weeklies throughout the country will receive it.

The memorandum itself incorporates suggestions from several lawyers and the arguments advanced have been thoroughly checked.

It would be most helpful if you and your associates in the Southern Regional Council would be interested to take up this memorandum personally with as many Southern editors as you may wish to contact. Needless to say, we will gladly forward extra copies if you will let me know how many are needed.

Let me express again our appreciation for your good advice and help.

Cordially yours,

Ethel C. Phillips

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

ECP:RG
Enc.

(Member: World Federation of United Nations Associations)

Research Affiliate:
COMMISSION TO STUDY THE ORGANIZATION OF PEACE

National Headquarters, 45 EAST 65TH ST., NEW YORK 21, N. Y.
Telephone: BUtterfield 8-8000
Cable Address: UNASAMER

June 7, 1950

Dear Editor:

One of the marks of tragedy of our generation is that it was necessary to coin a new word "genocide" to describe the deliberate destruction of a whole people because of their race, religion or culture. The revulsion against German gas chambers was so great that it would have been expected that an international treaty outlawing genocide would be accepted overwhelmingly by all states. The United Nations produced a draft convention prohibiting genocide, which was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly. But the treaty is having hard sledding in the Senate due to certain misunderstandings of its implications.

The American Association for the United Nations does not as a rule concern itself with legislative matters, its purpose being to conduct the broadest educational program possible on behalf of the United Nations and the American position in the United Nations. However, since the Genocide Convention was produced by the United Nations, the Association felt that it would be within its educational framework to send to editors, commentators and others an analysis of the understandings made by a sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which deals with the technical objections that have been made to the convention.

We hope that you may find this analysis serviceable.

Faithfully yours,

Clark M. Eichelberger

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MEMORANDUM CONCERNING THE GENOCIDE CONVENTION

In reporting on the Genocide Convention, now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, you will doubtless want to explain to your readers the meaning of the "understandings" recently appended to the Convention in order to remove all doubt as to United States commitments.

These "understandings" were formulated by a sub-committee of the foreign Relations Committee which studied the matter for three months and, on April 12, recommended that the Convention be ratified.

The sub-committee was headed by Senator Brien McMahon, Democrat, Connecticut, and included Senators Bourke B. Hickenlooper, Republican, Iowa; Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., Republican, Massachusetts; Claude Pepper, Democrat, Florida; and Elbert D. Thomas, Democrat, Utah.

"UNDERSTANDING" DEFINED

An "understanding" when appended to a treaty or convention, is a standard diplomatic method of forestalling misinterpretation. It is used as a means of stating exactly what a signatory nation understands the treaty to mean. This automatically limits that nation's commitments to the terms thus specified.

The understandings attached to the Genocide Convention were announced by the Senate sub-committee in a statement issued April 12, 1950, which contained this preface:

"In giving its advice and consent to the ratification of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the Senate of the United States of America does so subject to the following understandings:..."

Three understandings were set forth. All are designed to prevent distortion of the meaning of the Convention at some future date which might cause embarrassment to the United States.

UNDERSTANDING #1

Text:

"The United States Government understands and construes the crime of genocide which it undertakes to punish in accordance with the Convention to mean the commission of any of the acts enumerated in Article II of the Convention, with the intent to destroy an entire national, ethnical, racial or religious group within the territory of the United States, in such a manner as to affect a substantial portion of the group concerned."

Applies to: the following clause in Article II of the Convention:

"Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy in whole, or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such..."

The Issue

Critics of the Convention feared that the words, "or in part" might imply that the killing of one or several persons could be considered genocide, bringing such crimes as murder and lynching under the Convention.

On the other hand, many legal experts stated that this fear was unjustified. Edgar Turlington, former chairman of the Section on International and Comparative Law of the American Bar Association, told the sub-committee that "the words, 'in whole or in part' do mean substantially all the members of the group."

Mr. Adrian Fisher, Legal Advisor of the Department of State, declared: "It is clear from the legislative history of this Convention that there must be, in the first place, a plan directed against a group in the country. It does not mean a group in a ward or block. It means the group in a country. The activities of the type mentioned must be of a sort to affect a substantial number of the group."

UNDERSTANDING #2

Text:

"The United States Government understands and construes the words "mental harm" appearing in Article II of this Convention to mean permanent physical injury to mental faculties."

Applies to: the following phrase in Article II of the Convention which lists, among other genocidal acts:

"Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group."

The Issue:

Critics feared that "mental harm" might be construed to mean emotional disabilities experienced by individuals belonging to a segregated minority group.

Replying to this allegation, Judge Robert P. Patterson, former Secretary of War, stated in testimony before the sub-committee: "Serious mental harm would have had to be inflicted upon members of the group. The likely illustrations of this method of destruction are the use of stupefying drugs or torture. The Assembly was cognizant of the charges made by the Chinese of Japan's use of drugs to break down the Chinese population. The records of the deliberation of the Sixth Committee (Legal Committee of the U.N. General Assembly) make it clear that such was the intention. Such deliberations are germane in any judicial consideration of the meaning of mental harm."

UNDERSTANDING #3

Text:

"The United States Government understands and construes the words

"complicity in genocide" appearing in Article III of this Convention to mean participation before and after the fact and aiding and abetting in the commission of the crime of genocide."

Applies to: the following words in Article III of the Convention which includes, among punishable acts:

"Complicity in genocide."

The Issue:

Critics have pointed out that the word, "complicity," is foreign to American criminal law.

In reply, Mr. Fisher of the Department of State advised the sub-committee: "While complicity is a word not usually found in the United States criminal codes, it has exactly the same meaning as 'aiding and abetting;' and as the Chairman knows, that is a recognized concept of United States criminal law."

NO CONFLICT WITH STATES RIGHTS

Some critics of the Convention also have expressed the fear that ratification of the Convention would transfer to the federal jurisdiction an area of criminal jurisprudence rightfully belonging to the states and would even supersede state laws.

In dispelling these fears, Philip B. Perlman, Solicitor General of the United States, has said: "Congress is already invested by the Constitution with the power to provide the criminal sanctions for offenses against the law of nations, Constitution, Article I, Section 8, Clause 10. It has had that power since 1789, and the States expressly committed that field of criminal jurisprudence to the Federal Government. It is wholly unwarranted to say that, because another offense has been added to the list of the few now punishable as offenses against the law of nations, the States have been deprived of a field of criminal jurisprudence. This area of the field they never possessed. The Genocide Convention in no wise disturbs the jurisdiction of the States to deal with murder, assault, and the host of common law or statutory penal offenses."

As a matter of fact, there is no state statute with which the Genocide Convention comes into direct or indirect conflict.

For all practical purposes, the entire question of state versus federal jurisdiction over genocide is a groundless issue. As Senator Brien McMahon, chairman of the sub-committee, said, "We have never had an act of genocide in the U. S., and as far as I can see, we will never have one."

Most experts agree with this view that genocide is an un-American evil, comparable to diseases such as African leprosy which we have sought to eradicate for the well-being of mankind even though it has never afflicted the United States.

The only circumstance reasonably envisioned which may require our courts to function with relation to the Convention, would be in the case of extradition proceedings against foreigners guilty of genocide who escape justice by hiding in the United States.

To make clear that the Convention will not infringe upon states' rights, the sub-committee appended the following statement to the understandings:

> "In giving its advice and consent to the ratification of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the Senate of the United States of America does so considering this to be an exercise of the authority of the Federal government to define and punish offenses against the law of nations, expressly conferred by Article I, Section 8, Clause 10 of the United States Constitution, and, consequently, the traditional jurisdiction of the several states of the Union with regard to crime is in no way abridged."

CONVENTION SUPPORTED BY LEGAL EXPERTS

In addition to the overwhelming support of religious, labor, veterans and civic groups, including the Catholic Association for International Peace, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, United Council of Church Women, American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations, American Legion, American Veterans Committee, Amvets, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Conference of Christians and Jews, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and many others, the Genocide Convention is favored by many of the nation's most distinguished citizens and experts in constitutional law. Among these are John Foster Dulles, General George C. Marshall, Quincy Wright, Charles P. Taft, A. A. Berle, Lt. General William J. Donovan, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Prof. Myres McDougal and Judge Robert P. Patterson.

The Convention, after being considered by the full Foreign Relations Committee, will be reported to the Senate for final action.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

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FILE NO.:

28 November 1956

RECEIVED NOV 30 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Dr. Graham is at present in another state attending a United Nations meeting. This little note is simply to acknowledge your letter and the Humanist. These will be brought to Dr. Graham's attention upon his return.

Sincerely yours,

Daisy F. Lippner

(Mrs.) Daisy F. Lippner
Secretary to Dr. Graham

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

November 19, 1956

Mr. Frank Graham
c/o United Nations
New York, New York

Dear Frank:

I send you separately a scrap of an article on page 259 of the current issue of the Humanist, which sets out a notion I had a chance to say in your presence.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:fc

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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:RM 432 63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST ATLA=

YOUR LETTER MAY 13 MADAM PANDIT HAS NOT BEEN IN USA SINCE END OF GENERAL ASSEMBLY LAST DECEMBER. HAVE NO KNOWLEDGE THAT SHE PLANS TO RETURN FROM INDIAN BEFORE GENERAL ASSEMBLY RECONVENES IN SEPTEMBER=

:RALPH BUNCHE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

BC: Joe Wilkins

June 15, 1960

Dr. Frank P. Graham
U. N. Representative for India
and Pakistan
Room 1003
The United Nations
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Graham:

Josephine Wilkins has told me of all the help and encouragement you have given her efforts on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. This is merely to say how grateful we are for your interest and willingness to help.

As you know, Josephine is one of those rare and wonderful people who work selflessly for the things they believe in. Your support in this effort means a great deal to her, as it does to us all.

I remember our last meeting with special pleasure. But it is far too long ago, and I very much hope that we will meet again soon. Meanwhile, my warmest regards and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

cc to Joe Wilkins 6/28/60

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS · UNATIONS NEWYORK · ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

FILE NO.:

23 June 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Thank you for your letter and your generous sentiments. As you well know, it is a joy to be working with such a noble spirit as Josephine Wilkins. She never gives up, always keeps her faith and is most effective in her approach to persons and foundations.

I believe I am to be in Atlanta during United Nations Week on Wednesday evening, 26 October. I will be there just in time for the meeting as I have another engagement earlier in the week and two engagements toward the end of the week. I hope however to have a glimpse of you, Josephine and Rufus Clement as well as other dear friends.

When you come this way please come by to see us here.

With deep appreciation of the work of the SRC — significant & timely!

Sincerely yours,

Frank Graham

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

BC: Josephine Wilkins
c/o Roosevelt Hospital

September 9, 1960

Dr. Frank Graham
The United Nations
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Frank:

You should have received by now copies of the last issue of New South in which your North Carolina speech was reprinted.

We are indebted to Josephine Wilkins for sending us a copy of the speech and securing your approval for its publication. And we are, of course, deeply grateful to you for this fine statement of the South's new opportunity to rise to the demands of a revolutionary world.

I am looking forward to seeing you at Mrs. Roosevelt's dinner on September 20. Josephine also tells me you may be in Atlanta in October; if so, I hope we may have some time together here.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

via air mail

September 26, 1960

Dr. and Mrs. Frank P. Graham
310 E. 44th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Frank and Mrs. Graham:

It was a great pleasure, as well as an asset, to be with you at Mrs. Roosevelt's last Tuesday evening.

Of course, no one is better qualified than Dr. Frank to illuminate the dark corners of the South and to describe the promise of the region, which you did so much to create. Your comments were a high spot of the evening, and we are most grateful for your generous words about the work of the Southern Regional Council.

I will hope to see you both again soon and meanwhile to stay in close touch, both through Josephine and directly.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Two Park Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

September 6, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

During the period of September 30 to early December, Americans like you who are leaders in their respective communities will have a unique opportunity to get a special inside look at the United Nations in action.

The Foreign Policy Association - World Affairs Center, a private agency which provides factual information on international affairs, is carrying out this program which has been made possible by a special foundation grant. At the Center's request I am making available the cooperation of the United States Mission to the United Nations to the extent that the requirements of regular work permit. Details of the program are described in the enclosed leaflet prepared by the Center.

The General Assembly of the United Nations, including all the member nations, will be in session. It will be debating and taking action on many issues which involve the United States interests.

As you will note from the leaflet, officers of the United States Mission will meet with you and other leading citizens in a small group in the morning to discuss our country's role in the United Nations, how the issues affect us, and what we are doing about them. If my duties at the United Nations permit, I hope to be able to meet you personally.

The Center has planned also what appears to be an informative program for the remainder of your day, including actual observation of United Nations debates. I hope you will find it possible to set aside one Friday during the period mentioned, when you plan to be in New York, to be with us; and in accordance with the above, I extend to you a cordial invitation to visit the United Nations.

Cordially yours,

James J. Wadsworth

enclosures

James J. Wadsworth

BC: Dr. Alfred Weinstein
849 Peachtree Street, N. E., Atlanta 8

October 4, 1960

Sir Claude Corea
Permanent Delegate of Ceylon
to the United Nations
United Nations Building
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

It was disturbing to me to learn that the Government of Ceylon has cancelled the accreditation of its envoy to Israel.

At a time when the future of all mankind is threatened by the tensions existing between the large powers of the world, we need to strengthen rather than weaken amicable relations between such responsible nations as yours and Israel. As I am sure you would agree, the very hope of the United Nations, in which you serve, is that countries will consent to discuss their disagreements openly and with good will, rather than retreating behind the barbed wire of hostility.

As one who admires Ceylon and wishes it well, I take the liberty of urging that your Government reinstate its envoy to Israel.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

9/27/60

DR. ALFRED A. WEINSTEIN
849 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA 8, GEORGIA

September 26, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
c/o Southern Regional Council
No. 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I enjoyed talking to you again and am so pleased that your organization is getting a more adequate and informed play in the press.

I would appreciate your writing a letter to the Ceylon Delegate, expressing your feeling that Re-Accreditation of the Ceylon Envoy to Israel would be a step in the direction of decreasing tension in the Middle East.

I would appreciate receiving copy of your letter. With kindest regards and best wishes

Sincerely yours

Alfred

Alfred A. Weinstein, M.D.

P.S. Enclosed please find background information and the Ceylon Delegate address

Enclosure

Enclosure to MR Fleming

BRIEF RELATING TO CEYLON'S CANCELLATION OF THE ACCREDITATION OF AN ENVOY TO ISRAEL

---

1. The cancellation of the accreditation of a non-resident Ceylon envoy to Israel is an unfriendly act. There was nothing in the past relationship between the two countries to justify it.
2. It is no secret that a third state actively interfered in the development of normal friendly relations between Ceylon and Israel which should not be subject to outside interference.
3. The unilateral action on the part of Ceylon is a breach of the principle of non-discrimination advocated by Ceylon.
4. As a member of the U. N. Security Council, Ceylon is even more obligated to maintain the high standards of international behavior which have always characterized Ceylon's foreign policy.
5. The imbalance prevailing between Ceylon's relations with the U.A.R. on the one, and Israel on the other hand, constitutes a clear case of double standard which should be avoided in the interest of justice.

SIR CLAUDE COREA
~~Amba~~ Permanent Delegate of Ceylon
to the U. N.
United Nations Plg
New York City

October 3, 1961

Dr. Frank P. Graham
UN Representative for India and Pakistan
Room 1003
The United Nations
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Frank:

Mrs. Tilly told me that you will be here on October 25. I hope there may be some time during your visit when you can come by the office.

Will you be free for lunch? If so, I would be delighted to bring together a few people at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

October 27, 1961

Dr. Frank P. Graham
United Nations Representative
For India and Pakistan
Room 1103
The United Nations
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Graham:

Just a short note to repeat my congratulations on your grand talk. The newspaper had you in the wrong place at the right time but otherwise you might find the enclosed clip interesting. Having you with us yesterday was a great pleasure.

Somewhere on your desk there must be an announcement of the Annual Meeting on November 8 and 9. I know how hard it is for you to get away but if you can come down I am sure your colleagues in the Council will all be delighted.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

UNITED NATIONS NATIONS UNIES

NEW YORK

CABLE ADDRESS · UNATIONS NEWYORK · ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE

FILE NO.:

5 October 1961

Dear Leslie Dunbar,

I will be glad to be with you for luncheon on 25 October. I am under doctor's orders to have some quiet hours before I talk that evening. I have been under a right heavy schedule and want to be sure I am fresh. It will be a pleasure to be with you for luncheon.

Please give my warm regards to Mrs. Tilly, to Josephine Wilkins and all those associated with you in your great work.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Graham

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Bracqed
Richardson
Ann Tilly
E Patterson
Joe Foan
Anthony
Dunbar

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

799 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

YUkon 6-2424

File

Rec'd 9/16/63

September 13, 1963

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Editor
New South
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At the Eighteenth General Assembly of the United Nations this autumn, more than 100 member nations will be debating and taking action on many issues of vital interest to all Americans.

I hope you will find it possible to attend one of the special Friday programs on the United Nations and World Affairs which the Foreign Policy Association, a private non-profit organization, will conduct at the United Nations during that period. These programs offer a unique opportunity for Americans like yourself, who are leaders in their own communities, to watch the United Nations in action and to discuss its world-wide activities with some of those who serve here.

I am asking my principal colleagues in the United States Delegation to take as full a part in these programs as their duties in the General Assembly will permit. They will discuss with you, and others like you from communities throughout the United States, the tasks and opportunities that face our country in the many-sided work of the United Nations. I have also asked that the participants in these programs be received at the United Nations Headquarters as guests of the United States Delegation. If my own duties at the United Nations permit, I hope to be able to meet with you personally.

Cordially yours,

Adlai E. Stevenson

Adlai E. Stevenson

Note: The arrangements for this program are handled by the Foreign Policy Association; hence your reply can be made directly to that organization on the enclosed return form.

April 29, 1965

Mr. Robert S. Benjamin
Board Chairman
United Nations Association of the
United States of America
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Benjamin:

This is in response to your letter of March 19, inviting the Southern Regional Council to help formulate the discussions and presentations for the White House Conference on the International Cooperation Year in the United States.

While we are very interested in this activity, and are keenly aware of the importance of international cooperation in the world today, we must decline your kind invitation to participate. We appreciate your invitation and wish for you a successful and meaningful conference.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm

V I please reply

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice

345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017
OXford 7-3232

Robert S. Benjamin
Chairman of the Board

March 19, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 201
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

When President Johnson issued his proclamation designating 1965 as International Cooperation Year in the United States, he announced that he would call a White House Conference to explore and thoroughly evaluate new proposals for future action in every major field of international cooperation.

As coordinator of private participation in International Cooperation Year, the United Nations Association of the U.S.A. takes pleasure in inviting your organization to help formulate the discussions and presentations at the White House Conference, now scheduled for November 29 through December 1, 1965.

With this letter are enclosed requests for your participation in the three areas of activity suggested to national voluntary organizations by President Johnson during this year: to help carry the story of current international cooperation and organization to the American people; to study the next steps which may be taken; and to examine how those with time and resources can most usefully join these labors.

Governmental participation in International Cooperation Year and the White House Conference is in the hands of a Cabinet Committee, set up by the Secretary of State at the direction of the President. That Committee will be working with a National Citizens' Commission on International Cooperation, now in the process of formation.

UNA-USA *is a non-partisan, privately-supported research and education organization composed of individual members, chapters and a Council of Member Organizations. Its purpose is to study and promote the fundamental bases of peace with justice and the international organizations necessary for their development.*

To assure a representative and productive White House Conference, it is essential that as many as possible of the national organizations engaged in any kind of international cooperation or education about international cooperation participate in its preparation. This letter is being sent to national organizations in all fields--civic, service, professional, business and labor, public affairs and educational groups.

At this time, when the United Nations and all international arrangements are going through a period of crisis and testing, the opportunity presented by International Cooperation Year takes on special importance.

Never has it been more important than it is now for the people of this country and the world to know how much international cooperation is a basic fact of life in the world today. Never has it been more important than now to use all of our best talents to devise ways in which the techniques and institutions of international cooperation can be extended and improved.

Your organization has certainly given time and attention to one or more aspects of the timely subject of international cooperation. I know I speak for all of my colleagues in expressing the hope that you will make the best thinking of your organization and its members available for national discussion which, I am confident, will certainly not end with the White House Conference, but will be continued in communities and organizations all over the United States during the coming year. And the report of your current activities will be an important element in the inspiring picture we hope the White House Conference will project of Americans' determination to work with the people of all nations to build a world at peace with freedom and justice for all.

Sincerely yours,

Robert S. Benjamin

Robert S. Benjamin
Board Chairman

UNA-USA

UNITED NATIONS ASSOCIATION of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Working Together for Peace, Freedom and Justice

345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017
OXford 7-3232

AN INVITATION

To American voluntary organizations, institutions, individuals and special groups

TO SUBMIT PROPOSALS AND DRAFT WORKING PAPERS, FOR CONSIDERATION IN PREPARATION FOR THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN NOVEMBER 1965

The White House Conference envisaged by President Johnson has an enormous charter: to examine future steps which can be taken to enhance international cooperation and strengthen world organization.

International cooperation today extends to every field of human endeavor. In order to organize a workable conference so that discussion is as practical and purposeful as possible, it is plainly necessary to divide the overall topic into specific areas of interest.

The Cabinet Committee, set up by the Secretary of State at the request of the President, has approached its task by setting up working parties to deal with 26 different aspects of international cooperation. The National Citizens' Commission will be working through parallel committees, and the White House Conference is expected to have panels and separate discussions on international cooperation in these subject areas:

UNA-USA *is a non-partisan, privately-supported research and education organization composed of individual members, chapters and a Council of Member Organizations. Its purpose is to study and promote the fundamental bases of peace with justice and the international organizations necessary for their development.*

Agriculture and Food
Arms Control and Disarmament
Business and Industry
Communications
Culture and Intellectual Exchange
Development of International Law
Education and Training
Finance and Monetary Affairs
Health
Human Resources and Manpower
Human Rights
Labor
Meteorology
Peaceful Settlement of Disputes
Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy
Peacekeeping Operations (UN)
Resource Conservation and Development
Science and Technology
Social Welfare
Space
Technical Cooperation and Investment
Trade
Transportation
Travel and Recreation
Urban Development
Youth Activities

PROPOSALS ARE NOW INVITED FOR CONSIDERATION UNDER ANY ONE OR MORE OF THE ABOVE SUBJECT HEADINGS; CERTAIN PROPOSALS MAY OVERLAP TWO OR MORE OF THESE CATEGORIES.

Specifications

Proposals may deal with any new or improved forms of private or official cooperation or combination thereof, either bilateral or multilateral, through the UN or through other existing or proposed international organizations; between

individuals of various countries
private organizations in different countries
private and international organizations
government and governments
governments and international organizations

Proposals should be stated in 2000 words or less. If a longer paper is essential, it should be accompanied by a one-page summary.

Papers may be submitted by a national, regional or local organization or group of organizations.

Papers may be submitted by an individual or by a special committee formed for the purpose.

Proposals should indicate whether they are being submitted in the name of an organization, or of an individual or group of individuals.

Purpose of the proposals

Proposals will be considered for use in the preparation of working papers for discussions at the White House Conference.

Although plans are not yet complete, it is hoped that arrangements can be made for the widest possible use of selected working papers: in official and unofficial publications, in discussions at the White House and for general public discussion all over the United States during the following year.

The selection process

Working Committees of the National Citizens' Commission, dealing with each of the subjects listed above, will have final responsibility for the selection or preparation of working papers submitted by the private sector for discussion at the White House Conference, or for inclusion in any publication which may be prepared in connection with the White House Conference.

Publication of the proposals

It is assumed that any papers submitted carry with them permission for possible publication, with appropriate credits, in either a governmental document or in any publication which may be issued on a non-profit basis by the National Citizens' Commission, or the UNA-USA. If inclusion in a general publication for general distribution is considered, specific advance arrangements will be made with individual authors, committees or sponsoring organizations.

Closing date for submission--June 30, 1965

Please send three copies of each proposal to:

National Citizens' Commission on International Cooperation
ICY - Screening Committee
345 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

It would be appreciated if you would send to this same address, at the earliest possible date, notice of your intention to submit a proposal or proposals and the general subject area with which it will be dealing.

MAKE YOUR INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS
KNOWN TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC

One of International Cooperation Year's goals is to carry the story of international cooperation and organization to the American people.

To promote widest possible coverage in the mass media of U.S. citizens' participation in programs of international cooperation, the UNA-USA is setting up a central information service for writers and editors and producers. This service is designed to help you make your story more widely known. We hope you will send, as soon as possible, whatever formal or informal reports you may have on your ongoing or recently completed international programs. The more specific and the more human interest, the more appealing to writers and editors.

These materials will be used only to interest and stimulate mass media attention.

When anyone expresses interest in any particular activity, they will be referred directly to the concerned organizations for further information. Please advise us to whom inquiries of this nature should be directed.

It is not necessary to send duplicates of materials you may have already sent for the ICY Clearing House; however, additional lively human interest stories and other information specifically directed toward mass media use will be helpful.

Please send the material to:

ICY Mass Media File
UNA-USA
345 East 46th Street
New York, N.Y. 10017

THE WHITE HOUSE

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION YEAR

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS the United Nations General Assembly has designated the year 1965 as International Cooperation year; and

WHEREAS the year 1965 also marks the twentieth anniversary of the United Nations; and

WHEREAS international cooperation is essential to the achievement of a peaceful world order; and

WHEREAS international organizations are vital in the modern world and provide the necessary foundation for a peaceful world community; and

WHEREAS the world has moved rapidly toward international cooperation and organization in recent years — especially within the family of the United Nations agencies; and

WHEREAS the movement for international cooperation has had, and will continue to have, the enthusiastic support of the Government of the United States of America; and

WHEREAS it is highly desirable to assess this development and examine promptly what further steps can be taken in the immediate future toward enhancing international cooperation and strengthening world organization:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, LYNDON B. JOHNSON, President of the United States of America, do hereby

— proclaim the year 1965 to be International Cooperation Year in the United States of America;

— rededicate the Government of the United States to the principle of international cooperation; and

— direct the agencies of the Executive Branch to examine thoroughly what additional steps can be taken in this direction in the immediate future.

I also call upon our national citizen organizations to undertake intensive educational programs to inform their memberships of recent progress in international cooperation and urge them to consider what further steps can be taken.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this second day of October in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and sixty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and eighty-ninth.

By the President:

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

DEAN RUSK
Secretary of State

Publications on the United Nations
Available from the Department of State.

Charter of the United Nations, together with the Statute of the International Court of Justice. Publication No. 2353.

The Charter as Declaration and as Summary. Publication No. 2355.

Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations. Publication No. 2472. (Wall Poster 26" x 36").

Wall Chart of the United Nations. (Two colors, with pictographs) 26" x 37".

Organizing the United Nations. Publication No. 2573. Reprints of 10 articles from the Department of State Bulletin.

Foreign Affairs Outline No. 8. Goals for the United Nations: Political and Security. Publication No. 2623.

Foreign Affairs Outline No. 9. Goals for United Nations: Economic and Social. Publication No. 2631.

Guide to the United States and the United Nations. Publication No. 2634, an 8-page cover piece for Foreign Affairs Outlines Nos. 8 and 9. Contains Chronology of the United States and the United Nations, Principal Officials of the United States Delegation to the United Nations, Center spread of the United Nations Chart and Pictographs, and Background material on the United Nations and other international organizations.

The Defenses of Peace. Part I. Publication No. 2457

Is UNESCO the Key to International Understanding? Publication No. 2590.

Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment. Publication No. 2411.

American Trade Proposals. Publication No. 2551.

Suggested Charter for an International Trade Organization of the United Nations. Publication No. 2598.

New Horizons for World Trade. Publication No. 2595.

International Trade and the British Loan. Publication No. 2591

Foreign Affairs Outline No. 7. International Trade Organization---How Will It Work? Publication No. 2597.

Building a New World Economy. Publication No. 2618.

Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy. Publication No. 2498.

United States Atomic Energy Proposals. Publication No. 2560.

Foreign Affairs Outline No. 6. Understanding Among Peoples--- How Can We Increase It? Publication No. 2589.

List of Depository Libraries selected by the American Library Association to receive certain United Nations documentation from the United States Delegation

Harvard University Library
Cambridge, Mass.

Yale University Library
New Haven, Conn.

Brown University Library
Providence, R. I.

New York Public Library
476 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Columbia University Libraries
New York, New York.

John Hopkins University Library
Baltimore, Md.

Cornell University Library
Ithaca, New York

Princeton University Library
Princeton, New Jersey

University of North Carolina Library
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Joint University Libraries
Nashville, Tenn.

Louisiana State University Library
University Station, Baton Rouge, La.

University of Texas Library
Austin, Texas

University of Chicago Libraries
Chicago, Illinois

Northwestern University Libraries
Evanston, Illinois.

Cleveland Public Library
Cleveland, Ohio

St. Louis Public Library
St. Louis, Mo.

General Library
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Mich.

University of Illinois Library
Urbana, Ill.

University of Minnesota Library
Minneapolis, Minn.

Denver Public Library
Denver, Colorado

University of California Library
Berkeley, California

Stanford University Libraries
Stanford University, California.

University of California at Los Angel
Los Angeles, California

Los Angeles Public Library
Los Angeles, California

University of Washington Library
Seattle, Washington

UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

(18 Members)

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BYELORUSSIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC	Mr. V. K. Prokoudovitch
CHILE	H. E. Mr. Felix Nieto del Rio
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UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS	Mr. V. F. Topliakov
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YUGOSLAVIA	Mr. Vladislav Ribdnikar

DRAFTING COMMITTEE

ON AN INTERNATIONAL BILL OF HUMAN RIGHTS

FIRST SESSION

The Drafting Committee of the Commission on Human Rights held its First Session during the period 9 to 25 June 1947, with the following Representatives in attendance:

Col. W. R. Hodgson	Representative of	Australia
Mr. H. Santa Cruz	" "	Chile
Dr. P. C. Chang	" "	China
Prof. René Cassin	" "	France
Dr. Charles Malik	" "	Lebanon
Prof. V. Koretsky	" "	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Mr. Geoffrey Wilson	" "	United Kingdom
Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt	" "	United States of America

Mr. Ralph Harry represented Col. W. R. Hodgson (Australia) at most meetings. Mr. H. Santa Cruz represented Mr. Felix Nieto Del Rio (Chile). Mr. Pierre Ordonneau represented Prof. René Cassin (France) at the last four meetings. Prof. V. Koretsky represented Mr. V. F. Tepliakov (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Mr. Geoffrey Wilson represented Lord Dukeston (United Kingdom). Mr. James P. Hendrick represented Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt (United States of America) at parts of two meetings.

The Specialized Agencies were represented at the Drafting Committee as follows:

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization:	Mr. J. Havet

Consultants in attendance were:

American Federation of Labor:	Miss Toni Sender
International Co-operative Alliance:	Mrs. H. Fuhrman

The Drafting Committee elected the Officers of the Commission on Human Rights as its Officers:

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt as Chairman;
Dr. P. C. Chang as Vice-Chairman, and
Dr. Charles Malik as Rapporteur.

Professor John P. Humphrey was Secretary of the Drafting Committee.

The

The Drafting Committee adopted the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Commission on Human Rights as its Rules of Procedure.

The Drafting Committee authorized the Chairman, or in the absence of the Chairman, the Rapporteur, to present this Report to the Commission on Human Rights.

The expression of the views of the members of the Drafting Committee is embodied in the verbatim and summary records of the meetings.

INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The attached document contains:

1. Various proposals for the Preamble of the International Declaration of Rights which will be submitted to the Commission on Human Rights;

2. The Draft of an International Declaration on Human Rights prepared by the Drafting Committee of the Commission on Human Rights at its meeting June 9 to June 25, 1947 which will be submitted to the Commission on Human Rights in August; and

3. The United States substitute texts of various articles in the draft declaration mentioned under point 2. These substitute texts were submitted because the Articles adopted by the Drafting Committee did not fully accord with United States views.

REPORT OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE ON AN
INTERNATIONAL BILL OF HUMAN RIGHTS

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE PREAMBLE OF AN INTERNATIONAL
DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

SECRETARIAT DRAFT OUTLINE

The Preamble shall refer to the four freedoms and to the provisions of the Charter relating to human rights and shall enunciate the following principles:

1. that there can be no peace unless human rights and freedoms are respected;

2. that man does not have rights only; he owes duties to the society of which he forms part;

3. that man is a citizen both of his State and of the world;

4. that there can be no human freedom or dignity unless war and the threat of war is abolished.

TEMPORARY WORKING GROUP OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE

We, the Peoples of the United Nations,

CONSIDERING

1. that ~~ignorance and~~ contempt of human rights ~~have~~ has been ~~among~~ one of the principal causes of the sufferings of humanity and of the massacres and barbarities which outraged the conscience of mankind before and expecially during the last world war; and

2. that there can be no true peace unless human rights and freedoms are respected; and only by abolishing war and the threat of war can human freedom and dignity be assured to all mankind; and

3. that it has been proclaimed as the supreme aim of the recent strife that human beings shall be free in speech and in worship and free from fear and want; and

4. that the Charter begins by reaffirming our faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women; and

5. that

5. that it is one of the purposes of the United Nations to achieve international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

6. (There were two points of view: (1) that the wording as submitted by Professor Cassin, "That the enjoyment of such rights and freedoms by all persons must be protected by the commonwealth of nations and secured by international as well as national laws," be retained and modified; (2) that the previous and following paragraphs covered the substance and that it was more suited to the preamble of a Convention.)

NOW, THEREFORE, we the Peoples of the United Nations have resolved to define in a solemn Declaration the essential rights and fundamental freedoms of man, so that this Declaration, being forever present in the minds of all men, may constantly remind them of their rights and duties and that the United Nations and the Member States may constantly be inspired by the principles so formulated to translate them into reality.

CHILE

1. Whereas freedom and dignity are essential and inalienable attributes of the human person;

2. Whereas in order to enjoy fully the fundamental freedoms of thought, expression and activity, the human being must be biologically and economically protected against social insecurity;

(Note: These two Articles are drafted by the Representative of Chile for possible inclusion in the suggested Draft Preamble of the Temporary Working Group.)

UNITED STATES SUGGESTIONS FOR A PORTION OF THE PREAMBLE

Good

"Whereas one of the purposes of the United Nations as set forth in its Charter is to achieve international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all;

"Whereas all Members of the United Nations have pledged themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion;

"Whereas

good.

"Whereas the adoption of a bill of human rights will promote the fulfillment of this purpose;

"Therefore the General Assembly calls upon the Member States to make effective the rights set forth in this bill by international convention and national legislation."

SUGGESTIONS FOR A PREAMBLE TAKEN BY THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE FROM THE LAST ARTICLE OF PROFESSOR CASSIN'S REVISED TEXT

The United Nations and their specialized agencies shall recommend all international conventions and shall take, each within their respective spheres, all measures for the implementation of the provisions of the Charter and of this Declaration, in view of protecting these rights and freedoms all over the world.

SUGGESTIONS OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE FOR ARTICLES OF AN INTERNATIONAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS*

Article 1

All men are brothers. Being endowed with reason and conscience, they are members of one family. They are free, and possess equal dignity and rights.

Articles 2, 3 and 4

First Alternative (three Articles)

Article 2 The object of society is to afford each of its members equal opportunity for the full development of his spirit, mind and body.

Article 3 As human beings cannot live and develop themselves without the help and support of society, each one owes to society fundamental duties which are: obedience to law, exercise of a useful activity, willing acceptance of obligations and sacrifices demanded for the common good.

Article 4 In the exercise of his rights, everyone is limited by the rights of others.

Second Alternative (one Article only)

Article 2 These rights are limited only by the equal rights of others. Man also owes duties to society through which he is enabled to develop his spirit, mind and body in wider freedom.

Article 5

All are equal before the law and entitled to equal protection of the law. Public authorities and judges, as well as individuals are subject to the rule of law.

Article 6

Every one is entitled to the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

(1. The Drafting Committee suggested that this matter be referred to the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, for thorough consideration. 2. The view

was

*The United States suggested alternative Articles which appear in Annex I.

was expressed that the substance of this Article might be included in the Preamble to the Declaration, in which case it could be omitted here.)

Article 7

Every one has the right to life, to personal liberty and to personal security.

Additional Text (Chilean proposal)

Unborn children and incurables, mentally defectives and lunatics, shall have the right to life.

All persons shall have the right to the enjoyment of conditions of life enabling them to live in dignity and to develop their personality adequately.

Persons unable to maintain themselves by their own efforts shall be entitled to maintenance and assistance.

Alternative Text (Lebanon)

Every one has the right to life and bodily integrity from the moment of conception, regardless of physical or mental condition, to liberty and security of person.

Article 8

No one shall be deprived of his personal liberty or kept in custody except in cases prescribed by law and after due process. Every one placed under arrest or detention shall have the right to immediate judicial determination of the legality of any detention to which he may be subject.

(The Representative of the United States felt that the following alternative wording for the second sentence might be considered: "Every one placed under arrest or detention shall have the right to release on bail and if there is a question as to the correctness of the arrest shall have the right to have the legality of any detention to which he may be subject determined in a reasonable time.")

Article 9

No one shall be held guilty of any offence until legally convicted.

No one shall be convicted or punished for any offence except by judgment of an independent and impartial court of law, rendered in

conformity

conformity with law after a fair and public trial at which he has had an opportunity for a full hearing and has been given all guarantees necessary for his defence.

Article 10

No one can be convicted of crime unless he has violated some law in effect at the time of the act charged as an offence nor be subjected to a penalty greater than that applicable at the time of the commission of the offence.

No one, even if convicted for a crime, can be subjected to torture.

Article 11

Slavery, which is inconsistent with the dignity of man, is prohibited in all its forms.

Article 12

The privacy of the home and of correspondence and respect for reputation shall be protected by law.

Alternative Text (Chile and France)

The inviolability of privacy, home, correspondence and of reputation shall be protected by law.

Article 13

(There shall be liberty of movement and free choice of residence within the borders of each State. This freedom may be regulated by any general law adopted in the interest of national welfare and security.

Individuals may freely emigrate or renounce their nationality.

(The Committee expressed the opinion that this text should be passed on to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities for further consideration.)

Article 14

Every one has the right to escape persecution on grounds of political or other beliefs or on grounds of racial prejudice by taking refuge on the territory of any State willing to grant him asylum.

Article 15

Every one has the right to a status in law and to the enjoyment of fundamental civil rights.

Every

Every one shall have access to independent and impartial tribunals for the determination of his rights, liabilities and obligations under the law. He shall have the right to consult with and to be represented by counsel.

(In considering this Article the Drafting Committee discussed the right to contract marriage, but decided to wait until the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities had reviewed recommendations made on this subject by the Commission on the Status of Women and had reported back to the Commission on Human Rights on its findings.)

Article 16

There shall be equal opportunity for all to engage in all vocations and professions not constituting public employment.

Article 17

Every one has a right to own personal property.

No one shall be deprived of his property except for public welfare and with just compensation.

The State may determine those things, rights and enterprises, that are susceptible of private appropriation and regulate the acquisition and use of such property.

(1. The Representative of the United States stated the opinion that it was sufficient to say, "Everyone has a right to own property" and objected to the use of the word "personal" as qualifying "property" because of its technical meaning (chattels as distinguished from real property) in English-American law.
2. The Representatives of Australia and of the United Kingdom stated the opinion that the Article should be deleted altogether.
3. The Representative of Chile felt that the concept of the right to property, as stated in the Draft submitted by his Government, should be included.)

Article 18

Every one has the right to a nationality.

Article 19

No alien legally admitted to the territory of a State may be expelled therefrom without having a fair hearing.

(Members

(Members of the Drafting Committee appreciated that the subject of the Article constitutes a difficult problem and stated the opinion that it needed further consideration.)

Article 20

Individual freedom of thought and conscience, to hold or change beliefs, is an absolute and sacred right.

The practice of a private or public worship, religious observances, and manifestations of differing convictions, can be subject only to such limitations as are necessary to protect public order, morals and the rights and freedoms of others.

Alternative Text (United Kingdom)

1. Every person shall be free to hold any religious or other belief dictated by his conscience and to change his belief.

2. Every person shall be free to practice, either alone or in community with other persons of like mind, any form of religious worship and observance, subject only to such restrictions, penalties or liabilities as are strictly necessary to prevent the commission of acts which offend laws passed in the interests of humanity and morals, to preserve public order and to ensure the rights and freedoms of other persons.

3. Subject only to the same restrictions, every person of full age and sound mind shall be free to give and receive any form of religious teaching and to endeavour to persuade other persons of full age and sound mind of the truth of his beliefs, and in the case of a minor the parent or guardian shall be free to determine what religious teaching he shall receive.

Article 21

Every one is free to hold or impart his opinion, or to receive and seek information and the opinion of others from sources wherever situated.

Alternative Text (France)

The Representative of France suggested that this Article read in French as follows:

"Personne ne peut etre inquiete en raison de ses opinions.

"Chacun est libre de soutenir ou d'exprimer son opinion, de connaitre celle des autres, de recevoir ou de rechercher des informations a toutes les sources possibles."

Article 22

There shall be freedom of expression either by word, in writing, in the press, in books or by visual, auditive or other means. There shall be equal access to all channels of communication.

Article 23

There shall be freedom of peaceful assembly and of association for political, religious, cultural, scientific, professional and other purposes.

Article 24

No State shall deny to any individual the right, either individually or in association with others, to petition or to communicate with the Government of his State or of his residence or the United Nations.

Article 25

When a government, group or individual seriously or systematically tramples the fundamental human rights and freedoms, individuals and peoples have the right to resist oppression and tyranny.

(There was a substantial expression of opinion in favour of including this Article in the Preamble instead of as an Article.)

Article 26

Every one has the right to take an effective part in his Government directly or through his representatives.

Alternative Text (Chile, France and Lebanon)

Every one has the right to take an effective part directly or through his representatives in the formulation of law, the framing of a tax policy for public expenses and his government whether State or territorial.

Article 27

The State can derive its authority only from the will of the people and has a duty to conform to the wishes of the people. These wishes shall be manifested particularly by democratic elections, which shall be periodic, free, and by secret ballot.

Article 28

Every one shall have equal opportunity to engage in public employment and to hold public office in the State of which he is a citizen. Access

to

to examinations for public employment shall not be a matter of privilege or favour.

(It was felt that the Article might be referred to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, after which it might be elaborated further.)

Article 29

Every one has the right to perform socially useful work.

Article 30

Human labour is not a merchandise. It shall be performed in good conditions and shall secure a decent standard of living to the worker and his family.

Article 31

Every one has the right to education. Primary education shall be free and compulsory. There shall be equal access for all to such facilities for technical, cultural and higher education as can be provided by the State or community on the basis of merit and without distinction as to race, sex, language, religion, social standing, political affiliation or financial means.

Article 32

Every one has the right to a fair share of rest and leisure.

Article 33

Every one, without distinction as to economic or social conditions, has a right to the highest attainable standard of health.

The responsibility of the State and community for the health and safety of its people can be fulfilled only by provision of adequate health and social measures.

(The Drafting Committee suggested that each Article referring to economic and social rights should be referred to the appropriate Specialized Agencies for their consideration and comment.)

Article 34

Every one has the right to social security. To the utmost of its possibilities, the State shall undertake measures for the promotion of full employment and for the security of the individual against unemployment, disability, old age and all other loss of livelihood for reasons beyond his control.

Mothers

Mothers and children have the right to special regard, care and resources.

Article 35

Every one has the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts, and to share in the benefits that result from scientific discoveries.

(It was the opinion of some of the members that the thought back of this Article should be included in the Preamble.)

Article 36

In States inhabited by a substantial number of persons of a race, language or religion other than those of the majority of the population, persons belonging to such ethnic, linguistic or religious minorities shall have the right as far as compatible with public order to establish and maintain their schools and cultural or religious institutions, and to use their own language in the press, in public assembly and before the courts and other authorities of the State.

(In view of the supreme importance of this Article to many countries, the Drafting Committee felt that it could not prepare a draft Article without thorough pre-examination by the Commission on Human Rights and suggested that it might if necessary be referred to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities for examination of the minority aspects.)

ANNEX. I

UNITED STATES SUGGESTIONS FOR ARTICLES TO BE INCORPORATED IN AN INTERNATIONAL BILL OF HUMAN RIGHTS

(Article Numbers Correspond to those of the Draft Declaration)

Article 3

"The state is created by the people for the promotion of their welfare and the protection of their mutual rights. In the exercise of his rights everyone is limited by the rights of others."

Articles 5, 6

"There shall be equal protection before the law in the enjoyment of the rights enumerated in this Bill of Rights, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

Article 8

"The right to life is fundamental and may not be denied to any person except upon conviction of the gravest of crimes under general law providing for the penalty of death.

"No one shall be deprived of life or personal liberty, or be convicted or punished for crime in any manner, save by judgment of a competent and impartial tribunal, in conformity with law, after a fair public trial at which he has had the opportunity for a full hearing, the right to be confronted with the witnesses against him, the right of compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and the right to consult with and be represented by counsel."

Articles 9, 10

"No person shall be subjected to arbitrary or unauthorized arrest or detention. Every person who is arrested or detained shall be immediately informed of the charges on which he is held, and shall have the right to prompt judicial determination of the legality of his detention. Trial of the charges must be afforded within a reasonable time, or he shall be released from detention. Every person shall be entitled to secure his release pending trial upon furnishing reasonable security for his appearance, except where such release would defeat the administering of justice."

"No one shall be subjected to torture, or to any unusual punishment or indignity."

"No

"No one shall be convicted of crime except by judgment of a competent and impartial tribunal for violation of a law in effect at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offense, nor be subjected to a penalty greater than that applicable at the time of the commission of the offense. No one acquitted or convicted of a crime shall thereafter be again put in jeopardy of life or liberty for the offense of which he was acquitted or convicted."

"Every person has the right to have any civil claims or liabilities determined without undue delay by a competent and impartial tribunal, before which he has the opportunity for a fair hearing, and has the right to consult with and to be represented by counsel."

Article 11

"No one shall be held in slavery, nor be required to perform compulsory labour in any form other than as part of punishment pronounced by a competent judicial tribunal. No person shall be imprisoned or held in servitude in consequence of the mere breach of contractual obligations."

Article 12

"No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unauthorized searches and seizures of his person, home, papers and effects, or to unreasonable interference with his person, home, family, relations with others, reputation, privacy, activities or property. The secrecy of correspondence shall be respected."

Article 13

"All persons shall equally enjoy the right to freedom of movement from one part of the territory of the state to another, and to free choice of residence in any part of the territory.

"Every person shall, subject to equitable immigration and deportation laws, be free to enter, travel through or over, and remain temporarily in the territory of another state, provided always that he observes local laws and police regulations.

"The right of emigration and expropriation shall not be denied."

Article 15

"Every one has the right to a legal personality. No person shall be restricted in the exercise of his civil rights except under general law based on reasons of age or mental incompetence, or as punishment for a criminal offence, or as otherwise permitted in this bill."

Article 16

Article 16

"There shall be equal opportunity to engage in any vocation or profession, not constituting public employment, subject to such reasonable qualifications as are inherent in the work to be performed."

Article 17

"Every one has the right to own and transfer property, subject to reasonable regulation, under general laws, governing the acquisition and use thereof, and determining, in the interest of national welfare and security, those things not susceptible of private ownership. No one shall be deprived of property except in accordance with due process of law, nor suffer his property to be taken other than for public use with just compensation to him."

Article 18

"Every person shall have the right to a nationality".

Article 21

"Every one has the right to form and hold opinions and to receive them from, and impart them, within or beyond the borders of the State."

Article 22

"Freedom of everyone to receive, read and listen to all matters of information shall not be impaired, and there shall be free and equal access to all sources of information both within and beyond the border of a State.

"There shall be freedom of speech, of the press and of expression by any means whatsoever, and there shall be reasonable access to all channels of communication."

Article 23

"There shall be freedom of assembly.

"There shall be freedom to form associations."

Article 24

"No State shall abridge the right of everyone, either individually or in association with others, to petition the government of his State or the United Nations for redress of grievance."

Articles 26, 27

"Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. Everyone has the right to take an effective part in the government of the state or territory of which he is a citizen. The citizens of the state or territory are accordingly entitled to exercise self-government through representatives freely and fairly chosen by them in periodic democratic elections by secret ballot."

Article 28

"Everyone shall have equal opportunity to engage in public employment in the State of which he is a citizen."

Articles 29-36

In lieu of these articles the United States suggests the following:

Article 29

"Everyone has the right to a fair and equal opportunity to advance his own physical, economic, spiritual and cultural well-being and to share in the benefits of civilization.

"It is the duty of the State, in accordance with the maximum use of its resources and with due regard for the liberties of individuals, to promote this purpose by legislation or by other appropriate means. Among the social rights thus to be achieved progressively by joint effort of the individual and the State are those defined in the following Articles."

Article 30

"Everyone, without distinction as to economic or social condition, has a right to the highest attainable standard of health.

"The responsibility of the State for the health and safety of its people can be fulfilled only by provision of adequate health and social measures."

Article 31

"Everyone has the right to education.

"Each State has the duty to require that each child within territories under its jurisdiction receive a fundamental education. The

State

State shall maintain adequate and free facilities for such education which, however, shall not be exclusive of private educational facilities or institutions. It shall also assure development of facilities for further, including higher education, which are adequate and effectively available to all the people within such territories.

Article 22

"Everyone has a right to a decent standard of living, to a fair and equal opportunity to earn a livelihood; to wages and hours and conditions of work calculated to insure a just share of the benefits of progress to all; and to protection against loss of income on account of disability, unemployment or old age.

"It is the duty of the State to undertake measures that will promote full employment and good working condition; provide protection for wage-earners and dependents against lack of income for reasons beyond their control; and assure adequate food, housing, and community services necessary to the well-being of the people."

Articles 33, 34

No articles suggested.

Article 35

"Everyone has the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in the benefits of science."

Article 36

No article suggested.

ARTICLES ON IMPLEMENTATION

1. The Articles in this Bill of Rights shall be referred to the appropriate organs or agencies of the United Nations with a view to the formulation of a series of international conventions to be submitted individually to the member states for ratification or other appropriate action in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The Conventions thus concluded shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations for registration and publication in accordance with Article 102 of the Charter.

3. The

3. The Conventions shall provide for submission to the Secretary-General of copies of the laws or regulations by which the member state gives effect to the provisions of the Convention together with the name of the competent authority responsible for compliance, and of periodic reports concerning the enforcement and revisions of such laws.

4. The Secretary-General shall inform the General Assembly each year of the Conventions embodying the provisions of this Bill of Rights which have been proposed to the member states, and the number of states which have ratified or have failed to ratify them.

U.N. SRC has sent in one of these

FORM DSP-8
9-23-46

BUDGET BUREAU 47-R053
APPROVAL EXPIRES JUNE 30, 1947

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
DIVISION OF PUBLIC LIAISON

ORGANIZATIONAL DATA SHEET

NAME OF ORGANIZATION

HEADQUARTERS ADDRESS

American organizations which desire to receive information and present their views with respect to policies and activities of the Economic and Social Council, its commissions and the international specialized agencies, are requested to fill out and return this data sheet.

OFFICERS OF ORGANIZATION

HEAD	TITLE	TENURE FROM	TENURE TO

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY	NO. OF PAID STAFF PERSONNEL

WASHINGTON REP.	NEW YORK REP.	CHAIRMAN OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

STAFF OFFICER DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PROGRAM	EDITOR OF PERIODICAL AND PUBLICATIONS PROGRAM

LIST MEMBERS OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, OR OTHER GOVERNING BODY

MEMBERSHIP OF ORGANIZATION

DO YOU HAVE AFFILIATES? ☐ YES ☐ NO *(If "yes" list below)*

DO YOU HAVE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP? ☐ YES ☐ NO — ESTIMATED NUMBER

DO YOU HAVE LOCAL UNITS? ☐ YES ☐ NO — IF SO, HOW MANY

DO YOU HAVE STATE ORGANIZATIONS? ☐ YES ☐ NO — IF SO, HOW MANY

WHAT ARE REQUIREMENTS FOR MEMBERSHIP?

HISTORY

DATE WHEN FOUNDED

PRINCIPAL HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS *(List any changes in organization name and any recent mergers with other organizations)*

GENERAL STATEMENT ON NATURE AND PURPOSES OF ORGANIZATIONS

PUBLICATIONS AND PERIODICALS

NAME OF PERIODICAL	EST. CIRCULATION

FREQUENCY: WEEKLY	FORTNIGHTLY	MONTHLY	QUARTERLY

NEWSLETTER OR OTHER REGULAR COMMUNICATION	EST. CIRCULATION	FREQUENCY

DO YOU PUBLISH PAMPHLETS? ☐ YES ☐ NO	AV. NO. PER YEAR

LIST TITLES SINCE JANUARY 1945 ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ACTIVITIES ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SPEAKER'S BUREAU ☐ YES ☐ NO	NATIONAL	REGIONAL	LOCAL	EST. NUMBER OF SPEAKERS ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CONFERENCES ON PUBLIC AFFAIRS ☐ YES ☐ NO	NATIONAL	REGIONAL	LOCAL	ANY SET DATE?

STUDY GROUPS ☐ YES ☐ NO	EST. NUMBER ACTIVE	PUBLIC MEETINGS OR FORUMS ☐ YES ☐ NO	EST. NO. PER YEAR	EST. NO. 1945-46 ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

EST. ATTENDANCE	ARE LOCAL UNITS ENCOURAGED TO COOPERATE WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN SPONSORING JOINT PROGRAMS? ☐ YES ☐ NO

OTHER ACTIVITIES AND FIELDS OF INTEREST

DOES YOUR ORGANIZATION PRODUCE OR UTILIZE MOTION PICTURES? ☐ YES ☐ NO

PRODUCE RADIO PROGRAMS? ☐ YES ☐ NO	USE RECORDINGS? ☐ YES ☐ NO

IF SO, PLEASE INDICATE SUBJECTS COVERED.

IF YOUR ORGANIZATION CARRIES ON RESEARCH ACTIVITIES, PLEASE INDICATE SUBJECT FIELDS

LIST AREAS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS FIELD IN WHICH THE PROGRAM OF YOUR ORGANIZATION CONCENTRATES

FORM DSP-8 9-23-46

IS YOUR ORGANIZATION AFFILIATED WITH ANY INTERNATIONAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION? ☐ YES ☐ NO

IF SO, PLEASE GIVE NAME OF SUCH ORGANIZATION AND THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP

DOES YOUR ORGANIZATION MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES? ☐ YES ☐ NO

PLEASE GIVE DETAILS:

SPECIAL ISSUES OF INTEREST TO YOUR ORGANIZATION AT PRESENT TIME AND SPECIAL PROJECTS BEING UNDERTAKEN FOR 1947.

IS YOUR ORGANIZATION INTERESTED IN COOPERATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT ON MATTERS RELATING TO INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE OF STUDENTS, PROFESSORS AND OTHER PERSONS, AND OTHER PHASES OF INTERNATIONAL CULTURAL AFFAIRS? ☐ YES ☐ NO

IF SO, PLEASE INDICATE NATURE OF INTEREST:

CHECK LIST- IF VARIOUS COMMITTEES OR OFFICES OF YOUR ORGANIZATION ARE INTERESTED IN DIFFERENT SUBJECT AREAS, PLEASE INDICATE THEIR NAME, TITLE AND ADDRESS, FOLLOWING AREA OF SPECIAL INTEREST LISTED BELOW.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

INDICATE GENERAL AREAS OF INTEREST IN THE WORK OF ECOSOC:

CHECK COMMISSIONS *(established or proposed)* OF SPECIAL INTEREST

☐ HUMAN RIGHTS	☐ SOCIAL	☐ ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT	☐ TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS	
☐ STATUS OF WOMEN	☐ STATISTICAL	☐ NARCOTIC DRUGS	☐ DEMOGRAPHIC	☐ FISCAL

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES WHICH HAVE BEEN OR ARE BEING ESTABLISHED

CHECK AGENCIES IN WHOSE WORK YOU ARE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED AND STATE THE NATURE OF YOUR INTEREST IN THESE AGENCIES.

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

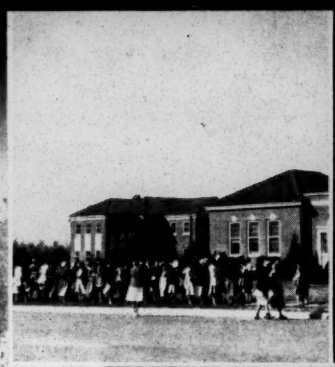
PROVISIONAL INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

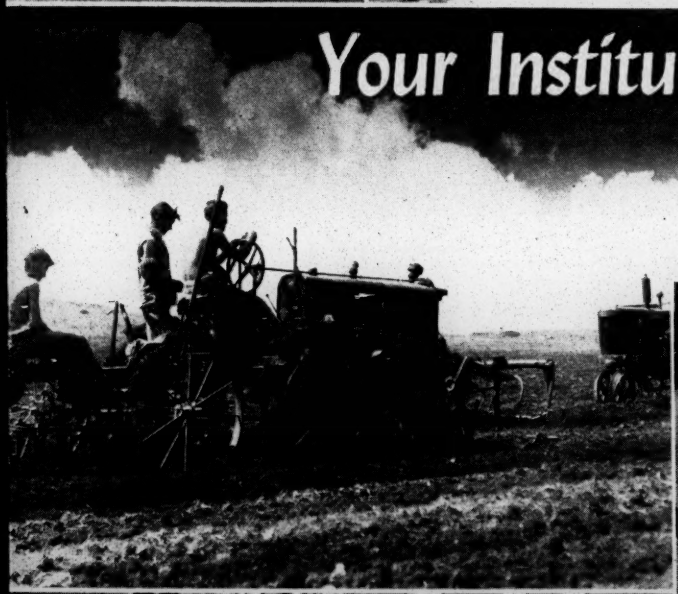
INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION

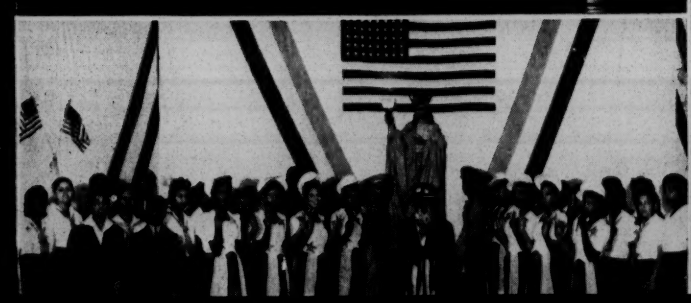
INTERNATIONAL TRADE ORGANIZATION

ANY OTHER INTER-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES



Your Institutions and You





The Hogg Foundation Calls Your Attention to:

The Care of Mental Patients in Texas

—What Progress Has Been Made
—What Improvement Is Now Possible
—What Every Citizen Can Do

And Also the Conditions of Our Other Eleemosynary Institutions

—Improvements to Date
—Next Step Ahead

The Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene
The University of Texas
Austin, Texas

JANUARY, 1945

Printed by The University of Texas Press

This frank appraisal has been prepared through the assistance of the State Board of Control and of Mr. James W. Markham, Secretary of the Board of Control. The Hogg Foundation acknowledges this excellent coöperation and the progressive leadership which the Board is giving to the eleemosynary program of Texas.

•

Texas spends approximately $6,500,000 each year in attempting to rebuild the lives of 21,000 less fortunate citizens in twenty-two institutions, employing 3,800 persons. This program seeks to enlist the thoughtful support of all citizens.

Your Eleemosynary Service Is Dedicated to Rebuilding Human Lives

What Are Its Functions?

1. Treatment leading to quick recovery for certain mental diseases and tuberculosis.
2. Education and placement for delinquents and orphans.
3. Treatment and care for prolonged cases of mental illness.
4. Education and eventual rehabilitation of the deaf and blind and certain classes of mentally retarded.
5. Custody (food, clothing, shelter, recreation, and medicine) for permanent cases—of the mentally diseased, the epileptic, and the mentally retarded.
6. Prevention. The institution, by education, attempts to prevent the occurrence in the community of mental illness, tuberculosis, delinquency.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

What Has Been Done

Some Recent Accomplishments of the Eleemosynary System Are:

1. Large waiting lists for admission to any eleemosynary institution have been abolished. This means that applicants may be received and treated immediately.
2. Affiliation in all subjects with the State Department of Education was secured by the Waco State Home School.
3. Social service has been reorganized and expanded, with the result that 587 patients and children have been placed in private homes or employment since January 1, under the placement programs operating in ten institutions.
4. Texas Confederate Home for Men was remodeled to accommodate 442 senile patients.
5. The Board has secured the Longhorn Civilian Conservation Corps Camp near Burnet, where a transitional center for ex-mental patients will be established, when authorized by the Legislature.
6. With assistance of the Hogg Foundation and engineering extension service of A. and M. College, a series of seminars and short training courses have been conducted throughout the system.
7. Research in psychiatric surgery, with the performance of three pre-frontal lobotomies, was conducted at the Terrell State Hospital.
8. Juvenile delinquency proceedings in Texas have been changed from criminal to civil status. This law has been upheld by the Texas Supreme Court.
9. A change in the law has been obtained making a lunacy trial unnecessary before a furloughed patient can return to the hospital, within two years after the furlough.
10. A statute has been secured providing for trial of voluntary patients in absentia, should such action be necessary while in Hospital.
11. A law has been secured providing employment security for superintendents of eleemosynary institutions during satisfactory service or until they reach 70 years of age.
12. The Board of Control is making a determined effort through every means at its command to educate the public properly as to the facts about the eleemosynary system; namely, what it is doing, what it wants to do, the correct attitude the public should have toward the system, and how the public can help get the job done. This folder is a part of the effort. Because the work is a service to the public, the coöperation of the general public is one of the most necessary factors in the accomplishment of the job.

What Improvement Is Now Possible

The following ten-point program of immediate objectives has been adopted officially by the Board of Control:

1. Salary increases and more desirable housing facilities for all eleemosynary employees. The salary scale should be adequate to attract and hold employees who wish to make institutional work their profession.
2. Increased facilities to provide for the care, recreation, and education of the mentally ill, the deaf and blind, delinquent, tubercular, and neglected old people.
3. Continued segregation of various types of child wards: the feebleminded, delinquent, and dependent. The establishment of a home for neglected old people and a training school for delinquent colored girls.
4. For the mental hospitals increase in the number of doctors, psychiatrists, psychiatric nurses, and attendants and other personnel.
5. A continued program of education and training for the 3,800 employees of the eleemosynary system.
6. The resources of each institution will be marshaled to achieve the successful rehabilitation and permanent placement in the community of every ward of the State, who possibly can be placed. To this end, special provisions will be made, as far as possible, either in a separate psychiatric hospital or in all hospitals, for the prompt, short, intensive treatment of younger cases which show promise of quick recovery.
7. The system will continue to sponsor a program of self-sufficiency for each institution, promoting the production of as much food, clothing, and supplies as possible.
8. A program designed to elevate standards will be followed so that in the post-war period the State hospitals may be used for the training of doctors and nurses in psychiatry.
9. A program of specialized education for eleemosynary teachers will be sponsored by the Board.
10. Placing in the curriculum of the public schools of Texas a prescribed textbook by competent authorities, dealing principally with mental hygiene and related subjects.

An Outsider's Viewpoint

From "A Survey of the State Mental Institutions of Texas," conducted by the United States Public Health Service, Dr. Samuel W. Hamilton, Mental Hospital Adviser, 1943.

1. Patient Load per Nurse and Attendant—Texas Compared with Other States.

State	*Patient Load Per Cent*
Texas	13.0
New Jersey	8.4
South Carolina	10.2
Washington	10.9
United States	9.3

2. Percentage of Graduate Nurses on State Hospital Staffs.

State	*Per Cent*
Texas	3.7
New Jersey	13.0
South Carolina	10.2
Washington	12.5
United States	10.1

3. Patient Load per Physician.

   Texas—One physician for each 310 patients (American Psychiatric Association's Minimum requirements: One Physician for each 150 patients)

4. An outstanding weakness of many American institutions from their beginning till now is idleness that is not subjected to constant, definite, and well planned attack.

ACTIVITIES OF PATIENTS IN TEXAS HOSPITALS

Number of Patients	*In Bed*	*Out for Exercise*	*Ground Parole*	*Idle*	*Employed*	*Taking Medicine*
17,556	813	6,069	2,006	10,022	7,154	2,662

Ten patients out of every seventeen are idle. Occupational and recreational therapy should be greatly strengthened to include more patients.

5. An indication of the esteem in which the community holds its mental hospitals is the number of patients who seek voluntary admission. Of 2,683 first admissions, during the last fiscal year, 450 were voluntary.

6. Outpatient Service. None of these institutions has attempted to maintain clinics for advice to patients and relatives of patients at any other point in its district. Here is a vast opportunity and a huge need of the citizens of Texas that is not yet met.

7. More attention should be given to informing the public about the work of the institutions. Several senior members of each staff should be prepared to give interesting talks about such matters. An active program of teaching their own personnel will make an excellent start in this direction. Also, assistant physicians should be encouraged to create for themselves a place in community mental hygiene activities.

8. Efforts should be made to give medical students the benefit of experience in these institutions.

9. Strong effort should be put forth to reduce the number of patients who receive only custodial attention, and constantly to increase the number for whom the active procedures of psychiatric nursing will be provided.

10. Schools of nursing should be established, and students and nurses assigned to duty with mental patients should be given instruction in psychiatric nursing.

11. Attendants in all institutions should be given instruction in the underlying principles of care of mental patients, in sanitation, and in hygiene.

12. Every reasonable effort should be made to have patients enter the hospitals at their own request.

What Is Holding Us Back

1. Serious personnel shortages and inexperienced personnel due to inadequate compensation (in both salaries and emoluments) for eleemosynary employees. Also lack of additional salaries to employ the necessary one-third more attendant personnel, one trained psychiatric nurse on each ward, enough additional doctors to bring the Texas mental hospital system up to national standards.

2. Crowded conditions and inadequate facilities, especially for the expected post-war increase in demand for eleemosynary service. The increase in wartime juvenile delinquency is already resulting in heavy enrollments at Gatesville and Gainesville.

   (Waiting lists have been eliminated, but present bed-space would be seriously taxed in the event of a general increase in admissions.)

3. Inadequate recreational and occupational facilities for present population. These first three obstacles must be hurdled before our mental hospitals can approach the standards set by the American Psychiatric Association.

4. An erroneous public attitude and apathy toward mental illness. Although this attitude is gradually changing, John Public still considers mental illness not only incurable but disgraceful. He believes the hospital is an asylum for keeping patients from doing harm in the community until death; therefore, he hesitates to send his relatives to the institution at the first sign of mental illness when the most good could be done, and waits until the disease has such a hold upon the patient that the chances for permanent cure are lessened.

5. An erroneous public attitude toward our correctional schools. Although this attitude is changing, the schools still carry the public stigma of penal institutions. Correction instead of punishment is emphasized at these institutions.

How Can You Help

1. Visit your institutions, learn their problems. You can lend an understanding and sympathetic hand in solving them.
2. Familiarize yourself with the objectives of the Board of Control and give your coöperation and support toward attaining those objectives.
3. Support and take part in your community activities and organizations which seek to prevent delinquency, and to curb mental illness. These originally are community problems before they become State problems. Your interest in these welfare problems will benefit the State program.
4. Learn and tell the good things about the eleemosynary service: The patients who have recovered and have returned to be useful citizens; the blind boy and the deaf girl who have been trained by the State to get along despite their handicaps; or the delinquent boy who leaves Gatesville to become a productive and successful citizen.
5. Do what you can to spread this fact throughout your community: Mental disorders, like most physical illnesses, can be cured if discovered and treated in their early stages. The greater the delay in seeking treatment when mental illness strikes, the less are the chances for recovery. Therefore, encourage families where mental illness strikes to seek immediate treatment.
6. Finally, do your part to banish misconception in the public mind about our institutions. Broadcast these facts:
   - Mentally ill persons are treated in "mental hospitals," not "insane asylums."
   - Delinquent youths are sent to "training schools," not "reformatories."
   - Populations of the eleemosynary institutions are either "patients" or "students," and in no sense "inmates."
   - Mental illness is neither hopelessly final nor is it a cause for disgrace or social ostracism. It is being cured and since it is no respecter of first families, it may strike in any family just as pneumonia or other bodily disease.
   - Our experience with training schools and orphanages shows there are more delinquent parents than delinquent children. This is a challenge to the American Home.
   - Our training schools are places where psychologists, social workers, and teachers attempt to rehabilitate wayward youth by kind and just leadership; they are not "junior penitentiaries." They seek to instill training in high ideals of character, citizenship, and honesty, a love of constructive and productive occupation, and a respect for law. They seek to provide a wholesome environment with proper recreational and vocational activities, where the youth is not repressed, but on the contrary, is encouraged to "find" himself.

Editorial Comment
by
The Dallas Morning News

(Following the announcement by the Hogg Foundation that this booklet was to be published, "The Dallas Morning News" published the following editorial on December 5, 1944:)

As respects the mental hospitals at least, the "frank appraisal" of our eleemosynary institutions made by the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene records little, and nothing of importance, which had not been known to those who have had opportunity to keep informed of their operations. This implies no disparagement of its report, from which the *News* printed extracts a few days ago. If for nothing else, it would be of value for its assurance that good use is being made of the means and facilities provided for the operation of these institutions, and for thus emphasizing a fact which has been true in varying degree for many years. This is that their defects and deficiencies are chargeable to legislative and not to administrative authority.

Probably there has never been a time, and certainly there has not within recent years, when the mental hospitals have not been understaffed; and this from the top to the bottom of their personnels, by the measure of norms which experience has established. This very serious defect is, of course, worse now than ever; not altogether because of the war, but largely also because of the niggardly salary schedules which many Legislatures have consistently prescribed.

The Foundation's appraisal underscores two adverse criticisms which have been registered against the mental hospitals in every survey made of them within the last twenty years, most recently that made last year by a representative of the United States Health Service. One of these complains of the inadequacy of their facilities for practicing occupational and recreational therapy; both approved curative methods. The other has to do with the outpatient work and clinical service. The first of these is a means of guarding against the relapse of patients who have been discharged or released on furlough, and the other is a means of early discovery, highly advantageous in preventive work and also in curative work, when preventive has failed.

By an arrangement which stands to the credit of the Board of Control, investigators of the Public Welfare Department keep a watchful eye over discharged and furloughed patients. But only the Legislature can provide for clinical service. Considerations of economy have been urged for not doing so; yet it is stated by psychiatrists, apparently with ample reason, that expenditures for that service are in reality money-saving. This is an addition to our psychiatric work that is long overdue.

Manuscript A Washington News Letter

P. O. Box 6666 - Washington, D. C.

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Supplied by Staff of Confidential Assistants

April 30, 1945

Circulated to A Restricted Membership of Enlightened People

(Contents Copyrighted)

No. 7

Dear Reader:

We have been bombarded with suggestions that MANUSCRIPT recommend action to be taken on specific problems concerning Negro welfare. We haven't acceded so far because we are not lobbyists, nor do we profess to know all the answers. It is our firm belief that MANUSCRIPT subscribers are capable of drawing their own conclusions and doing their own planning. Our role, as we see it, is to report behind-the-scene facts as they affect the Negro, with interpretation in the light of our contacts, background, and proximity to the scene. We think that's what you want. So again this week, we bring you the gist of what is behind tomorrow's news.

Reactionary industrialists and bankers have infiltrated the National Campaign Advisory Committee of the United Negro College Fund, Inc. Although they are only a small percentage of the imposing committee membership, they represent a threat to the long-range value of one of the most commendable undertakings ever devised by Negroes.

College presidents, because of their peculiar position in Negro society, are shouldered with a responsibility which goes beyond the field of education. Their influence, whether it be positive or negative, is reflected in the type of leadership we get in the future. An attempt to control the activities and ideas of such an influential leadership-group as is represented by the heads of most of the outstanding Negro institutions is an almost irresistable temptation.

Subtle, political implications are seen in the presence of Walter Hoving, chairman of the Executive Committee; Winthrop Aldridge, treasurer; and men like Frank E. Gannett of Rochester, N.Y., Cecil H. Gamble of Cincinnati, Thomas M. Girdler of Cleveland, Henry R. Luce of New York, Fowler McCormick of Chicago, and Albert G. Milbank of New York on the National Campaign Advisory Committee.

Hoving is credited as being author of a statement to the effect that "the educated Negro is less radical". Aldridge is head of Chase National Bank, one of the opponents of the Bretton Woods agreement, and a luncheon pal of Col. Robt. McCormick of Chicago. Gannett, while willing to support the "de-radicalizing" of Negroes through education, is reported to have used part of his millions to finance "White Supremacy" campaigns in the South and to have contributed heavily to former governor Frank Dixon's effort to be reelected in Alabama on a white supremacy platform. Some of the others are noted for their reactionary philosophies and sympathies with the anti-liberal wing of the Republican Party.

Significantly, during the recent presidential campaign, not a single Negro college president came to national, public attention as having said a word in favor of the reelection of the late President Franklin Roosevelt, to whom they all were so much indebted through WPA and NYA.

While MANUSCRIPT is reluctant to give credence to any rumors of their being influenced to keep quiet, the staff is aware of the rejected offer (in five figures) made to Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, president-emeritus of Bethune-Cookman College, to keep quiet during the election campaign. She was told she

* * * *

. . . there are still more startling facts to this story revealed in the complete issue of this week's newsletter which you will want to read. Subscribers to MANUSCRIPT have received all the behind-the-scenes information available from confidential sources on this and many other subjects.

This week there are items on the Republican Party and the FEPC, the "test" Southerners must pass concerning their stand on Negroes before they can hope to be confirmed in the Senate, more about the plans for squelching Negroes after the war ends, the trend toward federal grants-in-aid programs, Army's short-sightedness in restricting critically needed professionals to "white only", a smear campaign against Dr. Marshall Shepard who is Recorder of Deeds, and many others.

You, too, can be in on the ground-floor where tomorrow's news headlines are made. Overnight, what was an experiment has become an institution.

Dr. Channing Tobias, one of the national secretaries of the YMCA, says of MANUSCRIPT: "It is the finest thing to come out of Washington. I would not be without it. We have needed this type of 'Drew Pearson' peering into the future on matters of interest to Negroes. We haven't had it until MANUSCRIPT came along. It is indispensable."

E. Washington Rhodes, publisher of the Philadelphia Tribune, says: "I think it is very informative; a job well done. There are very few things which I read in their entirety, but MANUSCRIPT gets my full attention."

Dr. Forrester B. Washington, head of the Atlanta School of Social Work, has told us: "This is something new under the sun for Negroes, and I heartily approve of it."

You cannot afford to be without MANUSCRIPT for another week. If you act within the next 10 days, you may take advantage of the introductory offer of 13 weeks for $3.00. Regular rates are $8.00 for six months and $15.00 for a year.

Place your subscription card and your check (made out to MANUSCRIPT) in the enclosed, postage-paid envelope and mail it TODAY. Your subscription will begin immediately.

Sincerely yours,

MANUSCRIPT

P.S. Because you have been recommended satisfactorily to us, we will accept your recommendation of three persons to whom this invitation to subscribe also may be extended. Use the back of your subscription card.

Ms.

Manuscript

A WASHINGTON NEWS LETTER
P. O. Box 6666 - Washington, D. C.

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MANUSCRIPT

P. O. BOX 6666

Washington, D. C.

U. N. C. F. "CAMPAIGNER • 1945"

Published in the Interest of the Second Annual Campaign of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND for Loyal and Public-spirited Volunteer Workers Throughout the Nation

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: 38 EAST 57th STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • PLaza 5-9613

WORKERS BULLETIN #2 May 18, 1945

Among the most encouraging tributes to the Fund was the endorsement just received by National Chairman Morgan from General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander, Allied Expeditionary Force. Said General Eisenhower:

"The American Negro has played an important part in many tests of battle and of service in this theatre of war. The best possible training will be needed by the American nation as a whole, including its Negro citizens, to conquer the many tests of peace. No one questions the right of American Negroes to adequate college facilities to provide post-war leadership for their race. Best wishes for the success of the United Negro College Fund 1945 campaign."

BY CABLE FROM GENERAL CLARK

Another fine tribute to the Fund was this cablegram received from General Mark Clark, commanding general of the 15th Army Group:

"The United Negro College Fund 1945 campaign to assure Negro soldiers of post-war educational facilities is an enterprise deserving of hearty support. We in the 15th Army Group are keenly aware of the desire of Negro troops to further their education, and strongly recommend that every effort be made to assist this desire.

"Negro troops in the 15th Army Group have served in many roles during this campaign and have made a very substantial contribution to its success. The important and loyal part they are playing in the war can be recognized by donations to this Fund."

"FAMILY CONFERENCE"

Plans are under way for a campaign "family conference" at which it is hoped Messrs. Morgan, Rockefeller, Hoving and Aldrich of the national organization can confer with leaders of the canvassing units and with chairmen of cities not too far from the Atlantic seaboard. Notice will go out within a day or two, as to time and place of meeting.

PRELIMINARY GIFT REPORT

Thus far, 1,417 contributions have been received at Headquarters. Among those received since the first Bulletin: Anonymous, $25,000; Lessing J. Rosenwald Foundation, $5,000; Lt. Comdr. and Mrs. Roswell Miller, $500; Dr. E. Snell Hall, $6,433; Felix and Frieda Schiff Warburg Foundation, $2,000; Mrs. John W. Hanes, $500; Beaumont Charity Trust, $1,000; F. & R. Lazarus Co., $500; Ittleson Family Foundation, $750; Henry D. Sharpe, $500; Earhart Foundation, $5,000; The Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation, Inc., $2,000; Philip Morris and Co. Ltd., $1,000; H. J. Heinz Company $2,000; Adele R. Levy Fund, Inc., $2,500; Consolidated Water Power and Paper Co., $400; Wolf Fund, $500; New York Foundation, $2,000; Amalgamated Clothing Workers of American, $1,000; Cleveland H. Dodge Foundation, $1,000; Davella Mills Foundation, $5,000; Meredith Publishing Co., $2,000; The Clara Buttenweiser Unger Memorial Fund, $500; The Conde Nast Publications, Inc., $1,000; Milbank Memorial Fund, $3,000.

To help tell the story of the United Negro College Fund to prospective workers and donors, National headquarters printed more than 600,000 pieces of literature.

FIGURATIVELY SPEAKING

Now is the time to think about the larger contributions needed to reach an objective of $1,550,000. Lots more people are giving than gave last year, but, mathematically, the experts tell us that more than fifty gifts in the $5,000 to $25,000 bracket must be obtained to reach our goal this year. If each City Chairman and every president will have in mind this need and concentrate, during the next days, on three or four potential contributors from whom $5,000 or more can reasonably be expected, it will put this year's campaign well on the road to complete success. Business corporations with enlightened employment policies and employing substantial numbers of Negroes are logical prospects for these larger gifts. They already know the story; the well-being of our Negro citizens is close to their economic and operating interests; and they can often make large contributions, under today's tax laws, with an actual expenditure of but a fraction of the face value of the gift.

IT'S A RECORD

Thus far, not a single business corporation which contributed to the Fund last year has refused to contribute to the current campaign.

"...THE GREATEST GUARANTEE OF
AN AMERICA UNITED"... Mr. Rockefeller

In one of his rare appearances before the microphone, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., chairman of the Fund's national advisory committee, spoke over the coast-to-coast facilities of the Blue Network on May 10th and appealed "to the people of America to give this worthy endeavor their generous support."

"Those who over the years have watched the persistent efforts of our Negro citizens to further their self-development have observed with satisfaction the growth in the number and quality of the Negro colleges and universities," he said, and added that the schools have "helped to raise the level of the life of the nation."

After calling attention to the war services of the Negro colleges, which he termed a "national asset," Mr. Rockefeller discussed the needs of the institutions and concluded with these words:

"In recognition of that contribution the least we, the citizens of this great nation, can do is to provide for these institutions of higher learning the $1,550,000 now needed to meet modest requirements. With that sum assured they will be able to carry on through another year of the national emergency as centers of development for the future leaders of the Negro race. Built, as the thirty-two colleges are, on a foundation of mutual good will and a sound educational policy, in their perpetuation lies the greatest guarantee of an America united, irrespective of color or race."

EXPECT GIFTS FROM NEGROES DOUBLED

The United Negro College Fund already has demonstrated success in one of its primary objectives -- to assure the participation of Negroes themselves in supporting their colleges and universities. Although Negroes gave more than $100,000 in the 1944 campaign, there is infinitely more activity this year representing not only a splendid volume at the lower giving level, but many substantial gifts from Negro business organizations and individuals. Our guess, now, is that at least $200,000 will be contributed by Negroes this year.

FROM CAMPAIGN CITY FIRING LINES

The WASHINGTON, D.C. campaign has rounded the half-way mark toward its $36,000 goal and all workers are pushing down the home stretch determined to cross the line first of any city...If that's a challenge, says WASHINGTON, "we enjoy competition"...Zeta Phi Beta Sorority contributed $1,000 at the initial gifts kick-off meeting in Houston...State Highway Commissioner Spencer Miller of New Jersey has accepted the chairmanship in NEWARK and THE ORANGES...Carnegie Hall in

NEW YORK will be the locale of a concert by the Sperry Symphony Orchestra for the benefit of the Fund on Sunday evening, June 10...Under co-chairman G. Bruce Robinson, a general canvass committee will solicit 3,000 persons in BOSTON...George F. Delaplane, CIO Area Director and one of three COLUMBUS co-chairmen, has pledged labor support...The MEMPHIS initial gifts committee, with only 20 percent of prospects contacted, reports $4,000 toward a goal of $11,000...The DETROIT CIO News states that "CIO President Philip Murray, who has accepted membership on the National Advisory Committee of the Fund, said he did so 'because he believed' that the educational opportunities for a tenth of our population must be increased"...AFL President William Green, also an Advisory Committee member, writes from WASHINGTON that the campaign "deserves support from all right-thinking people"...The battle of KANSAS CITY is on! --- the Missouri and Kansas twin-cities are engaged in a friendly competition for Fund funds that should pay off in increased contributions from those areas...From COLUMBUS comes the report that the campaign committee there includes Ohio's Governor, the ex-Governor and recent candidate for Vice-President of the U.S., the Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, a chief of a labor organization, the Superintendent of City Schools, the President of the State University, leading ministers, representatives of a large publication interest, insurance companies, the YW and YMCA, the President of the County Federation of Church Women, and the President of the leading department store --- to mention a few!

NEW YORK NOTES

Advance and volunteer gifts in excess of $90,000 are reported toward the City goal of half-a-million dollars...Chairman Totton and co-chairman Anderson have rounded out an organization of more than 100 of New York's most active and influential industrialists, financiers, lawyers, physicians, civic and welfare leaders, philanthropists, and city officials...Workers include trustees of the Fund's member colleges and alumni of the participating schools...Each of the five boroughs as well as the suburban counties of Westchester and Nassau has its own chairman.

WHITE HOUSE CALL

Dr. F. D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Thomas E. Jones, president of Fisk University, in their respective roles as president and vice-president of the Fund, last week made a White House call upon President Truman for the purpose of discussing the UNCF campaign. They reported great interest on the part of the Chief Executive in the appeal.

ASIDE TO COLLEGE PRESIDENTS

It has been suggested that the Presidents consider making reference to the UNCF campaign at their forthcoming commencement exercises. The thought is that the audiences at these ceremonies are interested in education and are, at that particular moment, receptive to appeals on behalf of educational institutions. We think it's something worth thinking about.

COLLIER'S COMMENTS

In an editorial entitled "Money for Negro Colleges," Collier's Magazine for May 26 (on the stands May 18) appeals for public support of the UNCF campaign. "We never have done too well by Negro education in this country," states the editorial, adding: "Let's take to doing a good deal better by it, for the all-round benefit of both our Negro and white populations."

STUDENT APPEAL

The post card plan is getting under way --- a repeat of last year's idea whereby the students of the participating colleges wrote to ten friends each notifying them of the campaign and asking that they contribute through the writer's particular college.

DOTS AND DATA

U. S. Army: A major, because, as he puts it, "had pleasant experiences with Negro troops," forwarded a $100 check to the Fund ...Miss Patty Hill, a Southerner who is professor emeritus at Columbus University, contributed and explained that her family's interest in Negro education goes 'way back...Sgt. Jerry Davis, first Negro to win the Legion of Merit, visited National headquarters and was met by Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller and the press. Davis, severely wounded in Italy, plans to take advantage of the GI Bill's education grants...An OWI cartoon concerning the Fund received wide publication in the Negro press...In Florida, an army officer's wife, unable, because of regulations, to solicit contributions on the post, stood outside the gate and obtained substantial donations from members of Base Unit 902, Squadron C., AAF for the United Negro College Fund.

CITY LEADERSHIP

Thus far, 63 outstanding Negro and white community leaders have enlisted as campaign chairmen and co-chairmen. The list grows larger each day. At the moment, this is the "line-up":

Campaign City	Chairman	Co-Chairman
ATLANTA	Mr. L. D. Milton	
BALTIMORE	Mr. Karl F. Steinman	Dr. Miles W. Connor
BIRMINGHAM	Mr. A. G. Gaston	Dr. E. H. Ballard
		Mr. Oscar Adams
		Rev. J. W. Goodgame
		Dr. Frazier Banks
BOSTON	Mr. Henry H. Perry	Mr. G. Bruce Robinson
BUFFALO	Mr. Bradley J. Hurd	Rev. S. O. B. Johnson
CALIFORNIA	Miss Mary McCall (H'wood)	Dr. Harold Kingsley
CHICAGO		Mr. Truman K. Gibson
CINCINNATI	Mr. Troy W. Appleby	Dr. W. T. Nelson
CLEVELAND	Dr. D. R. Sharpe	Rev. W. H. McKinney
		Mrs. Thomas Powell
COLUMBUS		Mr. Albert J. Dunmore
		Mr. Paul Shearer
DALLAS	Mr. Nathan Adams	Dr. L. G. Pinkston
DETROIT	Dr. David D. Henry	Mr. Moses Walker
		Mr. John Dancy
		Mr. R. J. Thomas
FORT WORTH		Dr. J. M. Burnett
HARTFORD	Mr. Milton Glover	Mr. George Goodman
		Mr. Lewis Fox
HOUSTON		Mr. J. H. Jemison
		Dr. J. S. Scott
INDIANAPOLIS		Dr. Joseph Carroll
KANSAS CITY, KANS.	Mr. Willard J. Breidenthal	Mr. H. W. Sewing
KANSAS CITY, MO.	Mr. Hal W. Luhnow	Miss Esther W. Williams
		Mr. John H. Gregg
MEMPHIS	Mr. C. Arthur Bruce	Dr. J. E. Walker
NEW HAVEN	Rev. Sidney Lovett	Mr. George W. Crawford
NEWARK & THE ORANGES	Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr.	Dr. W. G. Alexander
NEW YORK CITY	Mr. Frank M. Totton	Dr. Peyton F. Anderson
PHILADELPHIA	Mr. Graham Patterson	Dr. Walter F. Jerrick
PITTSBURGH	Mr. Irwin D. Wolf	Dr. Dudley G. King
RICHMOND	Mr. Wilson M. Brown	Dr. George B. Hancock
ROCHESTER	Mr. Frank E. Gannett	Rev. Charles E. Boddie
SAN ANTONIO	Rev. J. H. Hardeman	
SPRINGFIELD, MASS.	Mr. Richard Booth	Mr. A. H. Tavernier
ST. LOUIS		Mr. Frank L. Williams
WASHINGTON, D.C.	Mrs. William L. Clayton	Dr. Howard H. Long
WILMINGTON		Dr. Francis Jamison

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U. N. C. F.

"CAMPAIGNER • 1945"

Published in the Interest of the Second Annual Campaign of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND for Loyal and Public-spirited Volunteer Workers Throughout the Nation

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS: 38 EAST 57th STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • PLaza 5-9613

WORKERS BULLETIN #3 June 7, 1945

SOMETHING SOLID TO THINK ABOUT

During the campaign we have constantly stressed the importance of providing adequate educational facilities for the returning Negro veteran. As the work continues in this intensive period of the drive let us constantly keep in mind that he is here among us in ever-increasing numbers. One lad told a Howard University counsellor: "Give a fellow something solid to think about, and he won't brood over his war experiences." The success of the 1945 United Negro College Fund campaign means that 32 educational institutions will be in a better position to "give a fellow something solid to think about."

WHAT AMERICA MEANS TO THEM

784th Tank Batt.

From overseas, where they are fighting for the way of life that means so much to all of us, the men of the 784th Tank Battalion dramatically demonstrated what America means to them. In their behalf the outfit's Special Service Officer wrote:

"The enlisted men and officers of this battalion are proud to contribute to so worthy a cause."

CAN WE AFFORD TO DO LESS?

24th Infantry

In the far Pacific Theater of Operations, thousands of miles from family and friends, the 24th Infantry, a crack Negro fighting unit, part of the great invasion force now assembling under Gen. MacArthur for the final attack on Japan, told America in vivid fashion exactly what they are fighting for.

THE MEN SENT THE FUND CHECKS TOTALING $4,523.13!

IN MEMORY OF A BRAVE MAN

Because the beautiful sentiment expressed in the letter cannot be improved by added comment, we quote directly from Mrs. Albert A. Charait of Boston: "Please accept a check for $100 in memory of my husband, Lt. Albert A. Charait, who was killed in action in Germany on March 25. He died so that all men -- whatever their color or creed -- might live in freedom and peace and equality of opportunity."

THERE ARE 64 CAMPAIGN CITIES . . . EACH VITAL TO SUCCESS . . . $1,550,000

"AS VICTORY COMES"

A new piece of campaign literature "As Victory Comes" will be rolling off the press next week. It brings the United Negro College Fund picture up-to-date since V-E Day and should be in your hands soon.

CHAIRMAN EMBREE REPORTS

The Foundation Committee's 1945 goal is $175,000. Chairman Embree reports that his committee has received contributions and commitments totaling $152,825, or expressed statistically, 86% toward success.

"ADVENTURES IN COOPERATION"

With $31,000 in hand and over its quota, the Washington Committee campaign, lead by Mrs. Will Clayton, is in the "clean up" stage.... Pittsburgh began activities last Sunday with an enthusiastic mass meeting of 600, followed by a Tuesday meeting of leading industrialists and business men. Mr. Morgan attended the business session and Frank Totton, New York chairman, travelled to Pittsburgh for the Sunday opening.... And Buffalo got under way June 4th with a mass meeting at which President Mordecai Johnson of Howard University was guest speaker.... In Dallas, Texas, where W. Barton Beatty, Jr., is Executive Director and in Cincinnati, Ohio, under the leadership of Troy Appleton, a Sunday was set apart as United Negro College Fund Day in churches throughout the cities.... Church leadership is spearheading activities throughout the nation.... Captain A. J. Neeley, as in 1944, is heading the campaign on Tuskegee campus and adjacent Army air base.... For New Haven's opening meeting, Chairman Sidney Lovett secured Newbold Morris, president of the New York City Council and the distinguished American tenor, Roland Hayes.... Cleveland got under way at a luncheon meeting last week and Dr. D. R. Sharpe, City Chairman, is out to surpass the fine record made there in '44.... With a final report meeting scheduled for June 8, New York City's Harlem alumni teams have already exceeded last year's total.... At a dinner meeting called by co-chairman Truman Gibson and attended by Chicago South Side Negro businessmen, $5,200 was raised for the Fund and another $6,000 promised. Last year, a similar meeting yielded $3,100. Progress! President F. D. Patterson spoke at this year's gathering.... Memphis Chairman, C. Arthur Bruce, predicts that the city quota of $18,000 will be "in the till" this week.... Listed as a new member of the Hollywood Committee: screen star Bette Davis! Mary McCall is chairman for Hollywood and Sam Goldwyn is assisting in Los Angeles.... Truly, "Adventures in Cooperation."

A MEMPHIS CITIZEN ASSIGNED A LIFE INSURANCE POLICY TO THE FUND

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS

NEW YORK: The Kresge Foundation, $5,000; Officers and men of 41st Sig. Construc. Bn., $1,062.28; William S. Paley Foundation, Inc., $1,500; Warner Bros. Corp., $2,500; Carnegie Corp. of America, $25,000; Baldwin Locomotive Works, $1,500; 1887th Engr. Avn. Bn., $1,310; New York City Omnibus Corporation and Fifth Avenue Coach Co., $500; Johns-Manville Corporation, $500; Teagle Foundation, $1,500. NORFOLK (VA): Guide Publishing Company, $500. CHICAGO: Standard Oil of Indiana, $5,000. WASHINGTON, D.C.: Old Dominion Foundation, $1,000; Avalon Foundation, $1,000; A. V. Davis Aluminum Co. of America, $1,000; DETROIT: Sam's, Inc., $1,000; Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Co., $1,000; PHILADELPHIA: Pennsylvania Railroad Co., $5,000; Horn & Hardart, $1,500; Leeds and Northrup Co., $1,000; Edward G. Budd Mfg. Co., $5,000; The Philadelphia Record, $500; Midvale Co., $500; Curtis Publishing Co., $1,000; Atlantic Refining Co., $1,500; North America Companies, $1,500; BOSTON: Hampton Associates of Boston, $450; United Fruit Company, $1,500.

THE FUND IS NEWS

Claude A. Barnett, director of the Associated Negro Press, Chicago, and a member of our National Advisory Committee, is an authority on news, so when he wrote that "it seems to me the Fund is getting a splendid break in publicity this year" we had a clerical assistant look into the matter. Her report: The nation's press, Negro and white, as of June 2, had published 1094 news stories, editorials, pictures and features on the Fund for a total of 7733 inches of space! The Fund IS news!

ON THE LABOR FRONT

In a letter to Chairman Morgan attached to a check for $1,000 from the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, David Dubinsky, president, wrote: "Several of our locals have also decided to contribute." Other enclosed checks: Local 22, Dressmakers Union, $500; Local 25, Blouse and Waistmakers Union, $100; Local 62, Undergarment and Negligee, $200; and Local 91, Children's Dress, Infant's Wear Union, $200.

Word has come that contributions to the campaign will be discussed at Executive Council meetings of the following international labor unions: United Automotive Workers; Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers; Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and the Brotherhood Railway Carmen of America.... New York Grand Central "Red Caps" are still at it, making their own contributions as well as soliciting from their "regular" traveling patrons.

THE SOUTHERN EDITORS SPEAK

Much favorable news, publicity and editorial opinion on the Fund has appeared this year in the Southern metropolitan press. Below are listed several typical editorial comments:

Birmingham (Ala.) Post: "We are sure that many.... will want to lend their support not only as a gesture of good will toward the Negro but because they recognize in the Fund an opportunity to build soundly for the future."

Houston (Texas) Press: "Your money goes to improve the leadership of one-tenth of the people of this nation -- that's it in a nutshell."

Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch: (Virginius Dabney, Editor): "An opportunity is afforded white Virginians to further the sound advancement of the Negro race and to promote interracial good will...."

Washington (D.C.) Post: "Education is the key to opportunity. They (Fund schools) need, and deserve, the full encouragement of the whole American public."

Savannah (Ga.) News: "This is a worthy cause and ought to appeal to white and colored citizens alike."

West Palm Beach (Fla.) News: "They (Fund schools) are helping the Negroes to help themselves and in that way are performing a valuable service to the nation."

Dennison (Texas) Herald: "A contribution to the Fund is not a charity -- it is an investment in a people that will return dividends for years to come."

Ashville (N.C.) Times: ".... $1,550,000 -- a small investment that will bring forth returns an hundredfold."

THIS AND THAT

When New York Delta Sigma Thetas presented $100 to the campaign, Phillipa Schuyler, 13-year-old musical genius, accepted in the Fund's behalf, Hilda Simms, "Anna Lucasta" star, posed for pictures with Miss Schuyler and Delta representatives.... The magazine Newspic in its June issue devoted two pages to pictures and stories of the U.N.C.F.... Crisis Magazine, in addition to a fine editorial, carried a full page account of the Fund.... Says The Pittsburgh Courier: "There are literally thousands of clubs, societies and businesses in colored America capable of contributing from $100 to $1000 to this Fund, and they should do so now".... Carol Brice, concert artist, was featured at the Pittsburgh opening meeting held in Syria Mosque.... A special appeal letter is being mailed to persons in the theatrical world.

A TRADITION IS BROKEN

For many years it has been traditional for the Gay Northeasterners to award scholarships, but at this year's national meeting in Washington the organization voted to turn over its annual award to the United Negro College Fund.

AS NEW YORK GOES

In New York Chairman Frank M. Totton, vice-president of Chase National Bank and president of the New York City YMCA has enlisted the assistance of prominent citizens to assure success toward his committee's $500,000 objective. Vice-chairmen are C. Everett Bacon, Howard S. Cullman (also Tobacco Sub-Committee chairman) and Herbert S. Ogden (also Lawyers' Committee chairman, with George Gordon Battle as co-chairman).

Area officers.... Bronx: Roderick Stephens.... Brooklyn: Robert Alfred Shaw.... Queens: Harold G. Parker.... Richmond: H. H. Robinson.... Nassau: William A. Kielmann and Reginald E. Gillmor (President, Sperry Gyroscope Company).... Westchester: Thomas M. Logan and Henry F. Freund.... Mount Vernon: John Fraser.... Larchmont: Mrs. Ervin Kenmore.... William E. Speers heads the Department Store committee.

A BENEFIT CONCERT

Interest is high in the Fund benefit concert scheduled for New York City's famed Carnegie Hall on Sunday evening, June 10. The talents of Gladys Elizabeth Childress, a young Negro pianist and the 70-piece Sperry Symphony Orchestra will be combined. Miss Childress is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Colorado College and is now pursuing advanced work in music in New York on a Rosenwald Fellowship. There will be unusual interracial participation in the concert since the Sperry symphony orchestra includes several Negro musicians. The orchestra is the only full symphony group in the nation composed entirely of industrial workers. It is made up of employees of the Sperry Gyroscope Company, a subsidiary of The Sperry Corporation, of which Chairman Morgan is president.

DOTS AND DATA

City Chairman Spencer Miller, Jr., (Newark and the Oranges), sent out 25 telegrams to "key" community figures calling a planning meeting. Responses indicated that the Newark-Orange drive will be successful.... A Fort Knox (Ky.) WAC unit under Capt. Sarah Murphy sent a check.... Richmond (Va.), under chairman Wilson M. Brown, is off to a good start.... President Mordecai Johnson was opening meeting speaker in Kansas City.

AN ADVENTURE IN COOPERATION

BECAUSE a million Negroes are fighting—and dying—on the battlefronts of the world, and many more than this number are working devotedly in war industry, this war, even more than the others before it, has focussed attention on the Negro in American life.

He stands today on the threshold of greater economic opportunity. How he responds to this opportunity will dictate the course of his life and well-being for years to come. His decision and the guidance that he is given, moreover, will have a far-reaching effect on our whole economic life. Upon them may depend whether the nation's postwar employment goals will be attained; whether in peace our country is to be prosperous.

One in every ten Americans is a Negro — and obviously the strengths and weaknesses of a tenth of the population of a nation are the strengths and weaknesses of the whole people.

Today, in every man's perplexity over what is to become of him and his nation in the new world growing out of the present chaos, an important task has been imposed upon the educational structure of the country—especially the Negro private colleges.

These schools now face their greatest test. They will carry much of the load in the complex adjustment period that lies ahead. They will have a major role in guiding the quarter of a million Negro men in the Army who plan to return to school and college.

Out of the private Negro colleges come Negro teachers, physicians, dentists, nurses, trained agriculturalists, and many business men, social work-

ers, lawyers. Here is a leavening influence that brought a new world to the Negroes of America and which now, as in the past, is of benefit to the entire community.

Now there are 66,000 Negro teachers, 17,000 ministers, 3,500 doctors, 1,600 dentists, 6,000 nurses, more than 1,000 lawyers. And the theatre, art, music, literature and other fields of culture include many Negroes among their outstanding figures.

Budgets Inadequate

The need of these Negro colleges is a challenging opportunity to those men and women of America and to those philanthropic funds and business corporations who see the wisdom of helping the Negro to help himself. The current operating budgets are inadequate properly to meet the needs of present students and, of course, permit of no expansion to take care of increased enrollment.

Today, Americans look upon the Negro colleges of this country with a new concept of their importance and their potentialities. For more and more, white and Negro leaders alike see in education and in trained leadership the solution of many problems of the future.

The war has caused more Negroes to be concerned about the future of their country. And the Negro, having had a great share in the responsibilities of a democracy at war, anticipates an opportunity to share as well in the fruits of a democracy at peace. Here is a reality to which the nation cannot shut its eyes.

The private Negro colleges, richly endowed with a spirit of service, place major emphasis on equipping young men and women for the important role of citizenship. They emphasize the spiritual values of life.

Some graduates, like those before them, will earn acclaim in their chosen fields. But for the most part they will quietly and efficiently take up their work in cities, towns and hamlets throughout the country in the best traditions of service to the community. They will teach and nurse, operate small businesses, run farms, serve their neighbors in the fields of medicine and law, lend their strength and inspiration from the pulpits of hundreds of churches.

32 Colleges Unite

Surely, and not too slowly, their influence and example will make themselves felt throughout a widening community and then into the nation as a whole—a real "leavening of the lump."

Last year, faced with the wartime financial problems that beset all privately operated educational institutions, twenty-seven of these accredited Negro colleges joined in a national campaign of public information and cooperative fund-raising. Almost overnight this timely, typically American undertaking won the interest and en-

dorsement of the press and of a distinguished body of sponsors and active workers.

The first campaign resulted in contributions in excess of $900,000 which was used to help defray operating costs and enabled many of the colleges to meet urgent needs for equipment and plant repairs.

The contributors included more than 71,000 persons of all races and creeds, as well as business corporations, foundations, labor organizations and religious bodies. Nearly $100,000 was given by Negroes, a percentage of the total larger than had ever been received from the Negro population in any known campaign and a striking example of the Negro's readiness to help himself.

Your Help Needed

This year, five more colleges and universities have joined the United Negro College Fund and the campaign, to open in mid-April, will seek $1,550,000, as follows:

1. To bridge the gap between present modest and inadequate operating costs of the colleges and anticipated 1945 income from all sources other than public contributions	$ 525,000
2. To enable the colleges to make urgently needed repairs to buildings and equipment	575,000
3. To help upgrade the faculties, provide more student aid, enlarge library facilities and strengthen maintenance of educational plant	450,000
	$1,550,000

Education—a Major Role

The United Negro College Fund is patently a practical, efficient way of informing the public of the work and needs of this great group of educational agencies and of substituting one carefully managed campaign for thirty-two separate fund-raising appeals. Campaign costs are thus reduced, manpower in voluntary leadership is conserved, and a sounder fiscal policy is the result.

Here is a work so vital to the national welfare, so related to national unity and to the post-war program, and so immediately important to us as individuals, as to demand the attention and interest of thoughtful men and women everywhere.

It is a service which must bring a deep personal and spiritual satisfaction to the many leaders and other workers who will participate in the 1945 endeavor.

THOMAS A. MORGAN
National Chairman
United Negro College Fund Campaign

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, Inc.. 1945 CAMPAIGN

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(as of March 7, 1945)

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Thirty-Two Steps Forward to a Better America

ATLANTA · ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK · BENEDICT · BENNETT · BETHUNE-COOKMAN · BISHOP · CLARK · DILLARD · FISK · HAMMON THEological · HAMPTON · HOWARD · KNOXVILLE · LANE · LEMOYNE · LINCOLN · LIVINGSTONE · MOREHOUSE · MORRIS BROWN · PAINE · PHILANDER SMITH · SAMUEL HUSTON · SHAW · JOHNSON C. SMITH · SPELMAN · TALLADEGA · TEXAS · TILLOTSON · TOUGALOO · TUSKEGEE · VIRGINIA UNION · WILEY · THIRTY-TWO COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES COMPRISING THE UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, INC., FOR 1945 - - - -

For National Unity

Do you remember, only a year or so ago, with the war so far from won, the call that came for national unity . . . for getting together and buckling down to a common task, for doing the best possible job *everywhere* . . . among all classes, creeds and groups?

Thus it was, in swift answer to that call, along with many other responses, that twenty-seven of the leading private Negro colleges of the country . . . for the first time in their history . . . banded together to strengthen themselves as a whole—to do a finer job than ever before; to rise to the greater demands upon them in a nation at war; and more effectively to meet their needs in a common fund-raising effort.

Nation-wide was the interest and response that greeted the pioneer effort of the *United Negro College Fund*.

Today, as the participating colleges now grown to thirty-two, launch their second campaign, victory lies before us, certain and perhaps near. And, as the difficult post-war days approach, the work they have been doing suddenly rises from behind the college walls to take on a new stature and national significance—to become, indeed, in the minds of many thoughtful leaders an opportunity to render a vital service far beyond the colleges themselves—a service to *all* of post-war America.

What that opportunity is, and the inspiring challenge it presents to *every* American, are briefly told in the pages that follow.

Thirty-Two Steps Forward To A Better America

WHAT most deeply concerns the responsible citizen today isn't alone the war.

It is what is going to happen after we have won.

New forces in society are everywhere on the march. What will the close of the conflict bring in its train for America? Turbulent economic conditions? Competition between groups for jobs? Mounting racial tensions and group antagonisms? Added difficulties of every sort here at home?

Certainly many new and formidable problems will face us. Others, however, will be problems of long standing, raising their heads at a critical time with new and pressing insistence.

High on the list undoubtedly will be the question of a sound economic position for the Negro in American life.

Regarded by many as one of the vital issues of our times, certainly it is the biggest, for one person out of every ten in America today is a Negro—thirteen million citizens in all.

It is an issue that bears on virtually every problem we shall face in the post-war days ahead . . . not only because of its vast size . . . but because of its tremendous potential influence upon every other group . . . and upon our problems and population as a whole.

HEIGHTENED BY THE WAR

To this situation the war itself has given a new, additional impetus. For there are now nearly 1,000,000 Negro soldiers, sailors and marines in the armed services of our country. A majority of them are seeing service abroad, in every theatre and area of the war.

One million Negro servicemen, in common with all veterans, will come back to difficult adjustments to civilian living. But on top of that, will the Negro veteran come home to face handicaps for jobs . . . to restricted opportunities . . . perhaps to greater obstacles of prejudice and antagonism than before?

Certainly unless something can be done to untie some of the knots for so large a segment of our population, to make this increasingly a better America, a deep unrest may cloud and shadow not only our post-war world but the whole of America for many years to come.

WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

Certainly no miracle is going to solve the problem for us. Equally clear, it is not going to solve itself.

But one thing stands out sharp and sure: the Negro can be provided with far more adequate opportunities to help himself than have ever been made available before.

Like all people everywhere, the Negro can help himself most surely and quickly when ignorance does not blanket the many and when enlightened leadership exists at the top.

One great light illuminates the Negro's progress in America, the beacon light of education, of the kind and calibre now so inadequate.

One fact alone reveals the significance of the existing need in this direction, and the almost limitless opportunity for development it holds:

Less than one per cent of the adult Negroes in America today are college graduates.

Yet with even so little, the Negro has progressed far. And to that advance it is everywhere recognized how greatly education, and especially higher education, has been a powerful factor; indeed perhaps the chief contributor to it. But the road is still long for millions of Negro citizens.

POINTING THE WAY

Only out of education, on its higher levels, can come the needed stream of trained Negro teachers, ministers, doctors, dentists, agriculturists, business men, professional men, social workers and many others who will provide the race with its leadership and guide and lead it upward and forward in the days ahead.

Here then seems to be an instrument, higher education itself, already tested and proven by results, which provides one of the soundest and most effective approaches to the solution of the problem of race relations in America. Here is an avenue for an orderly, intelligent course toward greater opportunity and to the realization of those just aspirations of the Negro for satisfactory participation in American life.

Happily, the instruments for effecting it need not be created; they lie ready to hand: the group of accredited, long-established private Negro colleges of America.

Their possibilities as instruments for the progressive advance of the Negro have as yet *hardly been scratched*.

For as a group the Negro colleges of the nation have been given only a fraction—on a proportional basis only a very small fraction—of the resources accorded the white colleges of the country.

A COMMON GROUND

Considered as a group, they offer, too, the one strong common ground on which *all* men and women of good will can get together today for the creation of *interracial* goodwill and understanding.

Let us look briefly at the group of leading Negro colleges which for the first time last year joined the United Negro College Fund to strengthen and improve themselves for the opportunities that lie ahead.

A few salient facts about them stand out at once:

- These are the great Negro institutions of higher learning in the nation; together they train virtually *all* the enrollees in the accredited private Negro colleges of the country.
- They turn out, on the average, a group of approximately three thousand young men and women every year, prepared for constructive places and ultimate leadership in society.
- They are a strategically located, well-balanced group of urban and rural, academic, trade, professional and technical institutions of higher learning.
- The demand for their services has steadily increased, indicated by a more than doubling of enrollments on the average in the past 15 years.
- Every single one of them is an institution whose high quality and superior standards have officially been accorded official recognition and approval.

That is the favorable side of the ledger.

It adds up to the fact that here is a powerful combination of forces, rich in tradition, impelled by a lofty spirit of service. These schools

send the best of Negro youth into our American communities, prepared for self-reliant careers, and for building high ideals among their fellows—assets of the first order for all America.

THE GREAT DISPARITY

On the other hand, viewing their opportunities in the light of their resources, the disparity is still far too great.

Consider just a few as are illustrated by these facts:

Put together, the combined total endowment of these colleges, doing the bulk of the job of higher education for the Negro, equals that of *one single* institution of higher learning, such as Cornell University.

The total number of teachers to be found in these colleges just about approximates the number to be found in *one* institution such as Northwestern University.

The *combined* value of their entire plants approximates the value of public and private colleges of but a single state such as Kansas.

THE GREAT JOB TO BE DONE

These are the resources expected to serve well some 13,000,000 people. Despite all that has been accomplished with so little, the colleges have been inadequate even for a normal peace-time task.

For the triple job they must be called upon to do, their inadequacy is even more apparent.

Yet the job to be done in terms of the possibilities and opportunities, is one of the most challenging of our generation. In brief it is as follows:

1. *Training the Returning Veteran.* The Negro veteran poses an immediate problem. For an anticipated *thirty thousand* qualified returning Negro veterans seeking a college education, this group of colleges can offer the needed and sought-after training.

2. *Helping Lift the Level of a People.* By augmenting key teaching services, by starting to place existing facilities in thorough working order, through steadily improving standards, and by offering opportunity for college educations to a larger number of the *more promising* Negro youth of the nation, the colleges can lift the level of Negro education and move forward to new and prideful achievement.

3. *Helping the Nation As a Whole.* Through widening every constructive avenue for interracial cooperation, through their powerful alumni bodies,

through turning out in growing numbers an informed and intelligent Negro leadership, they can be a vital force for national progress and a stabilizing factor for the nation.

UNITED THEY STAND

It was a realization of the opportunities at hand, and in accord with the call for united action on every front that led the colleges jointly to frame their needs last year and to the decision to make a united national appeal to meet them.

That appeal was on a frankly experimental basis.

Widespread support marked that first effort. Acclaim was given it, as an epochal step in educational financing of any kind, and as a singularly great national contribution.

This year, the thirty-two colleges have united for a *second* presentation of their needs for the coming year to the whole American public.

These collective needs total $1,550,000.

WHAT THEY NEED—AND WHY

Here is the simple summarization of their combined 1945 budgets, the reasons for their need and the basis of their common appeal to thoughtful citizens—white and Negro—everywhere.

To hold the line and maintain the thirty-two colleges at no more than their present level, will require	$10,625,000
Toward this, student fees and auxiliary services will bring in an estimated	5,200,000
This leaves an unmet balance of	5,425,000
Toward this balance, reduced income from endowments, from annually recurring grants from church boards and other sources will amount to approximately	4,900,000

There is thus an expected net operating deficit of	$ 525,000
To make a beginning in putting their physical plants in readiness to undertake the greater job ahead, and to make urgently needed repairs and equipment replacements, there will be needed	575,000
To strengthen teaching staffs, provide more library facilities and augment critically needed scholarship funds and to start, if possible, a retirement fund program, there will be needed	450,000
Adding up the needs and operating deficit establishes the campaign goal and gives a total which amounts to	$ 1,550,000

THE OPPORTUNITY TO HELP

Each one of these colleges is a needed and timely influence both for the progress of a people and for national progress.

*Executive Committee, United Negro College Fund, Inc.**

Together they constitute thirty-two distinct steps forward to a better America, in the immediate post-war days ahead and in the long-term future of our country.

They add up to one of the significant philanthropic opportunities of our time.

All Americans can help, through prompt and generous support of this current campaign, to multiply many-fold the colleges' enormous influence for good.

Contributions to the United Negro College Fund are deductible for income tax purposes. Your contribution to the Fund should be made payable to the United Negro College Fund, Inc., and sent to the national headquarters, or to your local fund-raising committee.

*Front Row (left to right): Presidents WALTER L. WRIGHT, Lincoln University; E. C. MCLEOD, Wiley College; THOMAS ELSA JONES, Fisk University; F. D. PATTERSON, Tuskegee Institute; FLORENCE M. READ, Spelman College, and RUFUS E. CLEMENT, Atlanta University.

Back Row (left to right): Presidents RALPH P. BRIDGMAN, Hampton Institute; MORDECAI W. JOHNSON, Howard University; ALBERT W. DENT, Dillard University; BENJAMIN E. MAYS, Morehouse College; ROBERT P. DANIEL, Shaw University, and WILLIAM A. FOUNTAIN, JR., Morris Brown College. Committee member DAVID D. JONES, President of Bennett College, is not shown.

United Negro College Fund, Inc.

1945 Campaign

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RECEIVED
JUN 3 1946
Southern Regional Council

May 31st
1946

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In going over the list of recent contributors to the United Negro College Fund, it was certainly a pleasure to run across your name. I recall that a few weeks ago I sent a note along to Mrs. Johnson as she also had sent in a contribution.

I hope that the work is going on well. Before too long you will be hearing from me with a renewal of my membership and contribution. I hope that I will get a chance to see you when I next come to Atlanta this fall.

Enclosed is our official receipt.

Most sincerely,

W. J. Trent, Jr.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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DEC 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

December 6, 1946

Dear Contributor:

We thank you for your gift for the 1946 United Negro College Fund Campaign. Altogether we raised $904,372.75 which will greatly benefit the 33 Negro private colleges. They have a desperate time balancing their budgets these days and your generosity has helped them tremendously.

The period in which we conducted our appeal was, in many respects, an unsettled one. Reconversion had not yet been completed; domestic maladjustment was apparent; and circumstances abroad were such as to provide grave apprehension.

Yet, you knew that veterans were returning to the schools and colleges all over the country in unprecedented numbers. You knew that the processes of education had to be strengthened under this added strain. You knew too that Negro colleges, never possessed of adequate resources, were feeling this pinch even more. And so you gave generously.

It was the kind of reception you and others have been giving the Fund's appeal through three campaigns which led the Executive Director to report to our Board of Directors recently that "we have arrived at the point where the public accepts the Fund as an important recurring campaign that has importance not alone for the particular colleges concerned, but also for the general welfare of the Nation."

We are glad therefore to be able to say to you that our sails are well set, that our course is well charted, and that our friends have been good friends. To you in particular we say thanks.

Sincerely,

Frank M. Totton

Chairman

THIS YEAR

MORE than 25,000 students were enrolled in the member colleges of the United Negro College Fund when the 1946 Campaign got under way in April in 48 communities throughout the country. Under the national leadership of Frank M. Totton, National Chairman, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Chairman of the National Advisory Committee, and F. D. Patterson, Chairman of the Committee of College Presidents, over 3,000 volunteers went to the public with the story of the Negro colleges and produced gratifying results. The latest available report indicates that:

- Contributions were received from friends in 46 states, the District of Columbia and two foreign countries.
- Corporations and business firms gave $245,000.
- A substantial number of group gifts were received from labor unions, churches, clubs and other organizations.
- One hundred and forty-six Foundations and Family Funds gave an aggregate of $210,735.
- Newspapers throughout the country helped tell the story of the Fund in 13,000 inches of space.

Outstanding national and local leadership joined hands in making possible this year's achievement.

The National Campaign was launched in New York at a gathering of distinguished men and women in the Rainbow Room of Radio City. A feature of the program was the story of the great interest of the Negro servicemen in the strengthening of the Negro colleges told by an ex-GI who is a student at Hampton Institute. The Campaign opening meeting in Detroit featured an address by Winthrop Rockefeller and in Pittsburgh, the Mayor proclaimed "United Negro College Fund Day." Every city developed local enthusiasm through features, meetings and special programs.

Reports from these campaign cities repeatedly told one significant thing, namely, that the Fund is now recognized and remembered as an annual appeal. These reports are confirmed by the large majority of the 1946 contributors who had given in one or both of the earlier campaigns.

The Fund was established as an institution with the same permanence in mind as the colleges which make up its membership. The general public has become increasingly aware that the task we are performing will require continued, diligent application and unswerving support. We have, therefore, taken great heart in knowing that our friends have stuck with us, and that new friends have joined in this American effort to help educate America's Negro youth.

OUR THIRD CAMPAIGN

Here are some figures and facts which tell some of the story of the 1946 Campaign.

CAMPAIGN CITY RESULTS*

ALBANY, N. Y.	$ 2,552.00
ATLANTA, GA.	12,215.51
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.	11,200.00
BOSTON, MASS.	32,733.37
BUFFALO, N. Y.	18,776.94
CHICAGO, ILL.	97,867.02
CINCINNATI, OHIO	6,906.26
DALLAS, TEXAS	11,565.00
DETROIT, MICH.	38,436.23
HARTFORD, CONN.	7,551.87
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.	10,750.07
MEMPHIS, TENN.	17,108.43
NEW HAVEN, CONN.	4,754.00
NEW ORLEANS, LA.	11,239.04
NEWARK AND ORANGES, N. J.	15,776.84
NEW YORK, N. Y.	284,866.25
PHILADELPHIA, PA.	81,560.00
PITTSBURGH, PA.	43,756.67
RICHMOND, VA.	9,670.77
ROCHESTER, N. Y.	15,000.00
ST. LOUIS, MO.	5,294.27
WASHINGTON, D. C.	27,989.18
WILMINGTON, DEL.	12,456.31
	$779,966.03
COLLEGE COMMUNITIES	59,026.61
UNORGANIZED TERRITORY	65,380.11
	$904,372.75

* Campaign activity still under way in Baltimore, Cleveland and Kansas City, Mo.

CAMPAIGN HIGHLIGHTS

President Truman was joined by the governors of 11 states, two members of his Cabinet, and an Associate Justice, Hugo Black of the United States Supreme Court, in endorsing the principle of philanthropic support of higher education for Negroes. . . . Dorothy Maynor, Carol Brice, and Muriel Rahn sang at the meetings launching the campaigns in New York, Boston and Pittsburgh, respectively. . . . Jack Benny and "Rochester" posed for a photo for the Fund during a rehearsal of one of their broadcasts. . . . The Philadelphia Committee under Graham Patterson sponsored a dinner at the Union League which was addressed by Winthrop W. Aldrich, Fund Treasurer. . . . Contributions were received from the community chests of several colleges including Sarah Lawrence College, Yale University and Carleton College. . . . The Tuskegee Institute Choir gave ten benefit performances for the Fund. . . . Buffalo substantially increased its achievement over 1945 . . . Newspapers in Cincinnati gave generous support to the Fund. . . . Melvin D. Hildreth, former General Counsel for the President's War Relief Control Board, and Charles Houston led the campaign in Washington. . . . William E. Cotter, who headed the Commerce and Industry campaigns in four war bond drives in New York City, was at the helm of the local committee here. . . . The entire April issue of the JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY was devoted to "The Negro College—Its Place in Democracy."

CONTRIBUTORS SAID

"The children of the Euclid Avenue Temple Religious School are very happy to contribute. . . . This money comes from their own Karen Ami (community chest) to which the children have obligated themselves to contribute regularly."—*Cleveland.*

* * *

"The 95th Engineer General Service Regiment is glad to share in the adventure of cooperative fund-raising for the Negro colleges of the United States."—*Somewhere in ETO.*

* * *

"Education has carried this country far in the way of world leadership. Let's have a good deal more of it. I have confidence that it will be for the greater good of the greater number, and that means the U.S.A."—*A Foundation.*

* * *

"The difference between helping a little and not helping at all is so vast, it would be foolish of anyone to withhold his mite because it seemed such a wee contribution towards such an enormous need."—*Los Angeles.*

* * *

"My husband lost his life fighting for the Four Freedoms. I am sending this contribution to the Fund in commemoration of his birthday. Your cause is a worthy one and I know he would have helped it along."—*A Friend in New York.*

EDITORS SAID

WASHINGTON ***Evening Star:***

"Providing adequate facilities for the education of Negro youth is not exclusively a matter of concern to Negroes. It is, rather, an obligation and privilege in which all Americans should share. The fruits of the investment will be limited to no single race."

SAN ANTONIO (Texas) ***Evening News:***

"As compared with the interests at stake, the sum sought is modest. The contributor may feel that he is purchasing benefits to his community worth much more. He will help open college doors to ambitious young Negroes, who will pay for their schooling in service, not only to their own race but also to city and state."

NEW YORK ***Herald Tribune:***

"In our judgment, Americans who contribute to this Fund, are not contributing to a charity but to their own well-being. There are in this country 13 million Negroes, which means one in every ten Americans, and it is axiomatic that the state of so large a minority group affects the whole country."

NEWPORT NEWS (Va.) ***Press:***

"Only in recent years has the education of the Negro citizen received anything like the attention it deserves. Ignorance is no respecter of persons."

HARTFORD (Conn.) ***Courant:***

"It will be a contribution to our national well-being, because from the ranks of the boys and girls who are now attending Negro colleges will come the Negro leaders of tomorrow. It is to the entire community's interest that these leaders be given the opportunity now to obtain a full education."

WASHINGTON ***Post:***

"Aside from the principles of justice and democracy involved, better education for Negroes is a matter of insurance and investment for all Americans."

CHARLOTTE (N. C.) ***Observer:***

"The Negro race must be largely led to higher reaches of responsibility and citizenship by those of their own people who have qualified themselves by the developing influences of higher education for these outstanding services. It is (our) duty . . . to the common civilization of both, to assist in this worthy cause of qualifying these colleges to function more efficiently and effectively in this behalf."

PHILADELPHIA ***News:***

"The 33 beneficiary colleges are performing a patriotic and vital service in educating members of the Negro race to take their rightful places in the American scheme of things. The student of today is the citizen of tomorrow and the nation needs the graduates of these institutions as much as it does those holding sheepskins from other colleges and universities."

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The Fight for Quality On Two Negro Campuses

PAUL CLANCY Ed - Higher - South ~~Negro~~

COLUMBIA, SOUTH CAROLINA

WHEN the contracts of three white instructors at the otherwise all-Negro South Carolina State College in Orangeburg were not renewed early in March, a campus revolt was born. Administrative efforts to crush it only made matters worse: after students who led a march to the president's office were suspended, a boycott was called and for three weeks only a handful of the thirteen hundred undergraduates went to classes. The others stayed out in the face of threats of wholesale dismissals and a shutdown of the school. It was only after the students threatened a forty-mile march to Columbia to see the governor that negotiators went to work and concessions were made.

In early May, students at Allen University, a private church-run Negro college in Columbia, temporarily closed down the institution in their demands for quality education. Other demonstrations—some peaceful, some not—broke out this spring at Negro colleges in Jackson, Birmingham, Savannah, Baton Rouge, and Houston. They stirred the easy tranquillity of one campus after another in a chain reaction that has given the Southern Negro one more stage on which to act out his fight for equality. Although these colleges help to educate thousands of Negroes every year, they also help to promote segregation, and many of them were established for that reason. They have long played their part by turning out a conservative middle class of ministers and teachers who too often have been willing to accept the status quo. The system has been effective for more than a hundred years, but today it is breaking down.

There are some eighty predominantly Negro or all-Negro four-year colleges in the United States. The majority rank near the bottom academically. Among the best are Howard University in Washington, D.C., Fisk in Nashville, Morehouse and Spelman in Atlanta, Tuskegee near Montgomery, and Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia. Howard is the largest with 7,270 undergraduates. It also has the only important doctoral program. Most of the others offer graduate degrees only in education and are much smaller, with an average enrollment of less than a thousand. The combined enrollment is about 125,000 Negroes, all but 10,000 in the South.

By and large, these schools draw their students from among those who cannot meet the standards of the now integrated state universities. Many of them, however, simply prefer to study in the more congenial atmosphere of a Negro college. The students come from segregated secondary schools that are among the worst in the country. They arrive and depart with a second-rate education and pass it on to their children and, if they become teachers, to their students. Some observers say that the day serious efforts are made to upgrade Negro colleges will be the day large numbers of Negro teachers begin teaching in white schools.

Separate but Inferior

South Carolina State College was founded in 1896 as the Colored Normal, Industrial, Agricultural and Mechanical College. That same year, the Supreme Court enunciated its separate-but-equal doctrine, and the college evolved into South Carolina's answer to the decision. Its primary aim is still "the development of useful, self-supporting citizens" and the controlled accommodation of Negroes who want a college education. Until last year, the college was overseen by a paternalistic all-white board of trustees; now two Negroes sit on the seven-man board.

The college is off the main street of the sleepy town of Orangeburg, a deeply conservative, rurally dominated community in the center of the state. The campus, an architectural hodgepodge of red brick and green modern in a setting of moss-hung trees, is surrounded by fences topped by barbed wire. The school offers training in liberal arts, agriculture, home economics, industrial education, teacher training, business, other applied arts and sciences, and ROTC. Graduate degrees are awarded only in education. As a result, until the white state colleges were integrated in 1964, all Negroes who wanted to enter any of the professions other than teaching had to go outside the state for their education. The college's physical plant is valued at about $8 million, slightly less than the price tag on the new coliseum now being built for the University of South Carolina.

Dr. B. C. Turner, a mild-mannered Negro who holds a law degree from

Harvard, had been the college's president for seventeen years. Well liked by whites, Turner maintained that he always got whatever he requested from the legislature, an achievement his critics say he accomplished by never asking for anything. Turner saw State as a "developing institution" that had to work extra hard with students "who show the effects of three hundred years of history." If Turner had had his way, a Negro leader charged, it would have taken another three hundred years to make the college a first-rate institution. Though standards have been improving, State has a long way to go. As far as the students are concerned, the major issue is quality education through desegregation: they want white students and white teachers as insurance that their standards will continue to improve.

The salaries of the white instructors who were not given contracts for the next academic year were partially subsidized by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. These teaching interns had doctorates from first-rate schools in chemistry, mathematics, and English. It was the students' first exposure to whites who took an active interest in them and invited them to their homes. Although they had one-year contracts, two of them wanted to stay another year. Getting rid of them meant going back to total segregation, with little hope that the college would ever attract white students or gain more attention from the tight-fisted South Carolina legislature.

THE UNREST that prevails on the small campus does not stop with the students. It cuts just as deeply into the ranks of a faculty that has been without a voice in the operation of the college since its beginning. Before the boycott, faculty members had not protested the conditions under which they taught: cramped quarters; no telephones, typists, or visual aids; no encouragement from the administration to be anything more than names on the payroll.

The faculty has followed the students in becoming organized. Led by Roland Haynes, a psychology professor who has some strong ideas about change, the teachers have set up a faculty senate. "What the school needs—the state of South Carolina needs—is a drastic shake-up in leadership and a philosophy of providing quality education for all its citizens, especially the Negro," Haynes has said. He believes that the boycott was a success because it focused statewide interest on the educational standards of Negro schools and created an atmosphere that could ultimately lead to the administration of Negro and white state-supported institutions in a single department. (South Carolina's colleges are autonomous and their budgets are dealt with individually by the legislature.)

Following the boycott, Negro leaders in the state set out to get rid of President Turner. A group called the Task Force for Quality Education circulated petitions at Negro churches and at NAACP chapter meetings calling for his resignation or dismissal. On the day before the petitions were to be presented to Governor Robert McNair, Turner announced his retirement. The same day, however, the chairman of the board of trustees offered the appointment to Howard Jordan, president of Savannah State College in Georgia, as Turner's successor. Negroes called Jordan "another Turner." Task Force protested vigorously and the board withdrew the appointment. The post remains vacant at this writing.

Black vs. Black

Allen University in Columbia, which is owned and operated by the African Methodist Episcopal Church, offers an interesting contrast to the state-run college in Orangeburg. Allen is one of the few colleges founded by Negroes (in 1870). Its heritage is as proud as that of the AME Church, which was born as a protest to segregation and has 125,000 members in the state. Now it, too, helps perpetuate segregation. Cynthia Shepherd, a Negro history instructor who is preparing a book on the church, said that the school is "engulfed in an unhealthy atmosphere of black power—in this instance, blacks dominating blacks. I can perceive the attempts being made to stifle the inquiring spirit of our youth; to shackle their minds to mediocrity; ignorance and apathy by teachers and preachers of a dead philosophy: status-quoism." Another instructor, this one white, called Allen "a den of racism."

Allen sits in the heart of one of Columbia's low-rent sections, with most of its campus squeezed into a city block. Allen's library contains only about twenty thousand volumes, most of them outdated. The average salary for a full professor is $7,716; for an assistant professor, $4,954.

Dean V. Dewey Annakin, a white retired sociology professor who came to Allen from Indiana State University in 1965, was regarded by the students as "our foremost champion of quality education." A short man with a booming voice and a quick intelligence, he was hired to pull Allen out of the academic cellar. This meant getting rid of deadwood on the faculty, deadwood with tenure, and the job was not easy. He brought in about a dozen white instructors, much to the displeasure of entrenched faculty members. In April, when he recommended not rehiring three Negro instructors, the board of trustees advised against it. Annakin resigned in May, saying, "I cannot help people who do not want to be helped."

A student boycott followed almost immediately and became total a few days later when barricades went up at entrances to the campus and pickets sealed off classrooms and the administration building. The students marched to the home of the bishop of the AME Church (who is also chairman of Allen's board of trustees) and, when they were ignored, hanged the bishop in effigy. Several Negro and white instructors supported the boycott and Annakin, although one of his Negro critics on the faculty issued a statement that sounded remarkably like something a white segregationist might say: "Dean Annakin is just another typical example of a northern outsider who feels that wisdom was born in the North with him."

The students felt that the loss of Annakin meant the loss of any chance the school might have had for accreditation. Without accreditation, most of the graduating teachers cannot get jobs in neighboring states, and getting into a graduate school from Allen is next to impos-

sible. The state of Georgia has upgraded its certification standards and notified non-accredited schools, including Allen, that as of July 1 it will not accept any more of their graduates in its school system. Accreditation also means membership in the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, which has strict standards about the separation of powers between a college's administration and its trustees. An official of the Southern Association issued a stern warning concerning Allen toward the end of last semester: "I find it difficult to believe that realistic distinctions between policy making and institutional management can be made, since there are such close family ties between members of the board and staff."

A Struggle at the Top

Allen has serious problems in other areas. The last page of the 1966 annual report, which was to have been devoted to a financial statement, is blank except for an apology from the president: "I regret I was unable to get a clear picture of the finances from the business manager in time for this report."

Chief among students' complaints is the suppression of free discussion in classes, particularly when their opinions differ from those of the instructors. They would also like to see a fixed schedule of fees from the business office as well as itemized accounts for that office. The school lacks such common necessities as soap and paper towels in the toilets, and wastebaskets, chalk, and erasers in many of the classrooms.

The average student, according to Annakin, enters Allen with an education equivalent to that of the average white high-school sophomore in the state, and leaves at the level of the average college sophomore. In order to get into graduate school, the student must spend at least a year in remedial study. Annakin planned to turn Allen into a five-year school where all but about ten per cent of the students would use the extra year to catch up.

When Annakin accepted the job at Allen, he did not know that he was walking into the midst of a bitter struggle between President Benjamin Glover, a Negro minister, and the board of trustees. The board is composed of 130 Negroes, half of them part of the AME hierarchy, the others lay members of the church. The presidency of Allen is one step removed from the bishopric, a post for which candidates actively campaign as though for a high political office. As a result there is constant pressure on the president to resign or make a mistake that will get him fired. Glover had fought as hard as anyone for the college presidency and fought to keep it. Board members, who insist that they have supported his attempts to move the school toward accreditation, deny that they were gunning for Glover.

Yet on May 25, commencement day, Glover was fired and given four days to get out of his office and a month to vacate his college-owned home. It was the second time in two years that a president had been fired on commencement day. "They wanted me to condemn the students in their search for quality education and to fire the faculty members and student leaders involved in the boycott," Glover said later. "And they wanted me to make a statement exonerating the board. I couldn't dismiss the students for demonstrating. I've done too much of that myself." One of the reasons for his dismissal, he said, was his discovery of graft and his refusal to take any.

THE TRUSTEES were stung during the graduation exercises when NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins, the speaker, gave a ringing endorsement of Glover and the student boycott and condemned "the forces that wish to make this campus a place of conformity, even if it means mediocrity."

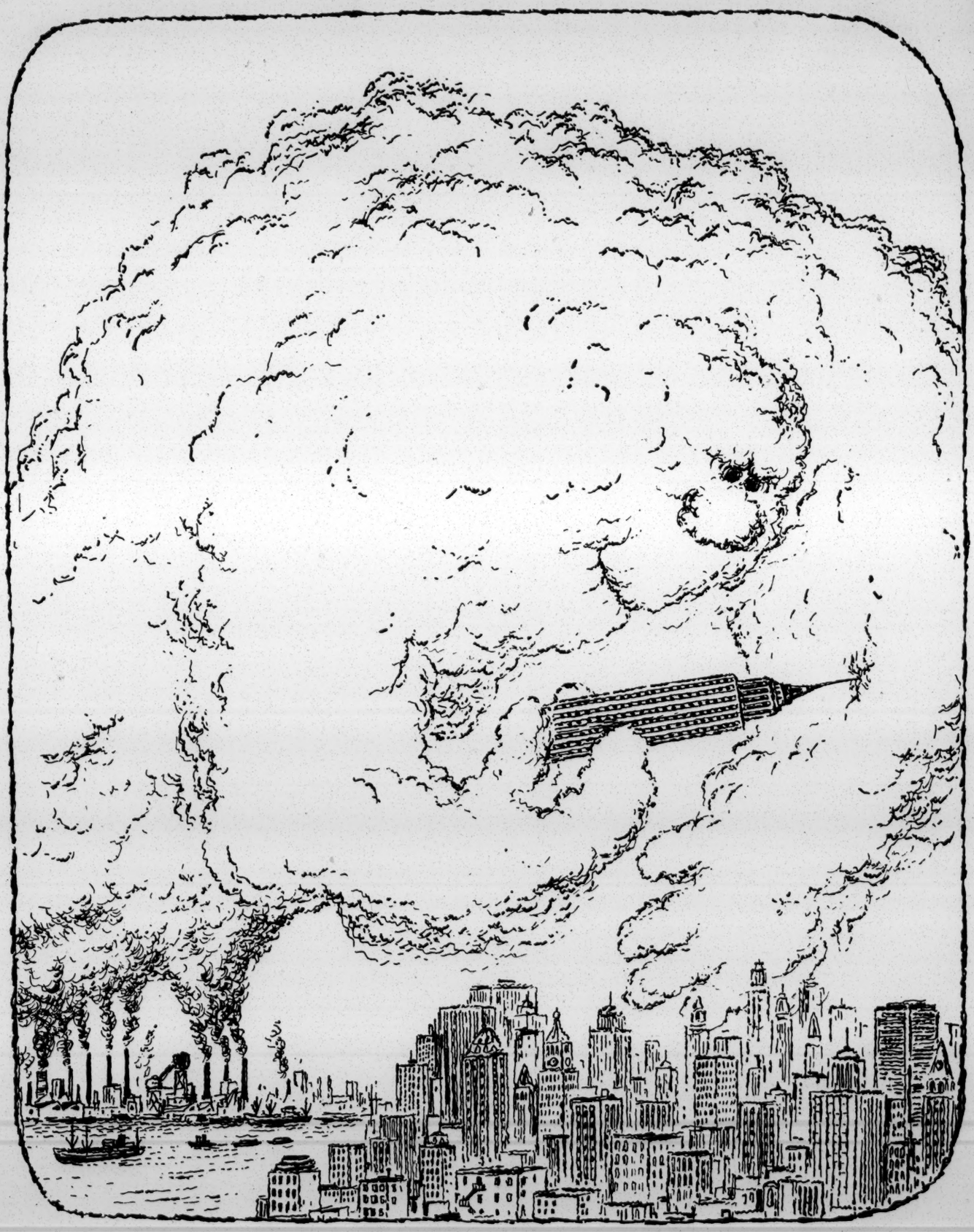
"I count it an honor to give the commencement address at an institution whose student body is insisting on excellence in instruction, even to the point of striking and boycotting," Wilkins said, to the applause of the graduating students and the stony silence of the trustees. He already had made a few waves at an earlier press conference by implying that South Carolina helps perpetuate poor education by certifying teachers who come from non-accredited schools. He said state-supported segregated colleges like South Carolina State should be abolished and that private Negro colleges should measure up to accreditation standards or close their doors.

No concessions were made at Allen. Despite all the pressure from Wilkins, from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, and elsewhere, the board refused to change its stand. Ten teachers who supported the boycott found their summer courses canceled. The students, who were willing to lose a semester or more if they could straighten things out, realized that there was little hope for change, and in frustration they ended the boycott after eight days, on May 19. Annakin, who has taken another job, told them that it had not all been in vain. "I had no idea my resignation would spark a student uprising because, when I came here, all of you seemed so docile. Well, if it took my resignation to alert you to the need at times of taking a stand, then it has been worth it."

Glover has inherited 104 acres in Promise Land, a Negro community near Greenwood, and plans to establish a two-year college there for some two hundred underprivileged youths. He has applied for a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity.

An aftermath of the boycott is the attempt by some Allen instructors, with the enthusiastic support of the National Student Association, to set up a summer remedial program for students who want to transfer from Allen to accredited schools. The University of South Carolina also is taking some students into its remedial program and expects to admit them in the fall.

Although the loss of so many students would be a blow to Allen's meager resources, the college will probably survive and eventually even get its accreditation. Many educators, including Annakin, believe that the small Negro college has an important role to play and must be maintained. But the students at schools like Allen and South Carolina State, where conditions are even worse than in most Negro colleges, have let it be known that they will accept nothing less than a chance to get a better education—which means not just integration but a thorough upgrading of the entire school system.



By Fernando Krahn

Edu - Higher - Gen

Colonialism on the Black Campus

A former English instructor at Howard University, the "Black Harvard," related this story of his first days on the job: "I had lunch with students in the cafeteria. They were quite surprised that I condescended to eat with them and began to ask me some questions. Did I think I was a good teacher? I said yes, I thought I was a good teacher, maybe one of the best. They said, 'We give you two years.' Then: did I have strong, especially radical, political views? I answered yes, I supposed so. 'Oh well,' they said, 'we give you one year'."

He lasted one semester. Four of his colleagues have also been dismissed since the expiration of the spring term; sixteen students have been expelled and three suspended, others have received letters of warning. No hearings were held and no reasons given for the dismissals beyond the allegation that the offenders' "general conduct" was "disruptive" of the university and "detrimental" to its "fundamental mission."

Toward the end of the spring term, several thousand Howard undergraduates had boycotted classes to protest disciplinary action that had been taken against four students who had demonstrated against the war and the draft on the day General Lewis B. Hershey came to Howard to make a speech. The students were associated with the Black Power Committee, which then probably had no more than fifty adherents. When, however, the university attempted to discipline students who had allegedly violated Hershey's freedom of speech (demonstrators jumped on stage), it raised issues which eventually mobilized over half the undergraduate body against it.

Between the Hershey incident in March and the May boycott, there were faculty forums, student rallies, and disrupted disciplinary hearings. The boycott of May 10 was endorsed by the Black Power Committee and by the student government leaders who had condemned the Hershey demonstrations, by the activist Student Rights Organization and university newspaper and by the un-political fraternities. Civil liberties issues – academic freedom, due process, freedoms of speech and dissent – mobilized students and some junior faculty against the administration. The substantive issue, however, was the peculiar university structure which requires that administrators play Uncle Tom to white political powers outside the university, but allows them to play Emperor Jones on campus.

In Howard's case, the white power structure is Congress itself. Although ostensibly a private institution responsible only to its trustees, Howard was established by a federal land grant and receives more than half its funds by congressional appropriation. Underscoring its quasi-federal status are its loyalty oath (Civil Service Form 61), compulsory ROTC (which militants despise and want abolished), and the ex-officio membership of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare on its board of trustees. University officials deny, of course, that they dance to the music of the Feds. But April 19, amid campus agitation, President James Nabrit appeared before the House subcommittee that controls Howard's appropriations. Nabrit told the congressmen that there was at Howard "a lot of ferment of an undesirable kind and ferment that you might say is desirable . . ." (He did not define what he meant by "desirable" and "undesirable" although the expulsion of a cross-section of activist leaders will serve as a de facto definition.) The "very small but noisy and active elements" were a "threat to the real objectives of education." The president told the congressmen that "I would like to have the confidence and support of the committee" and concluded his reference to campus unrest with the promise, "We propose to deal with it."

The Howard administrators are also practitioners of black power – their own. The major instrument of this power is tight control of promotions. Howard does not have departmental chairmen elected by their faculty colleagues, but "department heads" appointed by the deans of the respective schools. These heads, who may be removed annually at the discretion of the deans, make recommendations for promotion and tenure which must be approved by the appropriate dean. Whereas at other major universities recommendations for promotion are made by departmental colleagues of higher rank, the only faculty voice at Howard is that of a single university-wide committee, which consists of senior faculty members who, because they have themselves been promoted by the same system, are from the point of view of the administration lily white.

The Howard administration is also noted for making – and changing – policy ad hoc. During the tumultuous spring term, the university issued a policy statement endorsed by the board of trustees affirming the university's commitment to "academic freedom – freedom of speech and freedom of ideas." However, Nabrit noted that the "rude and intimidating conduct" associated with the Hershey incident had received "world-wide publicity resulting in inestimable damage to the university." Weighing academic freedom and bad publicity in the balance, Nabrit concluded that the "total corporate interests" of the university required that all public announcements and news releases by students and faculty

New Republic 8-5-67

be cleared through the public relations office. In justification of the university's refusal to allow Cramton Auditorium to be used for a speech by CORE's Floyd McKissick, Nabrit noted that the university must "insure that a proper balance" be maintained in the political persuasion of speakers appearing on campus.

The Uncle Tom-Emperor Jones complex of Howard administators is not unique. In the early days of the civil rights movement in 1962, Negro officials of Southern University, under pressure from Louisiana's state board of education, expelled eighteen students for participating in lunch counter sit-ins. Last spring, the administrators of Texas Southern refused to charter a militant political group, Friends of SNCC, and failed to renew the contract of its faculty sponsor, Mack Jones. According to a study by David Riesman and Christopher Jencks, authoritarianism wedded to political timidity characterizes the administrations of virtually all Negro colleges.

The authoritarian structure of Howard and other Negro colleges is the colonial inheritance of their founding by white benefactors and of their former control by white administrators. The irony is that colonialism has endured while the complexion of the rulers has darkened (somewhat). Some administrators and department heads at Howard have held power for twenty-five years and regard their jurisdictions as personal fiefs. At the same time, in a society in which education is one of the few channels of upward social mobility for Negroes, competition for a high position, and tenacity in retaining a position once gained, are fierce. A president of the only true Negro university can expect considerable favors from the white powers-that-be. (President Nabrit chaired the White House's 1966 Conference on Civil Rights and recently served as a Deputy US Representative to the United Nations.) Another source of white influence on Negro institutions is money – a fact of which Fisk University was editorially reminded by the *Nashville Banner* when Negro students rioted there last spring. This authoritarianism, not black power, was the issue at Howard (three of the five dismissed teachers were not Negro).

But some Howard students and faculty do believe that the idea of a "militant black university" is a legitimate alternative to the administration's plan for a more fully integrated, "first-rate university." The administration's references in tandem to integration and raising admissions standards have antagonized these students, who cite "Nabrit's Law": "Wherever two or three Negroes are gathered together, the standards must go down." They criticize admissions criteria based on standardized tests measuring "aptitude" which are culturally biased against poor Negroes. They also want a curriculum which is more oriented to Negro culture. (Howard's music department does not teach jazz: Western, white-oriented subjects and languages are often compulsory; courses in Negro history, literature, sociology are absent or optional.)

Even non-militant faculty members admit that the civil rights record of Howard, with the exception of its law school, has been "rather poor." A partial explanation is that authoritarian university procedures turn out docile graduates who are more interested in migrating to the "Gold Coast" (wealthy Negro suburbs) than in struggling for justice for their soul brothers in the ghetto. The militants want the university to become a material and inspirational source for the Black social movement, while university officials insist that the university should be an objective educational enterprise. Kenneth Clark, a Howard trustee and social psychologist who has made a reputation as an expert on ghetto problems, has said that Howard should become a "national urban university and demonstrate what a truly non-racial university can be. To be a 'predominantly Negro' college is an anachronism that is no longer tolerable." Militants, however, believe that Howard has an obligation to serve Negroes in the ghetto and cannot in any case hope to compete with established, heavily endowed white universities. Student leader Jay Greene suggests that "separatism is not a program; it is a fact. We want to take something that has been working against us and make it work for us."

Howard's immediate problem may not be a choice between the "militant" and "first-rate" alternatives, but its continued accreditation. The precedent of Alabama State, which dismissed a faculty member without due process, is rather disturbing in that respect. The American Association of University Professors has also backed dismissed faculty on due process grounds, while the American Civil Liberties Union is suing to have students and faculty reinstated. President Nabrit recently announced his retirement as soon as a replacement can be found, while disclaiming any connection between his decision and the present imbroglio.

The university has also met some of the demands of the boycott. It has written a judiciary code in cooperation with students and will establish a student judiciary. Compulsory ROTC may also be on the way out. The structure of university authoritarianism will, however, be unchanged this fall. If the primary issue remains authoritarianism, the Howard administration is likely to be confronted – especially if students and faculty are not reinstated – with a united front of students and junior faculty. If the creation of a "militant black university" becomes the issue, however, one faculty member envisions a "virtual civil war on campus." In either case, the antebellum days of Howard – and perhaps other Negro colleges who may take their cue from Howard – are over.

MICHAEL MILES

Don't know if you can make sense of this or not. only copy I can find.

AND NEGRO COLLEGES

"talk proper" (that is, like whites).

One student claimed to have had a roommate from Mississippi who, after going through this transformation, went home for a visit and fell into association with his old cronies there:

> One day they went to the corner store, where pickled pigs' feet were sold from a jar. Whereas once he would say to the storeman, "Gimme some o' them feet," now he said in ultra-polite tones: "Puh-lease, may i [ah-ee] hawve some of those fibulatibias?" The fellows thought he had turned funny on them.

A single white professor is enough to raise the heated correction from some irate Negro professor that his college "is not a Negro college." Yet, as early as 1949, a white faculty wife wrote, in *Social Forces,* of the difficulty white and Negro professors experience in relating to one another. The Negro professors are generally conservative, by comparison, except for lip-service adherence to "civil rights" causes, and they resent their white liberal colleagues' relative success with the students. At a national "black" student conference held at Tuskegee Institute about two years ago, the faculty chaperons for every visiting black student group were white!

Negro professors as a group prevail as mute robots who value their professions only for pecuniary and prestigious rewards; they possess little true interest in knowledge and books beyond the assimilation of matter necessary for the interpretation, padding, and perfunctory transmission of their graduate school professors' lecture notes. They supplement these, where necessary, with personal anecdotes and conjectures on the race question and, when these run out, typically require their students to take up the remainder of the semester teaching for them via "oral reports" and "panel discussions."

The time saved in this way is wasted on house parties, dawn dances, harvest balls, carnival balls, and "coming out" (introducing their offspring to "society") affairs. Inasmuch as they depend on television and the movies for their major contemporary exposure to white middle-class norms and values, these professors place considerably more stock in expensive cars and fancy furnishings than on books and academic materials. They ac-

(*Continued on page* 57)

The Promise of Equality

By STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, *president, United Negro College Fund.*

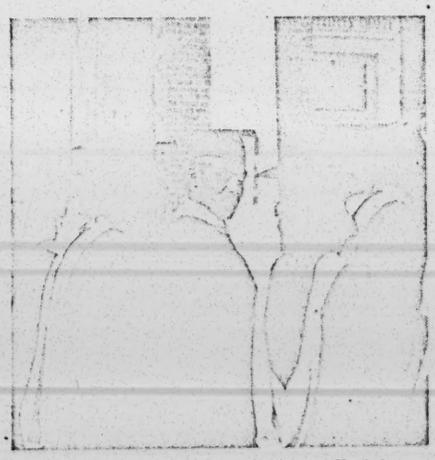
IT IS tempting, in discussions of higher education, to talk about *the* Negro college or university. The designation makes it simple to single out these institutions for either general acceptance, or for uniform condemnation and ridicule. But in any educationally differentiating sense, there is no such institution. Negro colleges and universities differ just as widely among themselves—in size, quality, and resources—as do all the other institutions of higher learning in the nation.

They range from Howard University—with its ten undergraduate, graduate, and professional schools, an enrollment of some 10,000 students, an annual educational budget of more than $23,000,000, and a physical plant valued at more than $53,000,000—to a small, unaccredited, church-related college with fewer than 200 students, a budget of less than $200,000, and physical assets valued at something under $150,000. In short, these institutions run the gamut from the very poor to those that are making outstanding contributions to American society.

There are, today, some 111 predominantly Negro colleges and universities—thirty-nine public and seventy-two private. Of these 111, seventy-six are fully accredited by the appropriate regional accrediting association, and several more are striving valiantly to achieve it. In 1967-68, these 111 institutions enrolled approximately 60 per cent of all Negro college students and an estimated 70 per cent of Negro undergraduates. (There is no accurate census of Negroes in predominantly white institutions since many do not keep enrollment statistics on a racial basis.) Their enrollments have been increasing, in recent years, at approximately the same rate as all institutions of higher learning. Their combined annual educational budgets exceed $131 million, and the value of their physical plants totals more than $600 million.

It is clear, then, that Negro colleges and universities comprise a significant part of the nation's higher education establishment—a part that is serving the changing needs of both the Negro community and the nation. It is true, too, that they are held in high regard in the Negro community—which explains, in part, the continuing increase in their enrollments. But although these institutions do not differ from others in higher education in either kind or degree, they do have some special problems—and some special opportunities—that stem from their history, from the principal group they serve, and from the deep-seated racial attitudes that dominate American life.

When we talk of special problems and future possibilities, we are speaking about handicapped students, faculty, and boards. We are speaking about



—*Hugh Rogers.*

—*Hugh Rogers.*

"The principal task of the Negro colleges and universities is to take the Negro students as they are and prepare them for effective roles in American society."

The Legacy of Paternalism

By NATHAN HARE, *director, Black Studies Curriculum, San Francisco State College.*

LAST YEAR, Harvard University social scientists David Riesman and Christopher Jencks published a devastating article in the *Harvard Educational Review* on the failure of the American Negro college. It created a furor in Negro college circles. The anxious reaction of Negro college administrators and professors led to a number of lively, high-level faculty meetings and private threats—to my knowledge never carried out—to debate Reisman and Jencks in print.

I do not think that the professors' hesitancy was simply a product of the fact that most of them had never published anything before. Rather, it is that they know, as I do, that Riesman and Jencks were as accurate as outsiders could manage to be. I know because I graduated from a Negro college—Langston University, housed in an all-Negro town in Oklahoma—taught for seven years at two Negro colleges (Virginia State College in Petersburg and Howard University in Washington, D.C.), and lectured at many others across the country where I had occasion to observe classroom behavior and engage students in casual conversation. I had stayed on at Howard University for six full years—against the advice of friends, relatives, and former professors—because of a keen interest in helping to educate black students. It was my belief that they would become the leading black individuals of the future, and that the entire race and the world would benefit from whatever they became.

"Black students on Negro campuses are merely rejecting the paternalism of their administrations and, like the black race generally, seeking a new direction."

—Wide World.

Because I cannot bear to watch what Negro colleges as a whole are doing to their students, it is not my ambition—after a decade of teaching in them—ever to teach in a Negro college again. This view is shared by several other black professors I know. What is wrong with Negro colleges today? What are the sources of emerging Negro college student unrest and frustration?

PART of the answer may be traced to the history of Negro colleges and the nature of their founding and motivation. A few grew out of abolitionist sentiment in the North but quickly became favorite places for guilt-ridden white slavemasters to send away their illegitimate offspring. Most early Negro colleges, however, were founded in the South by the missionary movement and religious groups interested in recruiting and training teachers and preachers for missionary work in this country ("home mission") and Africa. They had the objective, writes Earl Conrad in *The Invention of the Negro,* "not only of teaching the freedmen how to read and write, but, by bringing the learning in the form of the Bible, to temper this teaching, perhaps to moderate the freedman as well as free him."

Missionary-run colleges, for the most part, eventually folded, or were taken over or duplicated by state governments, but Negro colleges, to this day, have never escaped the missionary influence. Most are teachers colleges with an occasional school of theology attached, though many, predictably, are called universities. Students insist that they are more properly "puniversities," and complain that A&M (Agriculture and Mechanical) are Athletics and Music colleges; A&I (Agriculture and Industrial), Athletics and Ignorance; and A&T (Agriculture and Technical), Athletics and Tomism.

As idealistic white teachers and administrators retreated, they were replaced by "colored" personnel who quickly instituted the mores of the plantation and sought to ape the academic trivia and adolescent fanfare of white colleges. These newcomers were mainly descendants of free blacks or "house nigger" slaves (those who worked in the house instead of the field and became domesticated emulators of upper-class Southern white manners). They longed to be accepted at all costs by white society and modeled their lives to approximate white thinking and behavior—even toward their own race—shunning association and identity with the lower class.

Thus, according to Riesman and Jencks:

> . . . instead of trying to promote a distinctive set of habits and values in their students, they were, by almost any standard, purveyors of super-American, ultra-bourgeois prejudices and aspirations. Far from fighting to preserve a separate subculture, as other ethnic colleges did, the Negro colleges were militantly opposed to almost everything which made Negroes different from whites, on the grounds that it was "lower-class."

These colleges accepted the unalterable superiority of all aspects of white middle-class culture and came to favor Greek and Roman classics, for example, over the study of African civilization or the history of black Americans. Many still maintain that "there is no such thing as Negro history or a distinct history of black people." After a Negro professor returned from a full year in Greece and Italy with slides "to prove that there were colored people in ancient Greece and ancient Rome," a student was heard to remark: "So what? Now they're going to blame us colored for the fall of Rome."

Only recently have Negro colleges begun to permit jazz musicians and blues singers, long accustomed to performing at white colleges, to appear on campus. Similarly, light skin color as a badge for admission to exclusive clubs and campus queen courts has been slow to die. Students are cajoled to lose their "flat talk" and "brogue" and learn to

institutions that serve, with some exceptions, the most culturally deprived college students in the nation. We are speaking about black Americans, burdened by a history of oppression and discrimination, and a continuing lack of money for even basic educational needs.

In this country we have always spent more, not less, on our handicapped. We have always needed better teachers, smaller classes, compensatory programs, emulative examples, and competent guidance. But in Negro education we have not dealt sufficiently with the handicaps of our young people. In fact, we spend $1,025 less today to educate a student in a predominantly Negro college than we do in a comparable so-called white college. Yet the Negro students' need for special courses and guidance is still the greater.

The principal task of the Negro colleges and universities for the next decade or two, as it has been for more than a hundred years, is to take the Negro students as they are, with all their disadvantages, and prepare them for effective roles in American society. This involves, and will continue to involve, considerable remedial and compensatory education, as well as massive financial aid. This is because at least 40 per cent of the Negro families in the United States live in or near poverty by federal definition. Last year, for example, the thirty-six private colleges of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF) provided more than $17,000,000 in loans, scholarships, grants-in-aid, and work opportunities.

The educational task confronting these institutions is the most formidable in higher education, and when this fact is taken into account, it is no exaggeration to assert that they have performed a near miracle in rendering both the Negro community and the nation a tremendous service.

We know that the overwhelming majority of the students they serve are "prepared," generally, in the nation's poorest, most overcrowded, understaffed, and underequipped schools. Any group of institutions that seeks to be responsive to the needs of such students, irrespective of race, would confront special problems. The number of qualified Negroes has been insufficient to staff these institutions at the optimum level. And while the number of well-trained Negroes has increased dramatically during the past decade, new and emerging opportunities—including teaching and administrative positions—in predominantly white institutions have prevented the elimination of the deficit. White teachers have helped to reduce the deficit in some institutions, but the number of qualified, mature white teachers is also in short supply—particularly at the salaries these colleges can offer.

THE continuing assumption that every Negro or predominantly Negro institution is inferior has limited the support for public institutions from state legislatures and for private institutions from private philanthropy. Probably it has also retarded efforts to integrate student bodies. This image may, indeed, be the most difficult of all of the problems, because the ability to compete for faculty, to provide the necessary depth in administrative staffs, to strengthen libraries, to purchase modern teaching equipment, and to introduce new and relevant curricula is contingent upon adequate budgets. As a president of one of the colleges put it: "It isn't the *love* of money that is the root of all evil where the Negro colleges are concerned; it is the *lack* of money and all that this implies."

The new competition from predominantly white institutions for the top 10 per cent of Negro high school graduates—sometimes with special foundation grants—is both a problem and a blessing. It is a problem because it deprives the Negro colleges of some of the bright, provocative minds that tend to accelerate and deepen the educative process. It is a great blessing, in the larger sense, because it represents the widening of opportunities for Negro youth. Furthermore, the number of Negro youngsters who need to be educated is so staggeringly large—at least three times the present number—that the problem becomes not one of fewer students, but more students with more problems to be met.

We need to devise curricula content and raise expenditures to help young Negroes in their search for identity and, at the same time, avoid their becoming racists. We must expand the curricula to include more preparation for careers in business and industry. For realistic and understandable reasons, the past emphasis has been on preparation for the professions of teaching, medicine, the ministry, social work, and the law—fields historically open to Negroes. Curricula changes should be responsive to positions which have opened almost dramatically during the past seven years. A number of predominantly Negro institutions that were scarcely visited as late as 1961 had more recruiters from government, business, and industry during the past year than they had graduating seniors!

The learning experience for Negro students can be made richer by the new trend of exchanging expertise between Negro and predominantly white colleges in a given city. This division of labor or merging is suggested by the fact that two state institutions—one predominantly Negro and one predominantly white—often exist in the same city. Examples include Florida State and Florida A & M Universities in Tallahassee; the University of Houston and Texas Southern, also in Houston; the University of North Carolina at Greensboro and A & T University, also in Greensboro.

The possibilities and future role of the predominantly Negro colleges and universities are contingent, in the main, upon their ability to solve their special problems. According to Sir Eric Ashby, "an institution is the embodiment of an ideal. In order to survive, it must fulfill two conditions: It must be sufficiently stable to sustain the ideal which gave it birth and sufficiently responsive to remain relevant to the society which supports it." Against enormous odds, the predominantly Negro colleges and universities have demonstrated unusual stability. Several have already celebrated their centennial years. Except for the very weak and marginal, the private colleges and universities appear to be gaining strength and stability. During the year 1966-67, for example, the member colleges of the UNCF completed new and renovated constructions worth some $28,000,000. And while some graduate and professional work may be discontinued and some division of responsibility decided upon in cities where public institutions are clearly involved in waste-

(*Continued on page* 58)

—*Hugh Rogers.*

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"We need to devise curricula content and raise expenditures to help young Negroes in their search for identity, and at the same time, avoid their becoming racists."

Paternalism

Continued from page 45

quire most of their knowledge and lecture fuel from the daily press and mass-circulation magazines, although many belong to popular book clubs and even have "studies" filled with complimentary textbooks and readers acquired along with those borrowed from the college library or accumulated during graduate school days. The major activities in these "studies" are drinking, cat-napping, and "relaxing"—in that order. Frequently, they seek respite through house parties, where they play "bid whist," penny pinochle (or more recently, bridge), and pathetically strive to master the latest teen-age dance crazes.

In a quantitative study published in the *Journal of Negro Education,* I found that Negro professors, while looking down on their students as incapable of learning because of their "poor backgrounds," are generally regarded by their students as inadequate individuals who know neither how to teach nor much of anything to teach if they did know how. Almost none ever publish, except for an occasional condensation of their doctoral dissertations into an article or two (often their thesis abstracts word for word) and letters-to-the-editor. Those who publish significantly are regarded as "geniuses" or contemptuously are said to be showing off in search of publicity.

Although there have been recent efforts to "raise standards" by increasing the proportion of students flunked, grades given by these professors usually mean very little and may even be changed to permit some student to make the grade-point average required to join the fraternity or sorority to which the professor belongs. Fraternity devotion approximates—and for some, replaces—religious fanaticism and frenzy. On "frat days," the student children of the black bourgeoisie, still under the influence of these professors, hold gaudy pow-wows and "war dances" comprising a caricature of tribal festivities in Tarzan movies, with the only difference being the mode of dress and the language of the lyrics (converted blues tunes). Yet they are the students most ashamed of their blackness and most inclined to reject their African ancestry.

As integration at the college level increased (about half of all black college students now attend predominantly white colleges) the black bourgeoisie increasingly began to send their children to white colleges. The late sociologist E. Franklin Frazier complained to me, as we were walking across Howard University's campus one spring morning shortly before his death some years ago, that for forty years he for one had been unable to teach the black bourgeoisie or their children anything. Today, however, about half of all Negro college students come from families with incomes below $4,000. Frazier once wrote prophetically in his book, *Black Bourgeoisie*: "As the children of the Negro masses have flooded the colleges, it was inevitable that the traditional standards of morals and manners would have to give way."

Thus, although the protest at Negro colleges sometimes takes the form of black power cries (often exaggerated or concocted by administrators and public relations officials playing to public sentiment), the fight on Negro college campuses—in contrast to more nationalistic tendencies on white campuses—more accurately reflects a desire to escape the doldrums of black bourgeoisie dalliance and administrative tyranny and mismanagement. Although I am a black power advocate, born to the breed long before it grew fashionable, white allies at Howard—about the only ones within the faculty—knew and accepted the fact that black power was not the true issue there, though necessary as a tactic in the quest for general freedom.

EVEN where Negro college student protesters may be seen chanting "black power," it is mainly a rallying cry. Closer inspection of their demands reveals divergent provocations. Howard students, who launched the fad this year of briefly taking over administration buildings, finally wrangled some concessions out of their administrators. These concessions revolved around the following: the freedom to bring liquor into the dormitories (they always did so freely even if they didn't have the freedom), and the opportunity, in the case of girls, to take as many as three "unexplained" weekends. However, a cutback in the stiff prerequisites for the existing course in Negro history also is being "considered." When students at Pennsylvania's Cheyney State College chased the administration out of its building, they demanded a state investigation of school policies. The students thrown out of Louisiana's Grambling College merely wanted less emphasis on athletics and more on academics.

Black students on Negro campuses are merely rejecting the paternalism (some say "maternalism") of their administrations and, like the black race generally, seeking a new direction. They resentfully contend that their particular college is "the Negroest of Negro colleges," by which they mean that they are as white as any college now extant. Although the sad truth is that Negro colleges are fundamentally grotesque caricatures of white colleges, there is more to their problem than that.

The unfortunate fact is, as Riesman and Jencks observed, "oppression corrupts the oppressed as well as the oppressors," and so it is with Negro college administrators, who generally operate with an Amos 'n' Andy approach, laboring under a system of second-hand power manipulated by white remote control. Although their boards of trustees frequently include a token number of Negro members, they invariably reflect the wishes of white politicians who dole out the bulk of their operating funds. To compensate for the resulting sense of powerlessness as administrators of white decrees, Negro college presidents develop a "chieftain complex," sustained by a cliquish, rubber-stamp oligarchy of lesser administrators. The dirty work of the administrative process may be handed down to a dean, though students nonetheless may have to go to the president to, say, get a course changed.

Seldom are regulations, let alone acceptable codes of behavior, fully and clearly spelled out. Consequently, it is not always possible to tell just who has the power in a particular instance. When six professors were bounced last summer from a leading Negro university in Washington, D.C., the dean (who opposed the firings in writing, but had to sign the letters of dismissal whose contents had been dictated to him) blamed the vice president. The vice president blamed the president during the legal testimony, and the president in turn blamed the vice president, who pointed out that the dean sent the letters.

The volatile nature of administrative control intensifies faculty and student dependence on whimsical administrative directives, producing an insouciant state of powerless docility in which administrators heavy-handedly rule the minutest aspects of campus life. Once while I was teaching at Virginia State College, the chairman of my department interrupted my class to warn me that the deans would decimate me if they should ever catch me leaning against the desk instead of sitting behind it while lecturing. At Howard University, for example, the deans take turns making the rounds of classrooms scolding professors before classes containing some student caught smoking a cigarette. The dean at one college I attended habitually visited

classrooms, occasionally challenging professors on material presented to the class.

Professors who attempt to oppose these bonds of political and academic weakness run counter to administrators' preference for tranquillity over progress and accordingly are "de-hired" (that is, not reappointed, a technical firing) as contracts terminate. Contracts typically take the form of business letters and are seldom issued before August, when most hiring is done, of any given year. However, the failure to receive a letter of nonreappointment is traditionally regarded as an "assumptive contract."

Students similarly are denied any place in helping to determine their destinies. On small Southern campuses, female students employed as part-time maids by faculty wives may be snatched from the classroom for unfinished chores. A student may be expelled for publicly calling the president of a neighbor college an Uncle Tom. Troops will be rushed in to compel students to accept the de-emphasis on scholarship while students are flunked out in droves to "raise standards." Students may be required to attend Sunday chapel while faculty members are compelled to sign in to meetings. Some administrators may haunt lovers' lanes with flashlights looking for copulating students but, like an objectionable number of their subordinates, demand sexual favors from students for academic returns. Many students complain that it is "necessary to have a good body as well as a good mind" in order to graduate.

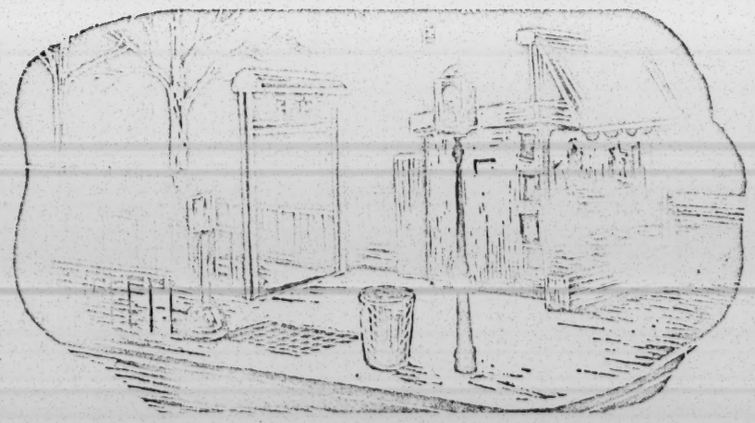
Since administrators extend only puppet power to official student governments, most students disdain to take an active part in routine campus politics or even to vote in campus elections. Thus the students elected to office seldom represent genuine choices of the student bodies they serve, and, except for occasional sham attempts to be relevant to student interests, serve largely antithetical goals. Students seeking self-determination accordingly feel impelled to take matters into their own hands and force the administration to serve them.

In all the Negro colleges I have visited, I found students who wanted to know, as one of them put it recently, how to "break this administrative grip." At a college in South Carolina I was kept up all night long convincing students who had had enough to stay on in school so that someday, somehow, they might move into a better position to bring about some change.

A college registrar, before fleeing midyear to a white university, once showed me figures indicating that his college, despite a high flunkout rate, lost more students each year who earn a "C" average and above than students with less than a "C" average. We could only speculate on the fact that most major leaders of black revolutionary groups such as SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), RAM (Revolutionary Action Movement), and the Black Panthers, were above-average, frequently honor students, in predominantly Negro or junior colleges, before dropping out in disgust. I have many times watched helplessly while my best students began to disdain most of their other classes and proceeded to flunk out.

A STUDENT at a leading Negro college finally managed to graduate, after some hesitancy by his professors; then, after making *Who's Who in America* that self-same year, he returned to his campus, where he was moved to remark that it should be burned down and cotton planted in its place, so that at least some economic benefit could accrue. Instead of teaching white colleges the methods of a new and genuine freedom, Negro colleges merely compounded the most deplorable errors of white college ways.

It is ironic but not inexplicable that my own efforts to help make education relevant to black college students have brought me finally to a white college campus. It comforts me sadly to know that, as this goal is achieved on white campuses, Negro colleges will feel obliged to ape them.



Equality

Continued from page 46

ful duplication, the state institutions appear to be stable. They will doubtless also become increasingly integrated. Thus Ashby's first condition of survival appears to be in no jeopardy.

The real question, however, turns on his second condition—remaining responsive and relevant to the society which supports it. The stronger predominantly Negro colleges are not on trial as American institutions of higher learning. They have produced the great majority of Negro leaders at all levels, perhaps 85 per cent of the physicians and dentists, the great majority of the teachers, lawyers, ministers, and trained businessmen. Such leaders as Justice Thurgood Marshall, Senator Edward Brooke, Congressmen William L. Dawson and Charles C. Diggs, Whitney M. Young, Jr., the late Martin Luther King, Jr., and at least four federal judges are the proud products of Negro higher education. Writers such as Frank Yerby, Ralph Ellison, and John Killens were educated in Negro colleges; singers such as Mattiwilda Dobbs and Leontyne Price, and social psychologist Dr. Kenneth B. Clark are prominent alumni. Of equal importance are the literally thousands of physicians, lawyers, professors, librarians, social workers, and enlightened ministers who are the leaders and movers of their communities. These institutions can, without doubt, continue to develop such people—and they are the ultimate test of relevance and quality.

Whatever else may be done as a temporary expedient in the Negro's long search for equality in America, it will never come until he has equal education—a fact too seldom emphasized in the "noise and strife" of the revolution. With adequate support, the predominantly Negro colleges and universities will play a vital, if not the decisive role in providing the education required. And certainly the education will not be secured without them, for they, without adequate means, have demonstrated more know-how in dealing with the disadvantaged than any other group of institutions. It will be these colleges and universities that will assume the formidable task of educating "high risk" students—those not being recruited vigorously on any appreciable scale by any other group of institutions.

If given the support they deserve, not only will they bear the burden of equipping their full share of young Negroes for their place in American society, but they will be made stronger in the process for their ultimate role—serving as American colleges and universities without regard to race, serving as microcosms of the world as it ought to be.

LET'S BE human

by HARRY FLEISCHMAN

file

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JULY-AUGUST 1968

THE RIGHT PEOPLE

Stephen Birmingham's book on "The Right People," (Little, Brown, $10) is not about reformers, revolutionists or the ultra-right. It is a description of the "Real Society," the social establishment in America. Perhaps the best review of the book is a definition I once heard: "Upper Crust -- A bunch of crumbs held together by dough."

ROOTS OF ANGER

A new book, "Black Rage," by Negro psychiatrists William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs (Basic Books, $5.95), vividly illustrates how white racism still forces American blacks "to a degree that approaches paranoia" to be "ever alert to danger from their white fellow citizens... a posture so close to paranoid thinking that the mental disorder into which black people most frequently fall is paranoid psychosis."

The book makes us aware that beneath the "cool" style and the syndrome of ingratiating deference and passivity, the Negro has been spending enormous amounts of psychic energy to mask his suffering and rage.

"As a sapling bent low stores energy for a violent backswing," the authors insist, "blacks bent double by oppression have stored energy which will be released in the form of rage -- black rage, apocalyptic and final."

"Under slavery," the authors write, "the black man was a psychologically emasculated and totally dependent human being. Times and conditions have changed, but black men continue to exhibit the inhibitions and psycopathology that had their genesis in the slave experience."

These traits that American Negroes found it necessary to acquire included cultural paranoia (every white man and every social system is the enemy until proven otherwise), cultural depression (sadness and intimacy with misery) and cultural antisocialism (an "accurate reading of one's environment" in which laws are never quite respected because they are believed to be designed to protect white men, not Negroes).

To "attempt to remove such traits by treatment," the psychiatrists write, "would be akin to analyzing away a hunter's cunning or a banker's prudence. This is a body of characteristics essential to life for black men in America and woe be unto that therapist who does not recognize it."

- more -

One and two column mats available upon request. The column may be used with or without a credit line

We cannot deal with such massive black rage with temporary summer jobs or other palliatives. The latest reports of the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders make it clear that it is not Negro criminals but a large segment of America's blacks who share this rage. Senator Fred R. Harris of Oklahoma reminds us that black rage is the result of our failure, after 300 years, to permit black Americans "to find an identity, a sense of worth, to relate to others, to love, to work, and to create." Only by assuring black Americans massive economic aid and control over their own destinies can we hope to avoid catastrophe.

WATCH THAT LULLABY

Chinese Communists are still working overtime to root out dangerous imperialist influences. Shanghai's Wen Hwei Pao, a newspaper designed for intellectuals, reported the case of a woman who sang a foreign lullaby on Shanghai's Route 25 trolley bus. It provoked a heated debate, with some Chinese Reds insisting the lullaby was having a "demoralizing influence" on the other passengers. They suggested that she should sing "A Long, Long Life to Chairman Mao" instead. That, I gather, was guaranteed to put everybody to sleep.

EGYPT OVER BIAFRA

Some black extremists who have been hailing Nasser as a champion of the black world are having trouble reconciling their line with the fact that Nasser has sent Egyptian pilots to fly Soviet MIG jets to strafe and bomb schools, markets and hospitals in Biafra, Nigeria's rebellious state.

Some of the heaviest damage was done to a hospital run by Presbyterian missionaires. A large Red Cross flag flew high above the hospital, whose corrugated iron roofs were daubed with red crosses. Nevertheless, in two separate raids, the Egyptian MIG pilots bombed the hospital and sprayed the area with cannon fire. One Scottish doctor, gazing at his dead and wounded patients, had one explanation: "I suppose they are doing this to us because they can't do it to the Israelis."

GUN CONTROLS

Even the assassinations of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Senator Robert Kennedy and a mountain of mail in favor of gun control have not been sufficient to persuade Congress to ignore the gun lobby and pass a meaningful gun-control law. Instead it has piddled around with weak measures full of loopholes, echoing George Wallace's claim that Federal gun control legislation will do little, if anything, to combat crime. The Congressional action is so weak that National Rifle Association advocates say that they "can live with it." To which Congressman Charles S. Joelson (D., N.J.) rightly added, "Tens of thousands of Americans can die with it."

A Columbus, Ohio merchant, moved by the Robert Kennedy assassination, turned over to police his entire stock of guns, valued at $20,000. Marty J. Rosen, president of a chain of Central Ohio discount stores, told why. For years, his stores kept records of persons buying guns.

"We'd look in the papers and see a story about a murder, or a suicide, or an armed robbery. Then we'd recognize the name and find it in our

files. It's a sad state of affairs when a man can come in a store like mine and buy a lethal weapon. It's a terrible thing to have on a man's conscience."

GRAFFITI

Back in Neanderthal days, cave men drew paintings on cave walls. Today, a different brand of artists write on the washroom and subway walls. Columnist Norton Mockridge has "immortalized" the world of graffiti in "The Scrawl of the Wild," (World, $3.50). Here are a few by that great author, Anonymous:

* Death is Nature's Way of Telling You to Slow Down.

* Support Mental Health or I'll Kill You.

* Marshall McLuhan Reads Books.

* In Case of Atomic Attack, the Federal Ruling Against Prayer in Schools Will Be Temporarily Suspended.

WHO'S A RACIST?

Are you guilty of murdering Martin Luther King, Jr.? Are you a white racist , even if you've always fought for racial equality?

These questions have troubled millions of white Americans who agree that American society in the past as well as today discriminates savagely against Negroes, Spanish-speaking Americans, Indians and other minorities. But they resent the charge that all white Americans are racist.

Let me be personal. In the early thirties, I was an organizer for the Young People's Socialist League in Harlem. Together with some Negro comrades I helped black laundry workers unionize. I worked with A. Philip Randolph and Frank Crosswaith in building the Negro Labor Committee. I fought then, and have throughout the years, for fair and full employment, housing and schools for all -- black and white. Do I feel guilty of racism? Hell, no.

But I do reproach myself for my inability to convert enough fellow whites to support equality. And I recognize now that I had too simple a view of life. I thought then that if we abolished wage "slavery," if black people had jobs, housing and schools, if we solved their economic woes, the "Negro problem" would disappear. I should have known better. I knew about the time Norman Thomas was on a speaking tour in the South during the W.P.A. days and asked a white Socialist in Birmingham, Alabama how things were going. "Awful," he replied, "I asked my white fellow workers on W.P.A. if they would rather get $5 a day if Negroes were paid the same, or $4 a day if Negroes only got $3.50. Overwhelmingly, they preferred less money so long as it was more than Negroes were given." We failed to understand the deeply rooted psychological bases of racism.

ALONG FREEDOM ROAD

* San Francisco Typo Union Local 21 has set up a Martin Luther King

Living Memorial in the form of 39 apprenticeships for the poor and disadvantaged.

* Local 1-2, Utility Workers and Consolidated Edison of New York have embarked on a program to employ minority high school and college students on a part-time basis and to train high school dropouts for jobs at Con Ed. Three hundred are now absorbed in the program. For the full year 1967, 30 per cent of Con Edison's new hiring came from minority groups -- 1,133 out of 3,777.

* The Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce has opened its membership to a number of civil rights, labor and ethnic groups.

* Negro singing star Leslie Uggams has entered a new business, built on "the look that started from pride and has gone into fashion." She is selling kinky-haired, closely cropped, African-inspired wigs, which are setting a new trend. "If Negro girls can have straight wigs," said white social worker Honey Ann Peacock, "I don't see why we can't have kinky ones."

* Nine former migrant farm workers on Long Island are making down payments on homebuilding loans with the sweat of their own labor. Their union is credited as a substitute for down payments, and the remainder is financed with 33-year low-interest mortgages approved by the Farmers Home Administration.

* A unique "Buy Black" campaign has opened in the Minneapolis area. A white Honeywell engineer, Hans Peter Meyerhoff, has distributed more than 1,200 lists of Negro businesses, tradesmen and professionals to white persons, usually on request. The project has been helpful to a number of Negro businessmen. Jesse Warren's grocery business in North Minneapolis went up 25 per cent and he now averages 10 to 15 deliveries a day to white suburbanites. Painter Herman Barfield has obtained several jobs painting "white" houses in the suburbs. And so it goes.

* The Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund has successfully placed 645 Negro and Puerto Rican building trades apprentices since it started in 1964.

IRGP, LPKE, LBH, LPK, NEG-A, NEG-B, P-CR

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, MARCH 6, 1971

The 'All-Time Fascination Bout'

Ann Weisman

By CLAYTON RILEY

The birds of paradise now will flock to Madison Square Garden on Monday, will arrive in glittering latter-day revisions of the horseless carriage. They will bear themselves—nearly aloft—with a constantly revitalized sense of what is fabulous. Fashion's proletarian throng. A swirling, deathless flash, multicolored costly fabric housing male and female. All this and much more from America's clamorous, glamorous freelance aristocracy, all masquerading as boxing fans, doing grab-bag dance steps in front of the arena. Pastel garments, faces of the rainbow . . .

Coming to see the classic battle, the all-time fascination bout, a five-million-dollar match made in Los Angeles, heaven of the West, bringing two undefeated, black, heavyweight champion fighters into the ring for a brawl no mystic would ever find in sports history's crystal ball.

Muhammad Ali *vs.* Joe Frazier. Dream and aftermath. Because the fight itself is epilogue; all the punches thrown, the sweat, the pain, victory and loss in that arena are only support: the real event is history. The protagonist, Muhammad Ali, is reality, is time, acting on us, defining a usable truth about how much a man can endure, how much a human being will bear in the stubborn service of believing he is right. Muhammad Ali believes he is right in refusing to enter the Army. America, because it is home to so many people who have never in their lives believed in anything they decided upon, does not understand this. Nation thus has tried to send him to jail; has publicly denounced him as a traitor and a coward; kept him from fighting, then permitted him to fight again after three and a half years of inactivity in the hope, very likely, of seeing him maimed in the right. All this energy directed at the Brother from Louisville who, for wanting to pursue his chosen religious truths, was exiled in his own country.

And is a genius. If we believe what dictionaries tell us about gifts, talent, extraordinary ability, then certainly a boxer of Muhammad Ali's exceptional caliber should qualify. He can be described—and not irreverently—in the title and words of an old spiritual, "Amazing Grace," without a loss of meaning. There has never before lived an athlete quite like him.

For over forty months he was not allowed to box for money. Anywhere. And not allowed travel rights to any country that might have licensed him to earn a living at a profession in which he was fully qualified and willing to work.

How many other humiliations were there? Now he returns to us, still swift and strong, floating back into this weary time of our lives when America is so intent upon beating up the people of Southeast Asia for causes unspecified and probably unknown, when the nation remains so much of what Hemingway implied when he spoke of America's need to destroy its heroes—quite possibly, I would imagine, because heroes point so dramatically to the inadequacies of the general population—those poor souls who would die before they'd refuse to worship at the draft board. We live this history. We acknowledge and permit its disgraces and thoroughly disreputable personality.

Which beckons Ali to return for the sake of giving decent law-abiding people what may be their final chance to see him lose. (Which "decent, law-abiding" people need so desperately to see.) He returns because in this country all is permitted if it sells (like the very costly rock "culture"). And in that marketplace which Ali knows so well, in whatever glittering display America can structure, hatred and fear can focus on the possibility that Joe Frazier might redeem a national faith in "responsible" colored people, might give some minor satisfaction to the Veterans of Foreign Wars in its personal war with Ali. How will the prince of our beautiful darkness orchestrate this contest? Magnificently, let us hope. Which is not, however, the most important thing. The fight is only the epilogue. Years from now, Muhammad Ali will glide through the mind's eye, bouncing perfect right hands off the corners of the universe, tossing left hooks like arrows through day or nighttime sky. And perhaps, if there is any sanity by then, young people will be permitted to know of his skill and courage; young people perhaps will learn from his example not to die uselessly.

And Joe Frazier walks with us, too. Lives. Is flesh and blood. Sadly, however, whatever happens in that epilogue, it will not really matter very much that he was there.

Clayton Riley is arts editor of Liberator.

3/24 - 28/71 Attach —

TEAM ROSTER

Ask Leon about

Form D-2

STATE: Ala Son Contact list

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2. Cynthia Bryant	Greensboro	43 Washington St	624-7473			
3. Daniel Lyles	Greensboro	R.T. 3 Box 33A	624-8121			
4. Willie Jones	Greensboro	Rte 2 Box 90				
1. Betty Milles	Hale (Akron)	P.O. Box 164	372-4105			
2. Josephine Ryans	Hale (Akron)	P.O. Box 192				
3. Carolyn Wilson	Hale (Akron)	Box 92				
4. Mary Walton	Hale (Akron)	P.O. Box 146				
1. Harry Williams	Hale (Akron)	P.O. Box 94	372-3795			
2. David Spralling	Hale (Akron)	P.O. Box 144	372-4408			
3. Patricia Hallie	Hale (Akron)	P.O. Box 221	372-3626			
4. Ellen Williams	Hale (Akron)	P.O. Box 223	372-3705			
1. Eloise Ryans	Hale (Akron)	P.O. Box 192				
2. Emma Byrd	Hale (Akron)	P.O. Box 45				
3.						
4.						
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						

pful Hints for the Chairman or Director

blications—and those of other organiza- ideas and suggestions. Use them also to u are doing.

h human relations centers in other states les and with the NEA Center for Human

your story using pamphlets, press re- speeches, and reports, as well as conver- cussions. Plan a systematic schedule of re- rt to feedback.

actively in conferences, workshops, and programs of your local and state associations. Work with other groups whose goals are similar to yours.

- Get your association to adopt the recommendations of the NEA Task Force on Human Rights. Then work to implement them.

- Let the NEA Center for Human Relations know what you are doing. Begin by making sure the Center has your name, exact title of your office, and correct address.

- Keep records of all committee activities to provide continuity and ease the work of future committee members.

HUMAN RELATIONS RESOURCE ORGANIZATIONS

n Council on Education
t Circle, N.W.
ton, D.C. 20036

n Council for Nationalities Service
40th Street
k, New York 10018

n Friends Service Committee
15th Street
phia, Pennsylvania 19102

n Indian Historical Society
sonic Avenue
cisco, California 94117

n Jewish Committee
56th Street
k, New York 10018

n Jewish Congress
4th Street
k, New York 10028

famation League of B'nai B'rith
ington Avenue
rk, New York 10016

ion for the Study of Negro Life and History
nth Street, N.W.
ton, D.C. 20022

c Interracial Council of N.Y.
rty Street
ork, New York 10005

al Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Broadway
York, New York 10019

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

National Catholic Welfare Conference
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

National Conference on Christians and Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10027

National Council of Churches
425 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

National Urban League
55 East 52 Street
New York, New York 10017

Philadelphia Fellowship Commission
260 South 15th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Public Affairs Committee, Inc.
381 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10016

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Southwest Cooperative Educational Laboratory
117 Richmond Drive, N.E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
1405 - I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

United Steelworkers of America
Committee on Civil Rights
Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

SENATORS TOLD OF 1,200

Black Principals Said Fired

WASHINGTON (UPI) — More than 1,200 Negro school principals have lost their jobs to whites since public school desegregation began in the South, a Senate committee was told Monday.

The problem of the elimination, displacement and demotion of Negro public school principals has reached such serious proportions that it requires the intervention of the federal government . . ." said Dr. Owen B. Kiernan, executive secretary of the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

Testifying before the Senate Equal Educational Opportunity Committee, Kiernan said a survey of 11 Southern and two border states had disclosed that "well over 1,200" blacks had lost their jobs to white school administrators as the South switched from dual to unitary school systems.

The end to dual school systems was ordered in the 1954 Supreme Court decision which declared them unconstitutional.

Sen. Sam J. Ervin, D-N.C., however, said a reduction in the number of Negro principals was only logical since whites compose a majority of the Southern population.

He challenged Kiernan to produce figures for the 37 states outside the South, which he said he felt sure would show similar ratios of white and black principals.

Kiernan, who is white, and a biracial panel of school administrators, testified that the Justice Department and the U.S. Office of Education have done little to curb the Southern trend despite a 1969 court-ruling that it is illegal to oust a public school administrator in order to replace him with a member of another race.

NYT
July 9, 1971

It Is Really a Question of Loving Mississippi Not for What It Is but for What It Can Be

GREENVILLE, Miss—Granted that accepting the challenge of unity is what the graduating class of 1971 has endeavored to do for these past nine months. But it seems that only through steadfast commitment to that challenge can any semblance of concreteness be given to that effort. And commitment to unity or brotherhood can mean something only when the vagueness of such terms is clarified by applying them to something specific. Probably, in the case of this class, the most meaningful commitment to be made would be the commitment to the brotherhood of this state.

No doubt there are many people here, like this speaker, who, before this year, never really considered living in this state for the rest of their lives, who always knew that as soon as they were old enough they'd waste no time putting a great deal of distance not only between them and the state line but also between them and the Mason-Dixon line, who were certain that this delta land had not even the least bit of attraction for them and that it was only a matter of time before they said their tearless good-byes to its magnolias, its heat, and its racism. And if they were like this speaker, they were never more wrong in their lives. There is something attractive here, something indefinable yet genuine. And in spite of all the bitterness and despair that it is possible for a black Mississippian to have, that genuineness can be felt. Probably it's been felt more this year than at any other time—because of what happened this year at this school. To see one's classmates and teachers struggle courageously to make something happen here that has not happened in any other school in this nation has to give him reason not to be so bitter and not to feel so hopeless. He can believe in the brotherhood that the class motto speaks of. He can believe, like Willie Morris that the South has a better chance of realizing the dream of true brotherhood than any other section of the country. He can believe, finally, that there *is* something here worth working for, worth nurturing, worth being committed to.

Perhaps, in the end, it is really a question of loving this state not necessarily for what it is or for what it has been, but for what it can be. And maybe it is this love that will induce those (like this speaker) who plan to attend college somewhere other than this state to return. For it is the love that one has for his home, his roots. It is the love that commits one to changing things for the better. It is, indeed, the tie that binds a brother to his brother.

—Willie Davis, class of '71, Greenville, Miss., High School

Every Tenth American Is a Negro

Thirteen million Negroes are citizens of the United States.

Out of every hundred Negroes, 90 are unskilled...41 have been able to get less than five years' education.

Under pressures of war, Negroes have been moving northward and cityward by the thousands. This mass migration has brought serious social and economic problems . . . labor shortages in the South . . . race riots and "hate strikes" in the industrial centers. Moreover, the maladjusted migrants have been targets of subversive elements that have regarded them a fertile field for their propaganda.

Our self interest as a Nation is involved, as well as our sympathetic concern, because these things affect war production and our social and economic structure. They also affect the intricate task of rebuilding the post-war world.

But if we enable the Negro to become a leader in his community, at once we have a new instrument for attacking unrest, intolerance, racial misunderstanding. The Negro then becomes a moving force for better race relations in every American community.

The record proves this.

• *The Negro Wants to Help Himself*

The Negro citizen has risen far in the few generations since 1866.

He now possesses property valued at $3,000,000,000. He operates 1,100,000 farms. He owns 800,000 homes. To operate properly what he owns and to discharge his full responsibilities, Negro leadership is vital.

Despite meager opportunities for education, 18 out of every 20 Negroes have learned to read.

Negroes are among the nation's distinguished leaders in music, art, education, literature and the theatre.

Negroes have always been among the most peaceable and law-abiding citizens of our country.

The Negro is helping to win the war. More than three-quarters of a million Negroes are serving in the Nation's armed forces. Negro men and women are making increasing contributions on the home front.

• *The Great Need is Education*

Our national welfare dictates that we help the Negro in his struggle to meet the responsibilities of citizenship . . . to raise his standard of living. And in today's world, beset by many problems, it is common sense to expand all sources of trained leadership.

With enrollments totalling 50,000 young men and women, the Negro colleges are now educating virtually half of all the members of the colored race who attain a higher education.

Especially dedicated to the task of teaching Negroes, they are uniquely qualified to train their carefully selected students for their duties as American citizens . . . to broaden their concepts of social responsibility . . . to build character essential to leadership.

The Negro colleges combine vision with the practical needs of the day. They are training men and women for opportunities that await them and needs that are vital. They are developing not only professional men and women,

such as engineers, chemists and agricultural experts, but also skilled craftsmen, practical farmers and home-makers.

Two of the institutions are training doctors, dentists and nurses. Right now there is only one Negro doctor for each group of 3,125 Negroes, as compared with one doctor for 588 persons among the white population.

In educating clergymen, teachers, social workers and business men, the Negro colleges are building for the years.

But these Negro colleges and universities, rich as they are in tradition and accomplishment, have particularly felt the wartime plight of the private college. They must be stabilized financially.

• *NOW . . . a Program for Action*

For many months the Presidents of these institutions have met with their trustees and with representatives of national organizations and foundations. Out of this gathering of forces has come the United Negro College Fund, with 27 member colleges.

The colleges will join in a unified nation-wide program of public information focusing attention on the whole field of Negro education. Also they will engage in a single annual united campaign for maintenance funds.

Since the problems of each institution are the problems of all, a single campaign, replacing 27 separate and distinct money-raising appeals, will reduce campaigning costs, conserve manpower among the volunteer leadership, eliminate duplication of effort, and result in a sounder fiscal policy. This year—in May—approximately $1,500,000 will be sought.

"There was never any time in the history of the world when cooperation was more essential than it is today," said Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in accepting Chairmanship of the National Campaign Advisory Committee, "and I consider it a great privilege to be related to this cooperative undertaking."

Further details about the Fund's plans and objectives will be announced soon. Meanwhile, the Committee will welcome suggestions from those men and women who are willing to serve actively in the campaign, when the time comes.

March, 1944

WALTER HOVING
National Chairman
United Negro College Fund Campaign

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND

CAMPAIGN

38 EAST 57th STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Telephone: PLaza 5-9613

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WALTER HOVING

National Treasurer
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Norfolk, Va.

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ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
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J. M. Ellison, *President*
WILEY COLLEGE
E. C. McLeod, *President*

The way to handle praise is honestly. Laurel said, "You are one of the kindest people I have ever known." I could have said, "I believe I am kind but not as kind as you see me. We have only known each other a short time and I have been putting my best foot forward. After you know me better I believe you will agree I can be as thoughtless as the next guy."

HIGH SCHOOL - Bi-racial teams

Columbia, South Carolina

1. Stanley Hammer
   4168 E. Budraman
   Columbia, South Carolina

2. Mr. Randy Gergel
   20 Mosswood
   Columbia, South Carolina

3. Horacio Farach
   6541 Satchelford Road
   Columbia, South Carolina

4. Elaine C. Long
   16 Woodhill Circle
   Columbia, South Carolina

5. Sheryl Johnson
   2534 Bachamville Road
   Columbia, South Carolina

6. Joy Phelan
   1431 Medway Road
   Columbia, South Carolina

7. Timothy Davis
   2423 Laure Street
   Columbia, South Carolina

8. Robyn Graves
   1469 Florawood Drive
   Columbia, South Carolina

9. Caron Caplan
   1619 Wayndham Road
   Columbia, South Carolina

10. Beth Eaker
    1508 Columbia College Drive
    Columbia, South Carolina

11. Barnett Berry
    5809 Lakeshore Drive
    Columbia, South Carolina

LIST OF AGENCY RESOURCES

Atlanta University Dept. of Ed.
On School Desegregation
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia % Dr. Denton

Southern Regional Board
130 6 St. N.W.=
Atlanta, Georgia

Young Women's Christian Assn.
41 Exchange Street
Atlanta, Georgia c/o Mrs. Stewart

Georgia Council on Human Relations
50 Whitehall St.
Atlanta, Georgia c/o Mrs. Becker

H.E.W.
Peachtree and 7th. Street
Atlanta, Georgia c/o Mr. ~~Wakefall~~ Wigfall

Civil Rights Comm.
75 Peidmont Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia c/o Mr. 'Doctor"

Urban League
175 Houston N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia c/o Lynn Westerguard

Southern Education Foundation
811 Cypress N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia c/o E. Macmillan

NAACP
Atlanta Board
859 Hunter N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia c/o Mrs. Joann Tony

MUTTERERS

By F.C. Campbell

THE BLACK UNIVERSITY 1

There are three basic visions of this concept. The first is, in fact, that all black universities, in terms of a racical theory, is exclusively black- students, alumni, faculty, trustees, office help. In this view, the black college becomes a center, not of segregation and inferiority, but of a self-contained structure for black nationalism, . Here, students from the vavious black nations (or ghettoes) would come for a dual type of training. Intellectual and Actional. In the Intellectual field, they woul learn about black art, culture, philosophy, and history. If would in act be a rather rigorous analysis of the blck experience in the western and non-western world in order to remove the sense of shame and dread which being black has engendered among many students. Taking acourse in jazz or popular music, for example and discovering its power, value and esthetic excellence is supposed to create in the black student a sense of pride and accomplishment which, in turn, would give him the pride and self-respect necessary to bring a man. Actionally, the student would discover tools and techniques for revolutionary confrontations with the system. Here the emphasis would be on the social sciences as they impinge upon and make clear the Afro-American's role in this country and in the world.

THE BLACK UNIVERSITY 2

The second vision is an operational description. In this view, the traditionally Negro colleges would keep their basic liberal arts - professional-Western Civilization orientation but they would add on one of two courses in literature and history devoted to the Negroamerican. The school would permit white teachers and faculty and, indeed, would still be interested in turning out students who would eventually integrate or work in the white system. In this view, the black college is black because it is primarily designed for Negro students and seeks their partonage. The college then continues to operate as usual.

THE BLACK UNIVERSITY 3

The third vision is more inclusive. It recognizes the dual heritage of the black student and seeks to prepare his mind for a fused existence. On the one hand, the student would be exposed to the value of the black experience in special studies course and in his more general courses in history, humanities, English, and reading. He would be shown the accomplishment of the black man within the total context of the American experience as well as a unique tecnical reality. At the same time, he would be prepared for his professional involvement in a rapidly changing culture. He would earn his living from the white system but create his life within the totality of his black and white vulture. This, to me, seems to be the best compromise. What do you think?

REPORT OF AN AD HOC PLANNING COMMITTEE

Topic: A Conference on "Higher Education and the Search for Afro-American Identity"

Session One: Atlanta, Georgia, November 8, 1967

Participanta: Flournoy A. Coles, Jr. (Economics, Fisk), Vincent Harding (History, Spelman), Stephen Henderson (English, Morehouse), Gerald McWharter (Sociology, Fisk). Unable to attend: Horace Mann Bond (Research, Atlanta University), Earl Thorpe (History, North Carolina College), Darwin Turner (Dean, North Carolina A & T), Paul Puryear (Political Science, Fisk).

I. Background:

1. For several months a number of persons on various of the Negro College campuses have been discussing informally the implications that the newest expression of Black Consciousness might have for their schools and others like them. One of these faculty members suggested to the Woodrow Wilson Foundation that it would likely be most helpful if that Foundation could help to fund a conference which would bring together representatives from as many of the Afro-American Colleges as possible. The idea struck the Foundation directors as sound and they agreed to begin by funding the initial exploratory planning sessions in which a few representatives from colleges in geographical proximity might work towards a larger meeting, if it seemed feasible to them.

2. Meantime faculty persons at Fisk University had been in serious conversation with the Ford Foundation regarding the funding of a conference which would seek to explore the ways in which a healthy sense of Afro-American identity might be encouraged in every sector of the black community of America. Since Ford appeared to be responding positively to this proposal, it became evident that conversation was needed between those who were proposing the more broadly directed conference at Fisk and those (largely in the Atlanta University Center) who were seeking to explore the more circumscribed area of higher education.

3. In consultation with the Woodrow Wilson Foundation it was decided that a group of us in Atlanta would invite several persons from two or three other schools to form an ad hoc committee to explore these matters. It was decided that we should try to bring together at least persons from Fisk and from the Durham-Greensboro complex.

II. Tentative Agreements Reached at Planning Session One

1. A conference on "Higher Education and the Search for (or "the Crisis of") Afro-American Identity" should be held.

2. The Conference would probably best be located in Atlanta, especially when one considers matters of logistics.

3. The Conference would be sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation (with participation likely from the Danforth and Stokes-Phelps Foundations), but it is not clear who should call such a conference. Nor is it clear whether or not the colleges should be asked to make any financial contribution.

4. The dates upon which there was tentative agreement were February 29 - March 2, beginning with a Thursday evening and running through to Saturday night. Paschal's Motel has been tentatively reserved for these dates.

5. Invitations would go to the presidents of each of the black colleges, asking that he come and bring one or two other members of his faculty. Such a letter would indicate the solid interest of the foundations in such an enterprise.

6. Invitations would also go to selected faculty members and other persons closely related to the issues and institutions involved. These would generally be persons known to the planning committee, persons who have given some significant thought to the questions we are confronting.

7. There would be an attempt to include undergraduate students, graduate students (who studied at the black colleges) and public school teachers who graduated from Afro-American colleges. These three groups would comprise some 15 per cent of the participants.

8. It was our conclusion that we are likely discussing a conference involving some 250-300 persons.

9. These were some of the topics which seemed important centers for discussion in either plenary or smaller groups, or both:
   a. An historical overview of the search for Afro-American identity
   b. Identity, black colleges, and the larger Afro-American community

c. The search for identity and the shaping of curriculum
d. Identity and the development of faculty
e. Identity and student recruitment
f. Identity and the search for financial resources
g. Identity and the development of extra-curricular activities
h. Identity and science education
i. Identity, the colleges, and the international non-white community
j. Identity and the training of teachers

10. It was suggested that the conference might consist of these general parts:
a. Thursday night: a plenary session with one or two formal papers
b. Friday morning and afternoon: groups meeting according to discipline and perhaps according to administrative responsibilities
c. Friday night: A plenary session with papers
d. Saturday morning and afternoon: meetings according to geographical areas (and/or continuation of some disciplinary groups)
e. Saturday night: some "culturally-oriented" Afro-American entertainment
f. Sunday morning: meeting of a small continuation committee

11. We drew up three lists of names. These were
a. Resource persons: who might be called upon to read papers (all of our planning committee is included in this group), chair small group sessions or act as resource personnel in such small groups.
b. Participants: many of whom would be of the same caliber as the first group.
c. Special participants: a list which now includes some of the graduate students and public school teachers, and will eventually include the undergraduates.

Each of these lists will be expanded when the planning committee meets in North Carolina. At present these are the names (The initials in parenthesis indicates the member of the planning committee who has most direct contact with the person listed.):

A. Resource persons
1. Horace Mann Bond, AU (VH)
2. Joseph Pierce (FC)
3. Vivian Henderson (VH)
4. Sir Walter Lewis (FC)
5. St. Clair Drake (GM)
6. George Roberts (VH)
7. Wilfred Carty (VH)
8. J. Alfred Cannon (FC)

9. Charles Hamilton (GM)
10. James Comer (VH)
11. Henry Tomes (FC)
12. Tobe Johnson (SH)
13. Miles Jackson (SH)
14. Margaret Burroughs (GM)
15. Margaret Walker Alexander (VH)
16. James Pierce (GM)
17. Benjamin Paxton (VH)
18. Alvin Poussaint (FC)
19. Robert Browne (VH)
20. Herman Bailey (VH)
21. Julius Lester (VH)
22. Lois Mai Lou Jones (SH)
23. John Hope Franklin (GM)
24.

B. Participants

1. Sam Proctor (SH)
2. Martin Kilson (GM)
3. Sterling Brown (SH)
4. Howard Mitchell (FC)
5. Hollis Lynch (VH)
6. Lorenzo Turner (GM)
7. Edward Toppin (VH)
8. C. Eric Lincoln (VH)
9. Nathan Scott (VH)
10. Charles Long (VH)
11. Judge Juanita K. Stout (FC)
12. Andrew Thompson (GM)
13. Robert Kitchen (FC)
14. Robert Wedgeworth (GM)
15. John H. Clark (VH)
16. Daniel Watts (GH)
17. William Strickland (VH)
18. Prince Wilson (VH)
19. Lerone Bennett (VH)
20. Chike Onwuachi (FC)
21. John O. Killens (Fisk)
22. Tinsley Spraggins (SH)
23. Paul Williams (Fisk)
24. Tandy Tollison (Fisk)
25. Millicent Jordan (VH)
26. Anita Boswell (GM)
27. Oran Eagleson (VH)
28. Richard Carroll (VH)
29. Floyd Coleman (VH)
30. Richard Barksdale (SH)
31. Stella Brooks (SH)
32. James Lawson (Fisk)
33. Albert Manley (VH)

34. David Driscoll (Fisk)
35. Sam Vonwindbush (Fisk)
36. John Davis ( )
37. Stephen Wright (PP)
38. C.T. Vivian (GM)
39. Samuel Gandy (VH)
40. Murray Branch (SH)
41. Gerado Ebanks (SH)
42. Larry Rushing (VH)
43. Charles Wesley ( )
44. Benjamin Quarles ( )
45. Philip Butcher (SH)
46. Lionel Newsome (SH?)
47. James Harrison (FC)
48. James Farmer (GM)
49. Sterling Stuckey (VH)
50. Herman Blake (VH)
51. Hoyt Fuller (VH)
52. Jim Brown (?)
53. Lawrence Reddick (VH)
54. Father Warren Scott (SH)
55. Nathan Hare (GM)
56. Diane Nash Bevel (VH)
57. John Lewis (VH)
58. Clarence Jones (FC)
59. Kenneth Clark ( )
60.

Plus representatives from selected foundations and accrediting agencies?

(All of the above names are listed against the background of our initial assumption that every president of a black institution will be invited to participate in the Conference.)

C. Special Participants

1. Joyce Ladner, Grad student (GM)
2. Lucious Outlaw, Grad student (FC)
3. Barry Gaither, Grad student (SH)
4. Marion Phillips, Grad student (VH)
5. Samuel Shepherd, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, St. Louis (FC)
6. German Wilson, Nashville Teacher, (GM)
7. Flora Stone, Atlanta Teacher (VH)

III. Suggested Agenda For Next Meeting

1. As a result of a conference call among Vincent Harding, Earl Thorpe (Durham) and Darwin Turner (Greensboro), it was decided that the next meeting should take place on Saturday, December 2 in the Raleigh-Durham area. We will gather as close to 2 P.M. as possible and work at least until 6 P.M. (longer, if the Nashville group can stay

overnight and thereby overcome the terrible connections.) The agenda items which seem most pertinent include:

a. A review and critique of the work done by the group in Atlanta.
b. The setting of solid plans for specific program items (including topics, speakers, times, etc.)
c. Budget discussion (to include such items as the value of a registration fee and the value of financial contribution from the colleges)
d. A discussion of who will actually call the Conference and do the inviting
e. Exploration of the possibility of publishing papers of the Conference
f. New business

(As I look at this agenda, it appears to me as if Nashville people had better plan to stay overnight in either Durham or Atlanta. The expense can go into our budget. What do you think of the idea? --VH)

IV. Arrangements for December 2

1. If Nashville participants cannot stay overnight we are going to be running on a very tight schedule. The first flight to Raleigh-Durham from Atlanta which would be available to the Nashville crew gets into Raleigh at 1:54 P.M. (Eastern 386, leaving Atlanta at 1:00 P.M.). The last flight out of Raleigh which would allow for connections in Atlanta for a return to Nashville is a flight that leaves at 6:19 P.M. So it is likely that such an arrangement would allow for only 3-3½ effective working hours.

2. I need some word on this from the Nashville group. Can most or all of you spare the time to stay over either in Raleigh or Atlanta? (You could be in Nashville before 10 A.M. on Sunday, December 3.) We really ought not leave this next meeting without an almost complete set of plans and instructions. If someone from Nashville could get answers from Puryear, Coles and McWharter and then call me collect as soon as possible, it would help us all. Perhaps you might indicate whether or not you wish to make your own reservations or have me take care of them. --VH

3. Earl Thorpe of Durham has volunteered his house as a meeting place. He is also checking on the airport facilities. We obviously need the place where we can do the most sustained work, and will leave that matter to him.

4. If all goes well, then, we shall meet at the Raleigh Airport at 2:00 P.M. on Saturday, December 2.

5. Meanwhile whatever new names and ideas the North Carolina group can muster will be most helpful to us all.

Vincent Harding, Convenor

ON THE ROLE OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENT

When we observe the struggles of the oppressed peoples of the world - the colonial or former colonial peoples - we notice the leading role played by the youth in smashing the barriers of injustice and slavery. The youth, mainly students, have often so dramatically expressed their desires and will for change, that they have caused whole governments to topple.

Everywhere the world's peoples are on the move, grouping for a better life - free from poverty, disease, ignorance and want, and everywhere they are led by the strong, sure, dedicated voices of their youth.

Here in America, since the '50's, the Negro people have made a strong effort to reshape their oppressive conditions into the ideals o human rights and human dignity. In the early '60's, this movement, known as Civil Rights, was given a powerful thrust by the emergence of the Negro students upon the scene. The resulting sit-ins, freedom rides, boycotts, etc. pushed the Negro movement into the light of world opinion, and America has never been the same. Since the early '60's the government has been forced to pass certain token bills and legislation, hoping to blunt the drive of the black people. This legislation, coupled with slogans and propaganda, seeks to convince our people that the job is almost complete; and all we have to do now is quietly "take our place in America" with "responsibility" No street marches, no more demonstrations, no rallies, boycotts or protests: the second emancipation has arrived!

Those of the more active, aware youth know this to be false propaganda. We travel throughout the country and see the vast areas of poverty, hopelessness and neglect that characterize the black

ghettoes and shanty towns of the Negro.

We recognize that mere "legislation" or phoney poverty programs have not and will not help our impoverished masses. Our problem can only be solved when our "best minds" begin to deal with it. Currently our young, vigorous "best minds" are led away from our mass problems by the myth of the "American Dream" and "making it" in American society. This drive of our youth for individual success, seriously cripples our race; for we cannot really "make it" until all of our people, our greatest numbers "make it". A people are judged universally, by the conditions of their broad masses - not individual spokesmen or leaders. We state that until our broad masses are elevated, we will be on the "bottom" in this country.

The colleges commit serious errors in so far as they perpetuate the myth of individual success ("getting ahead") at the expense of collective suffering. The fine houses, mink coats, "good jobs" fine cars, etc., do not compensate for mass poverty. The current myth of success of "making it" serves to create Negro "aristocrats" totally divorced from the problems and conditions besetting the masses of the race. These types only hinder our progress, because they are used by the powers-that-be to perpetuate the myth of "Negro progress".

In order to truly rise as a people, our students, professionals and thinkers, must return to the black community, the ghetto, and concentrate their efforts upon solving the problems that hinder us as a group - the problems of ignorance, poverty, disease, crime, neglect, sanitation, etc. Only when we, as youth and students, dedicate ourselves to facing these harsh facts and solving these problems en masse, can black people be truly free in America

UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND, Inc.
22 EAST 54th STREET
NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK
PLaza 1-0700

THE PRIVATE NEGRO COLLEGE

THE PAST

The private Negro college is unique in the American social order for more reasons than its racial designation. In fact, the identity as a "Negro college", while never a cause for shame, was an identity that was imposed rather than one which grew out of the essential meaning and purpose of the college. The name came from the most easily observable aspect of the college: its Negro student body.

Obviously, however, there is no essential educational uniqueness in racial designation alone. Nor can there be a proper expression of the heritage of the Negro college without a closer examination of the original atmosphere surrounding its founding. Beyond any surface identity, the heritage of the Negro college is found in a remarkable expression of humanitarianism which forms one of the brightest chapters in American history.

From the beginning, the uniqueness of the private Negro college was found in a remarkable blending of cultures, a great zeal to uplift former slaves, and an audacious faith in the potentialities of the freedmen. Only two Negro colleges were founded prior to 1865: Lincoln, by the Presbyterians, in 1854; Wilberforce, by the Methodists, in 1856. Stirred by the tremendous needs of the recently freed people, the major church boards began the establishment of Negro colleges immediately following the Civil War.

The blending of cultures was itself unique. The New England teachers were the first to offer liberal education to the illiterate freedmen. The bases upon which the work developed were unique in that the founders of Negro colleges dared to believe in the ability of former slaves to be educated in a time and region where

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

this was adamantly doubted. Moreover, the zeal which the founders brought to their task in the midst of great poverty and discouragement was unique. Before 1867, the American Missionary Association had founded Fisk and Atlanta Universities. By 1870, the Methodists were sponsoring Clark, Claflin and New Orleans; the African Methodists, Allen and Wilberforce; the Episcopalians, St. Augustine's; the Presbyterians, Johnson C. Smith and Lincoln; the Baptists, Morehouse and Shaw. In brief, within twenty years following the Civil War, most of the Negro private colleges now in existence were founded.

The manner in which the private Negro college was founded represents another remarkable evidence of high idealism and courage. Several of the stronger private Negro colleges were founded in such places as church basements and box cars. The first classes were made up of both children and adults. These schools were called "colleges" and "universities" to express the faith that one day they would properly deserve the name. Beginning with meager funds, in humble circumstances, the private Negro college was, nevertheless, the most outstanding hope for the education of a people and for the development of leadership.

The faith which prompted the founding of the private Negro college was expressed in several specific ways. It has already been suggested that the term "Negro college" is an oversimplified description of the real meaning of these institutions. Their founders were deeply interested in establishing colleges to meet the desperate need of the Negro people for education. They were no less interested in establishing the kind of colleges in which human dignity and democratic idealism would form a creative contrast to the earlier life of former slaves. Therefore, while it was natural that these colleges became known by their major area of service, it is quite clear that they set no limits either upon the task to be accomplished or the race of their students.

Charters

One of the most notable things about these institutions was their charters. They were liberal charters, both in the academic and social meaning of that term. While some of these charters contained terms of identification, they never contained terms of restriction. These schools were chartered with the remarkably broad powers of offering instruction from elementary grades through graduate work. They were chartered to serve all people who desired to attend. Their major concern was the needs of Negro youth. In most instances, however, race was not mentioned in the charter. When race was mentioned, it was just as often to prohibit exclusion of students or faculty on the basis of races as it was to identify areas of major service. Even today, the charters of the private Negro colleges are among the most liberal in American higher education.

The founders of the private Negro college earnestly sought to express the liberality of the college charter in all relationships with the student. These colleges therefore became centers of liberal education in the midst of most discouraging circumstances. Prior to 1856, a mere handful of Negroes had attained higher education. As late as 1876, fewer than 300 Negroes had received bachelor's degrees and fewer than 100 had received professional degrees. For many people in the Southern region, this provided the opportunity to declare that Negroes could not be educated. Yet, in spite of the difficult social circumstances, these founders dared to establish colleges in which liberal education was the goal.

A Venture of Faith

The remarkable thing about this venture was the faith on which it was begun. From the beginning, the private Negro college sought the full development of its students. The first teachers were persons of unusually broad training and Christian devotion. The early sponsors were primarily church boards that sought a creative

outlet for their belief in brotherhood. Those who supported these colleges did so in the firm belief that they were helping to provide a sound education for persons of great potential development. They did not wait for the concrete fact to support their faith. It was a faith which found its validity in the inherent worth and dignity of man, a major premise of the Christian faith of these founding church boards.

The type of education which takes place under such circumstances is usually transforming. These colleges were unique both in the meagerness of their material resources and in the richness of their purpose and motivation. American education has seen few instances in which so much was accomplished with so little. The motivation of the teacher and student was high. The students' hunger for learning on the one hand and the teachers' devotion to teaching on the other hand produced a situation of thorough teaching and learning. It was avowedly the combination of liberal learning and missionary zeal. The poverty of the physical plants was certainly no great aid to learning. The remarkable thing is that the vigor of the human resources in the learning situation kept poverty from ruining the educational process altogether.

Leadership

It is never easy to outline the concrete achievements of formal education. One fact, however, seems to be abundantly clear: the private Negro college produced the first generation of Negro leadership and since that time has continued to develop leaders whose achievements rank high on any scale of values. It was from these schools that the first faculties came for the publicly supported colleges and the public schools. They produced the educated Negro ministry and were the first to provide the opportunities in the other professions such as medicine and law.

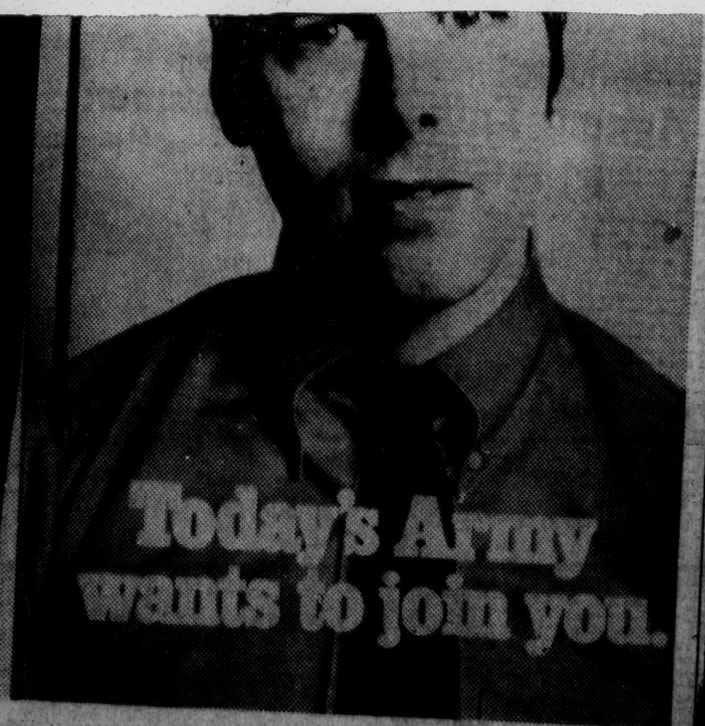
Beyond these primarily racial achievements, the Negro private college produced leadership whose contributions enriched the total American culture. The

contributions of Charles S Johnson as a sociologist and Charles H. Wesley as an historian are not to be seen in purely racial terms. Another historian, John Hope Franklin, heads the Department of History at Brooklyn College in New York. These names are immediately connected with Virginia Union and Fisk Universities, the schools that produced these leaders. The total culture has been enriched by leaders like Booker T. Washington of Hampton; William E. B. DuBois of Fisk; Walter White of Atlanta University; Mordecai Johnson of Morehouse College; Howard Thurman of Morehouse; Louis T. Wright of Clark; T. K. Lawless of Talladega; Horace Mann Bond and Thurgood Marshall of Lincoln; and J. E. K. Aggrey of Livingstone. These graduates of the private Negro colleges were, or are, Negro leaders by racial designation. In a larger sense, they were national leaders by the nature and worth of their contribution. Their achievements simply illustrate the ability of the private Negro college to produce leadership. Their names run into a long list of alumni whose life and works form the most concrete justification for the support of the private Negro college.

Mutual Respect

Another basic part of the heritage of the private Negro college is the cooperation of white and Negro people in an atmosphere of mutual respect and dignity. This atmosphere was characteristic of Negro colleges from the beginning. As other institutions of higher learning in the Southern region take slow and painful steps toward integration, it needs to be remembered that the private Negro college began and continues as a cooperative educational venture of the two races. From the beginning, it had trustee boards and faculty members of both races. In a number of cases, there were students of both races. The heritage has been one of inclusion rather than exclusion.

These are the broad outlines of a heritage that is thoroughly documented by the historical facts. Whatever form American higher education takes in the future, the contributions of the heritage of the private Negro college will be needed. Charters that are liberal enough to express our major democratic beliefs; vital and persistant faith in the potentialities of all people; zeal for the intellectual adventure; the production of leadership that is rigorous in scholarship and sensitive to social responsibility; an atmosphere in which brotherhood becomes fact as well as profession - this is the heritage of the private Negro college which it seeks to develop into education of the highest quality for all who desire to seek it.



soft-sell try with a picture of a youth on which has been printed the message: "Today's Army wants to join you." —AP WIREPHOTO.

'. . . OUR ALTERNATIVES? . . . ? . . . ! ? WE'LL THINK OF SOMETHING, MR. PRESIDENT ! '

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Given these factors, why should the Gen-

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We think not.

Student Power: Clark, Spelman

Long-brewing ferment for relaxation of student rules at Clark and Spelman Colleges boiled to the surface last week, leading to sweeping changes at Clark and continuing negotiations at Spelman.

The catalyst in the reaction was student discontent with a teacher's classroom conduct. Students bodily ejected her from the classroom following remarks which students considered abusive.

The students then pressed forward with other long-standing grievances.

At Clark last weekend, a joint faculty-student committee approved three major rules changes sought by students activists: The curfew for women students was dropped. Students were granted unlimited class cuts. And clothing regulations—forbidding women to wear slacks to classes, for instance—were abandoned.

The changes were effected at Clark with relative ease. At Spelman, negotiations are taking longer. Classes were suspended yesterday and apparently will be again today.

We find it healthy that students are actively pushing for modification of archaic rules—rules that long since have been abandoned on other campuses. Increased student participation in such decisions can go a long way toward breaching the walls of alienation so common on today's campuses.

There are limits to which an administration can yield, however. Ejecting unpopular teachers bodily from classrooms obviously is an untenable system. And the physical occupation of buildings and obstructing classes—events which have occurred on other campuses in the past year or two—are unacceptable forms of protest.

Administration of a college ultimately must be done by the administration, and teaching by the faculty. Students cannot expect to usurp these functions.

Yet administration and faculties must be flexible and recognize the major changes that have occurred in American mores. They need students' respect, but they cannot expect it automatically. They must listen to protest, and make accommodations when the protest is valid.

A Hard-Eyed America?

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE BLACK UNIVERSITY

By Vincent Harding

One of the most insistent themes in the literature of black America is the attempt to articulate our awareness of the presence of a certain dividedness in our deepset beings, an inner tension which W.E.B. Du Bois refered to as a twoness of spirit and soul.

While all Americans (even those who were here when the others came half a millennia ago) are people of a broken past, nowhere is the tension so often obvious as within the Afro-American community. We are the largest single segment of the nation which holds within itself both East and West, both Africa and America, both developed and developing societies. For many of us the tension has been so unbearably painful that we have collapsed it on one or the other side. Until recently, it was more often the Western, developed side which triumphed. Now, of course, there moves among us a renewed consciousness of our non-Westernness, and in the ghettos of the land one easily senses that many black men are seeking to build and celebratea new old nation in the midst of the worlds most "developed" society.

Any university which grew with integrity out of the ground of our black experience in America would have to reflect and bear the creative agony of that tension- no matter how great the temptation to escape it. The life of such an institution would, in many ways, testify to the Westernization of our lives, but if it is to make a major contribution to its students and their world, the Western experience cannot be its most important emphasis. More than 2,000 colleges and universities in this country (and hundreds more in Eupope) already perform that task. Though "predominantly Negro" institutions have long imitate such a direction, those of us who want to build faithfully out of the materials of the Afro-American experence are called to other paths.

One major strength of a black university would be its internationalism, but its focus would not follow the style of the scores of "International Studies " programs which have burgeoned in American institutions since the Korean War. Instead, the uniqueness of our approach to the world would be found in our vision through an unashamedly black-oriented prism. In the academic program and in a hundred other less structured ways, the black university would seek to explore, celebrate and record the experiences of the non-Western world. Because of much that we have lived through, our focus would be upon that segment of the non-West which has existed under Western domination for the relatively breif span of 400 years or less, and which now shakes the world with its efforts to wrench free.

Even within that group our specialty would rightfully be found among the peoples of Africa, both those who remained on the continent and those who were forced into the New World through the diaspora of slavery.

This, in a peculiar way, is our thing, and we would have no less reason to build on it in a university setting than Brandeis has for building on Jewish Studies, or Minnesota on Immigrant Studies, or Oklahoma on studies of the American Indian.

In an article of this length it is possible only to suggest some of the directions such a black-oriented internationalism might take in a university context, but certain lines are suggestive of the whole. In the acedemic program, one of the most attractive aspects of this focus would be comparative, intercultural studies of many kinds, especially in the humanities and the social sciences. For instance, in music we would try to develop an understanding of the continuities and discontinuities among the musical styles of Africa and those of its scattered children in the northern and southern portions of the black, New World. (The dance and the drama would present obvious analogues for possible study.) We would also attempt to explore the implications of the strong similarities which a noted literary authority claims he has found in the literature recently coming out of Harlem and out of black Johannesburg. What fascinating insights might courses in "Comparative Black Literature" produce?

When we realize that there are sections of Cuba and other parts of Latin America where African religious practices are alive and prospering, it is obvious that the study of comparative religi us development is also filled with new possibilities in such a context. (Especially as those who know black folk religion in the United States remind us of the persistent presence of a belief in religious magic here.) Or it may be that in such a setting, careful elaboration would be done on a significant interdisciplinary as well as intercultural academic monograph, such as Lanternari's THE RELIGIONS OF THE OPPRSSED. For here, in a study of the messianic movements of the non-Western world, it is clear that history, political science, sociology, psychology and religion encounter and enrich each other. Few settings would be more congenial to such mutual intellectual fertilization than the kind of institution we envision.

Indeed such a study as Lanternari's strongly suggests that the black-oriented university could present a marvelous opportunity for the social sciences in America to break out of their nationalistic trap. Sociology might include such matters as urban development among black people in Nairobi, Chicago and Rio. Political Science could well analyse the forms of resistance to colonial domination in Harlem, Cuba, Mozambique and Vietnam. So, too, might specialists in Education try to understand the ways in which Indians, Africans, and Afro-Americans have attempted to rescue their eudational systems from the domination of structures and ideologies shaped in England, France and white America. Seminars in non-Western cultural nationalisms of the modern world might be filled with excitement and projet for those who are trying to discern, develop and sustain an Afro-American style of life.

The academic curriculum would be, of course, only one of the places in which the unique internationalism of the black university might be expressed. Special institutes on Afro-American (using "American" in

in the hemispheric sense) culture would abound. Colloquies on the subject like Slavery would engage scholars from all over the New World, especially those who still bear the marks which were first painfully known by their ancestors. Conferences on such topics as "The Role of Women in Re-Emerging Societies," would simply be part of the breathing of such a school.

Symposia on startegies for socialchange in the former colonial societies would be sponsored- but not by the American State Department. "Think Tanks" filled with the varied but constant experience of blackness might be established for the sole purpose of analyzing specific conflict situations from Detroit to Angola (and beyond), and suggesting directions of actions and ideology for those who are struggling to break away from the hegemony of the West. From such a university there would go out teams as specialists in development whose primary concerns would not include the opening of wedges for American influences. Rather their search would be for ways in which modernization might be purged of its synonymous relationship with Westernization and Americanization.

Throughout the Black University and in all of its special projects, the emphasis would be on the search for new models, for new systems, for new ways of life, free from the suffocating grasp of the most current forms of imperialism. Not only would specialists be sent out in such a search, but other kinds of "specialists" would be brought in. Representatives of the anti-colonial forces, members of Liberation Fronts, religious and educational leaders from the reborning nations would be invited and welcomed in order to give deeper meaning to the searching. Indeed, such a university might well become a sanctuary of sorts for some of the world's revolutionaries. What better way to raise the hard questions which may revolutions often force honest intellectuals to ask?

Such an institution would self-consciously be orienting its students toward an understanding of- and an appreciation for- the myriad ways in which our experiences here as colonials who were brought to the "mother country" parallel those of our brothers who had to receive the emissaries of countless white fatherlands. (It would, of course, also stress the uniqueness of the Afro-American colonial experience.) As a part of developing this sense of common experience- and common roots- summer study and Junior Years aborad in Europe would likely become the exception, and black students would move toward Latin America, Africa, India and Asia for their experience of intercultureal exhcange and overseas study. (This direction would, of course, have significant implications for the languages taught in the institution. German, for instance, might have difficulties.) Both student and faculty exchanges with the non-Western world would become a regular part of the Black University's life. The journal of such a center might well seek to ally itself with the New World publication of the Caribbean, with Presence Africaine, and with other lesser known publications of the non-Western intellectuals.

The university would be service-oriented in the largest sense of that term. It would set up skills banks for developing nations and it would urge those students who do not return to the black American communities to offer their skills in Africa, Latin America and wherever else they are needed and desired. Conceivably, a black-oriented Overseas Service Corps might develop, and this would not only provide excellent ation-building opportunities,

but it could become an alternative to action with the United States military forces. For it is likely that the international orientation of a Black University will create many dissenters to the foreign policy which our armed forces now enforce.

Should it refuse to enter the lists of American foreign policy supporters, should it become a significant source of dissent and the center of a search for new ways of international life, it is not easy to know how the Plack University would be funded. Indeed, if it saw reaspn to move beyond experiments in nation-building to the search for a new world society in which nations played a far less significant role, its enemies might come from the nationalistic left as well as the right. Certain monies would not be available. Others (like some connected with black Chicago slums or African diamond mining) might bot be accepted. A Free Balck University might be forces into existence.

For the present that is the problem of other writers and other moments. At this moment it may suffice to say that the Black University must seek to be faithful to the best dreams of our greatest twentieth century black dreamers, from Du Bois to (Frantz) Fanon. It should at least attempt to place the rise of the West in proper historical perspective, refusing either to do homage to- or to be terrified by- what may well prove to be no more than a hyper-active aberration in the context of mankind's long, essentially non-Western pilgrimage. Such a service to truth would be no mean accomplishment in itself.

Nevertheless, to speak of Fanon is to suggest even more. For it may be that, in its international aspects, such an institution might well take as its fiercely drive theme the call of his last chapter in The Wretched of the Earth. There his words were a call out of the darkness of hopeless, cynical reaction on the one hand, and out of ersatz brightness of imitative European styles on the other. It was a call to the light-filled (sometimes blinding), gruelling search for new shapes and forms, for patterns which deal wisely with the longer lines of history and the deepest needs of men. Ultimately, of course, he urges

> For Europe, for ourselves and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man.

As such his call is heir to all the pitfalls of messianism, at most, and to the disillusions of aborted hope at least. Nevertheless, it may well be far better that a university should search and reach and possibly fail at the practice of such hope than that it sell out to the highest bidder and live on the style to which America has accustomed us. If it is better to try to do our thing, then let us press on- towards the Black University.

THE BLACK STUDENTS' UNION PHILOSOPHY AND GOALS

The Black Students' Union of San Francisco State College has as its purpose to aid in further developing, politically, economically and culturally the revolutionary black consciousness of Black people both on and off the campus. As Black students, as Black people, we are being exploited to the fullest extent in this racist white America and we are therefore preparing ourselves and our people for a prolonged struggle for freedom from this yoke of oppression.

The Black Students' Union recognizes the struggle for freedom of non-white people around the world as a positive part of our educational process. We are a third world organization. We adhere to the struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, ideologically, spiritually, and culturally.

We, the Black Students' Union of San Francisco State College seek simply to function as human beings, to control our own destinies. Initially, following the myth of the American Dream, we worked too hard to attend predominantly white colleges, but we have learned through direct analysis that it is impossible for Black people to function as human beings in a racist society in which Black is synonymous with enemy, no matter what the educational attainment. So we have decided to fuse ourselves with the masses of Black people to create, through struggle, a new humanity, a new humanism, a Black humanism and within that context control our own destinies.

We are developing a program and department of Black Studies, which is designed to provide an atmosphere where Black students can come to draw on their own historical references--references which are basically different from those of western civilization. The program of Black Studies will include a research library of non-western literature and art. The Department of Black Studies will be regular classes in African languages, African, Afro-American and Afro-Latin history, art, music, literature, sociology, anthropology, etc. These classes will be held both on the campus and the Black community.

As an expansion of the desire to recreate ourselves outside the realm of western civilization, we have begun a Black Communications Project. Under the direction of LeRoi Jones, a Black writer and poet, the Black Communication Project has brought together an alliance of resources from both the campus and the black community to produce, Black plays, dance, art, films--all created and recreated by Black people. One of the immediate goals of the Black Communication Project is to show that Black Art with an ethic and an esthetic with its essense drawn from the people can be used as a means not only to recreate the lives of Black people but to guide those lives in a revolutionary direction. Black Art is a means by which change is realized--not as an end--because so long as there are Black people, Black Art has no end.

The thrust of B.S.U. organizing has extended into the Black dominated high schools in the Bay Area. Black history and culture discussion groups have been established. Workshops on the political development of Black people in America go on periodically. Direct links between Black high school and college students have been established. We will move in the future to help develop the Black high school students into a continually functioning unit active in community affairs.

The Black Students' Union has taken a firm position against Black men participating in any wars which this country perpetuates against the non-white people around the world. Again we are a colonized people just as most of the Black, brown, yellow and red people of the planet are colonized. They are our brothers in the struggle. We will not fight them. We are organizing college students, high school students, and drop-outs of draft age against the war from conscientious objection to absolute refusal to associate with this warlike racist nation. This summer we will have full-time organizers working in the Black and Mexican communities in San Francisco. We will work to develop entire community support for our work.

In the Revolutionary movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the organized student movements play vital roles in the struggle. The Black Students' Union will be working with other student groups to develop a California Union of Black Students as a means of developing a National Union of Black Students--with the activities at Howard, Fisk, Texas Southern, Merritt College in Oakland, City College of San Mateo, Cal State at Hayward, San Francisco City College. The further organizing of Black Students' groups is now a necessary part in the over all rise of the consciousness of the Black community.

Besides these projects the Black Students' Union has developed relationships with the San Francisco State College Tutorial Project. We entered this project with the position that since 85% of the children tutored are Black, then the tutors should be predominantly Black and in fact control the tutorial project. This relationship has developed to the point where in May 1966, 90% of the tutorial program was white, now two-thirds of the leadership is Black.

We are affiliated with the Community Involvement Program of San Francisco State College on program which are directly related to Black people, for example, the development of an anti-draft program for Black youth.

One of the Black Students' Union special projects is a monthly program in the San Francisco State College Gallery Lounge. These programs will include Black poetry readings, Black drama and Black music utilizing the talents of Black people both on and off campus.

A large part of our thrust for 1967 will be the move to more closely associate ourselves with the Black community to aid in organizing our people around the issues which directly affect their lives. We must also associate with the organizations which most directly relate to the needs of Black people.

One final note, on the development of the Black Students' Union that is we offer a positive program of Blackness. Our programs are work programs. Our direction is revolutionary. Our method is organization. Our goal is Black Power. Our essense is Black Humanism.

Black Students' Union, 1967-1968
San Francisco State College

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

HISTORY OF THE

DEVELOPMENT OF BLACK CURRICULUM

Black curriculum at San Francisco State College was first initiated in Spring, 1966. The class was taught under the auspices of the General Education Elective Program (GEEP), a program for new and innovative classes in education. The class, Black Nationlism, was taught by Aubrie LaBrie. This course was different for two reasons: 1) it was uniquely designed to meet the then awakening appetites of black college students for more black oriented courses in the college curriculum; 2) it was structured in such a way that the community could take part in it.

In the fall semester of that year (1966), the Black Students Union sought to establish a broader curriculum designed for the black college student. Therefore the Black Arts and Culture Series was instituted as a part of the Experimental College. The purpose was to introduce, through a series of classes on Black culture and art, a positive focus on the life experiences of Black people in America. Classes covered the areas of history, law, psychology, humanities, political science, and dance. This series led to the formulating of a program of Black Studies the following semester.

Fall, 1967 was the first enactment of Black Studies curriculum. There were a total of eleven classes at the college (Amounting to 33 units of college credit). The courses in this catalogue will be taught in the Black Studies Program, Spring, 1968. Pre-registration cards for the classes can be picked up in the Black Students Union office, Hut T-2 after February 1, 1968.

ANTHROPOLOGY

177.4. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF AFROAMERICAN STUDIES (3) Mary Lewis

Analysis of theoretical and methodological techniques associated with the study of AfroAmerican institutions.

177.02 SWAHILI (3) John Shoka

Continuation of the cultural language course taught in Fall, 1967.

DRAMATIC ARTS

177. IMPROVISATIONS IN BLACKNESS (3) Melvin Stuart
(Two separate sections to be arranged)

This course will be limited to twenty-five (25) students. The only prerequisite is a willingness to learn through hard work; other necessities are more or less inherent in the sum of the individual student's cultural and personal experiences. Through the implementation of games and improvised scenes, it is expected that each student will develop the art of "giving and taking" (mutual trust) with a partner or as a member of a group endeavor. The performance of "improvised" plays and "written" plays can well be an end result of this course of study; workshops will also serve as an extension of the entire program.

EDUCATION

177.3 MISEDUCATION OF THE NEGRO (3) Abdul Karim

An experimental course in education that will survey the educational process of black students in the public school system. Working through the tutorial program and a few selected schools in the black communities, we will make first-hand critical evaluations of classroom situations and reference materials in the context of a miseducational process that treats the American Negro student as a nonentity. Materials will be assigned to the class to establish the historical and cultural uniqueness of black people adjusting totally to American society. A major factor contributing to black people's frustrating position is the inadequacies of the American educational system; a system we hope to survey with the hopes of offering ways of improving the miseducational process that stifles black growth and development.

ENGLISH

177. MODERN AFRICAN THOUGHT AND LITERATURE (3)
Harold Head

This course will be organized as a seminar hopefully limited to fifteen students. Though not necessarily a prerequisite, some background in African history is desirable. Emphasis will be on factual and philosophical material because good analyses of exclusively imaginative literature are scarce. In addition, such an emphasis is useful--if not indispensible--to anyone wishing to understand more fully the process of colonial emancipation in Africa.

A study of the recent literature of the black continent is not possible in isolation. It demands the more general context of the whole African cultural revival--African writers and research workers being linked to so many communal preoccupations and characteristics.

The first characteristic common to both these groups, if not to all African thinkers, is

their political committment. Moreover, complementing their politically committed literature, present day Africans exhibit a committed history, a committed ethnology, and a committed theology.

The student will be expected to demonstrate an academic and creative understanding of the material. He should find the African committment to Black Power stimulating in its obvious comparative implications.

116.1. CREATIVE WRITING (3) Sonia Sanchez

Various forms of writing are emphasized: poetry; narration; description; and the short story. Frequent guest writers will read and discuss their work.

6.1,6.2 COMPOSITION (3-3) George Murray

Development of reading and writing skills. Satisfies general education english requirement.

HISTORY

177. ANCIENT BLACK HISTORY (3) Rolland Snellings

The course in Ancient Black History is extremely important to Black college youth, not only as a positive salve upon the wound of past and present racial oppressions and cultural degradation which has been the lot Black people everywhere, but also as an honest scholarly effort to complete the complex puzzle of human civilization confronting modern man. Modern civilization, contrary to prejudiced views, has resulted from the collective efforts of countless generations of the Races of men, daily pursuing their aim: dreaming, planning, working out their life tasks under indifferent skies. This view of history - -which is obvious to the scientific scholar - has been, and in many cases, still is, hotly contested by sterile academies who feel their world-view threatened; by fresh, non-prejudiced approaches. One cannot truly know man until one has known him in all sizes, shapes, and colors upon the isles and continents of earth.

The course will not only outline and sketch the various dynasties, empires, political conflicts, etc. of the Ancient Black World, but also its concrete artistic and scientific achievements and discoveries so that the Black student can realistically "see, feel, or touch" the contributions of the Black peoples, of Africa, to Modern World Culture. Within the duration of the course, students will be asked to initiate projects which will help to further enlighten their fellow students both within and without the immediate classroom.

177. RECURRENT THEMES IN TWENTIETH CENTURY AFROAMERICAN THOUGHT (3) Mary Lewis

Course focus is AfroAmerican concern with question and problems of social and political integration from Booker T. Washington to Stokely Carmichael.

177. HISTORY OF THE THIRD WORLD (3) Christine Williams

A survey of Far Eastern (China, Japan, Korea) history up to 1831, the beginnings of the Western impact, especially in the areas of economics and politics.

HUMANITIES

156. CULTURE IN THE CITIES (3) Jimmy Garrett

Course will deal with development of a concept of black humanity among students.

1. Developing methods of analysis
2. Intensive analysis of Black culture through the use of fiction and non-fiction of Black writers.
3. Discussion - student lectures - student projects will play an important role in the course.

199. INTRODUCTION TO AVANT GARDE JAZZ(3) D. Harrison

This course will examine the evolution of the Third Stream era in Black music. Discussions will revolve around various artists, their works, and their relation to other artists. Artists to be covered include: Herbie Nichols, Cecil Taylor, Sun Ra, Pharoah Sanders, Albert Ayler, Thelonious Monk, Ornette Coleman, Eric Dolphy, Abbey Lincoln, Marion Brown, and others. There will be required reading and listening.

PSYCHOLOGY

177. GROUP PROCESSES (3) Lawrence Harrison

Second semester of studies in group interaction and will concentrate in an increase of communication and trust among that group.

141. GROUP PROCESSES (3) Daisy Dumas
(Effective Use of Stereotypes)

This course will utilize the techniques of role-playing in the classroom and in the community to enable students to develop a better awareness of themselves. Students will be encouraged to assume unfamiliar roles in the community in order that they might become more familiar with the psychological realities which are dominate in the black community. These realities will be examined through the use of stereotypes as constructs.

Participation in the community workshop will be mandatory. There will be required reading and final.

177. WORKSHOP IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF, BY, AND FOR BLACK PEOPLE (3) Maruyama

The cultural heritages and the social, conditions of Black people are different from those of white people. The purpose of this workshop is to develop conceptualization, hypotheses, data collecting procedures and methods of analyses based on the epistemology of Black culture, and work toward a theory of psychology relevant to the life of Black people.

SOCIAL SCIENCE

20. AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS (3) Juan Martinez
(Two sections will be taught)

General institutions and government. Satisfies the general institutions requirement.

SOCIOLOGY

177. SOCIOLOGY OF BLACK OPPRESSION (3) Jim Aliniece

In recent years, there has been a growing tendency among black people to draw a historical parallel between that period in American history known as the post Civil War era and contemporary times. Both time periods are remarkably similar to each other in that they gave rise to: (1) an acceleration of the socio-political advancement of black people; and (2) a rising tide of resentment and resistance to this advancement on the part of a large body of white Americans. Admitting to the general validity of this analysis, it would be the primary purpose of this projected course to address itself to the differences, as well as the similarities, between these two historical periods. And further, to see if these differences are of such a fundamentally contradictory nature (i.e., in the

sense that Mao-Tse-Tung elaborates on contradictions) so as to invalidate, or validate, as the case might be, the thesis that a historical cycle is in the process of reoccurring.

The general conceptual framework of the course would be structured upon ideas advanced in Political Sociology e.g., Definition: Political Sociology attempts to understand political activities and institutions within the general context of the social and cultural environment that they exist in and are nurtured by. That is to say political sociology is especially interested in the underlying social conditions that affect the way groups and individuals interact with each other and the political consequences of such interaction.

Barnes Rogers - If signed over comm. - will lend them money for seed etc. (~~fate~~) A son of private FHA -

~~Victor Phillips~~ -

Erskine - opening remarks - who we are etc.

Bob Doctor - Introduced Washington people -

Mr. Phillips -

thanks S.A.C. for inviting him -

Explanation of what ASCS does - programs it administers -

Cotton Ala.'s most important cash crop - Anti-disc. policies of ASCS - Progress since '65

1. Employment - non-disc., responsibility of county, state ~~over~~ directors - minority employment should = minority farmers in county, state etc. But not restricted to just this %. (since '66)

Training program for minority group to have trained people available wherever needed.

in Southern states
- 4/67 - 227 full time N. employees
- over 4,000 emp. on seasonal basis.
- 12/66 - 35 emp. in state offices.

2. Elections - Minority groups must be rep. on ballot, propos to # in community - If 10% Negro, at least 1 Negro must be nominated. Boundary lines, rights must be sent to each qual. voters -

List of qualified voter must be available in county office 45 days before elections

Ballots counted in public place.

Meetings to explain election etc. - publicized

County committees - now 2 Negroes in Sou. States -

3. Farm programs - Anti-disc. in programs -

Protection of sharecroppers by regulations - sent to all county offices -

4. Meetings held. Emp. cannot participate or address any seg. group - Cannot, officially, support any meeting etc. seg

5. Advisory Comm - Negro group to assist state committee - to assist state comm. in carrying out anti-disc.

State Asc. Comm. 5 Negroes in South.

6. Review Committees – Any farmer unhappy with Commod. quota can appeal to review committee – 73 Negroes now serve (12 in Ala)
7. Housing – All facilities & services must be provided all by owner
8. Hearing – Anyone who think they suffer disc treatment may have in formal hearing – Notice of Equal Emp. Opp. posted in all offices – (covers program participation as well as emp.) Complaints – written filed with local, state, or fed. offices.

Programs are evaluated, reviewed to see how going. Annual compliance reviews – Emp. reports submitted monthly. State dir. submit written reports –

Question #1 – Lack of understanding on Negroes – structure of elections – some predom. Negro farm. may elect 6 community committeemen but elsewhere 10 whites elected. they vote – & elect white county ones –

Have Committees been remiss in initiating programs to inform Negroes?
Fund cut-back has hurt this –

Vera – Were standard approaches used –
Vary to needs but at least 1 public meeting must be held –
What forms announcements –
Personal letter, posters.
Ask civic, farm groups etc. to hold additional meetings –

E.S. – Lowndes County election – Has something been done to correct whatever made manipulations possible – set time for election now –
County comm. conducts election – with help of state –

Why not more participation
Process of education - Increased participation now - Investigation hasn't shown intimidation -

What disp. action agin landlord (quest. 2).
Possible to cut off ASCS program - If force used -

Can county dir. be fired by govt -
Sec. of Ag. can - don't know if ever exercised power -

Training program? - Doesn't have answer - One is in Ala -
Begun this year -

Why now appointing Negro to state - Why not earlier?
Compliance saw earlier -
Sec. a very busy man. Some things have to be called to his attention -
Negroes are not elected to county committees - Sec. could have set an example in appointing to state committees.
Will be here until 4:00 tomorrow -

Bob Valder -
Real import. determined by availability of fed. programs -
Alleged dem. practices - If disc. could be eliminated in structure elim. of disc. in programs would follow -
power of county comm - acreage allotments - N. receive smaller allotments both = & proportionately -
Whites may receive more than wants & county can then re. allot. Main source of complaints -
ASCS keeps no records of race in anything except employment etc - (not in programs).
Projected yield - est. of how much farmer will produce -
Amount of money farmer received based on this figure -
Plow under cotton - ASCS claims because he overplanted - farmers doubt it -
Conservation programs - pays 50-80% cost of project if total gross income under 3,000 - If changes to cattle could get grant to develop pasture (large farmers get bigger grants - partly because they can more easily come up with their share -

Majority of N. farmers eligible have never heard of I.
Crop adjustment — pays farmers for taking land out of prod. Money = money he would have gotten from crop — frees him to take supplemental work elsewhere.

If ac. allotment unfair can appeal to review comm. 7 comm. in Ala. each has one Negro — out of 7 members.
5 N. in training program — all women in clerical job —
(gave employ. figures)
(" community committeemen figures)
Figures misleading — Negroes elected won only because of great C.R. movement activities — whites outnumber them & elect own to county committee.
1. ASCS officials on local level decide program for whites only & conduct program ~~as~~ & operation on that basis.

2 Wash. claimed couldn't appoint to state committee without local recommendation — now has done so.

3. Advises ASCS should publish income & race breakdown on ~~how~~ who receives programs & money received.

4. Should get serious about enforcing Civil Rights Act.

5. Abolish advisory committee.

6. Make real effort to inform Negroes of elections — see that it is conducted fairly ele.

John Cashin — Who was appointed & why —
No one on state committee knew of appointment — rumored that feelers put out at Ala. A & M. for someone to appoint.

Disc. penetrates whole ASCS. Crux is election process.
Eligible — anyone who is eligible to take part in program is eligible to vote.
Committee put on many Negroes to dilute Negro vote.
Regulations now have limited this practice. But still Negroes out number whites on ballots.
Nom. Period very brief & no one really knew about it.

Can Equal Op. in ~~Employment~~ ASCS ever become reality?
Many in Black Belt would like to give up system —
Bob — times election fine if can be conducted properly —
B.D. — Economic pressure great & can't be eliminated —
even if elections held fairly — still pressure exists —

Mr. Payne — analysis of Lowndes County.
submitted ~~statem~~ report prepared by Commission on 26 counties
read ~~statement on Lowndes~~ summary statement —

Why drop in eligible voters? —

Community comm. & county office determines eligibility —
Did pop. show similar decline? Don't know —

Mrs. McGill —
Elections began in '33 — N. only found out about it recently — Notified for cotton allotment elections —
N. didn't take much interest — told how to vote — only whites on ballot — not informed at all about programs — how to participate — until '65 no info. on elections — Lowndes C. ~~Hum~~ Christian Movement began to inform people — tried to get N. on ballot — ran N. in most communities (all except community E) — N. only won in one community —
People didn't know when votes to be counted — trouble finding out.
'65 Had 5 white farmers on ballot —
'66 Asked N. to participate — but those nom. by ~~com~~ petition elected —

Landowner or money-lender got checks held it until paid back by N. farmer.
Many N. voted for whites because landowners collected ballots —
Some whites who had more allotment than needed rented land to N.
N. aren't getting fair share of allotment — till '65 no N. measured land — couldn't chose land to plow under — great variation in measurements — when complained told "sometimes pencil makes a mistake or hard to read —

80% programs supposed to go to under 3,000 or less — N. wanting pond improvement told no money available —

Temp. employees all used to measure cotton -
Too many ASCS programs not explained to N. - during next yr.
ASCS should get this information to them -

Decline in eligible voters - During '65-66 program in name of landowner - subcontracts to Negroes on the place - Rent land not under support - All money goes to owner -

ASCS
~~Fer~~ Only those under contract get a ballot - not when landowner gets contracts & rents it -
Many made day laborers - thus no right to vote -
County comm. should be given complaint if tenant etc. feels not getting fair share -
Vera - must look for relief to same group causing his trouble -
Can also file direct to Washington but we prefer them to go through local office -

Suggestions - pressure USDA - Response to complaints - only notes taken - never hear result -

ASCS - voter list drawn from contracts & names given by landowner. If your name not turned in you can go to office & get name added but next year you'll be off land -
~~Coverage~~
Landowner gets ballots for all his tenants - collects them & returns them -

Mr. Walter Young -
" Andrew Jones -
(Hay & Jackson not here -
" Charles Smith - Alternate -
" Sidney Logan Jr. -

Smith - Only once someone failed to show - "when County comm. decided that people had to give consent to allow names to be placed on ballot - Comm. meeting never called while he was alt. Complicated lit. on programs - Couldn't understand enough to explain to others - Invited to only 1 meeting to explain programs (7/66) - Publicized by county chm. - wrote letter to all farmers - Only about 6 showed up - Don't know if it was because of lack of public. or what - Man from

state ASCS ~~program~~ office to explain program.
With regard to drop in eligible voters - many small tenant farmers no longer farm operators - several families pushed together on small plots & one house -
Many reasons - when N. began ~~to~~ demand for rights due him under ASCS & others they were evicted or reduced -

Mr Logan - elected in '65 - resigned to run for sheriff after few months -
In election for county committeemen only 3 out of 18 N. - elected all whites. They're ones who make all decisions - Make allotments, approve loans - all hinges on what they think of you.
When re-election held whites told N. members they didn't have to be elected again.
Went to 2 meetings to explain ASCS elections -

Mr. Young - Mrs. Smith Gardner asked him for his ballot - didn't give it to her. After this - after 11 yrs. ~~the~~ rented land to white man to raise cattle. Signed check over to Mrs Gardner - ASCS office said they would send him a statement on how much check would be - never gotten statement. Doesn't know yet how much check was for. Didn't mind signing it over - owed her some money -

What basis for signing over check -

P.C. Brack - deputy ASCS area dir.? - Can be done for rent, supplies - amounts must be detailed; what for; etc. - Offices have their own - forms are inspected by auditors -

Payne - Why is this being allowed? Perpetuating economic dependence -

P.C. B - Sec.'s rule - he couldn't answer -
In field about 50% of time - maybe in Ala. about 6 times a year - well aware of charges of disc. - those judged to be ~~adman~~ in any way serious turned over to inspector general's office & field investigation made - their report turned over to SEC.

Mr. Jones - " Working for support for N. candidates - In middle someone bought ~~sold~~ his house & told him to get out right away. Found another house - bought lumber to add on - Police saw him - notified new landowner - landowner refused to let him have it — Christian movement finally sold him acre -

Turned lights out. After election, while waiting to pick up someone - whites beat him up - S.P. & N. policeman by him when he came to - S.P. had gun drawn on him. Right in front in city hall - Car followed him on way to hospital - Coleman Gade one of men attacked him - FBI investigated - nothing — 4 policemen there when lights put out - Seems like FBI could have gotten info. from them.

Payne - All those selected in Lowndes have been nom. by petition - Could you have elected anyone without organization in advance. Yet duty of ASCS to inform all people on purpose of election etc.

Young - Mrs Gardner told him check for 174.00 - Didn't know what to expect - Had never received any money for - raising cotton - Doesn't know what check for - told it was for price support — Farmed 8 acres - cut to 5 -

Mr. Logan - Explained how paid for diversion -

Mr. Smith - Explained how figures determined -

Bobby Doctor - Do you believe black farmers in Lowndes can get equal opp. under existing ASCS system.

All said no -

Harrell absent
Mr. Merritt " —

Erskine - Godfrey letter (Wash. letter) to Sanborn -
on ASCS personnel to attend - including county agents -

Dallas

Mr. Payne - read report

Miss Shirley Mesher -

Appologized for lack of preparation -
'66 problem getting information from ASCS on election - finally got most from D.C. - had to rewrite to make understandable - Owners told Tenants who to vote for - Obs. denied right to get ballot totals - Put on ballot by Comm. without permission -
Only 1/2 farmers on address. plates - list couldn't be gotten from office - weren't allowed to copy list -
People afraid of ASCS office - poor treatment -
ASCS Done nothing to educate or inform
People don't know programs - even how allotments figured -
Current req. work agin N. farmers - 10 days after notice
petitions have to be rec'd. Not time enough -
Letters to D.C. get back letters referring them to local office - the one they're complaining about -

Negroes held in involuntary servitude - Fed. agents work agin them by withholding information - as to rights, programs, etc.
Landlords make all decisions without consulting tenants -
Land designated as pre-measured wasn't measured at all -
Allotments unfairly dist. -
Tenants forced to sign but couldn't have a copy - "because Wash. doesn't send enough forms" (director, ASCS) -

Until '66 almost no contact with ASCS office - a place of fear & intimidation. People now treated a little better - still not called "Mr. or Mrs." - O'Hare said no directive rec'd on this -
Info. not given - must be pried out - only if you know right questions - No display of literature in office -
Even if you can get lit - almost ~~too~~ impossible to interpret -
Serves no purpose for poor - Slides supposed to be available but no one in Dallas has ever heard of it - Handbooks etc. seem to be designed for internal use or by very well educated -
Only 1 informational meeting held (8/66) - One brochure mailed after meeting - near election time -

BOORUM & PEASE "NOREAR" (R)

Negroes with same amount of land given smaller allotments - GAVE allotments back, not knowing they could sell them or rent them -

Suggests allotments should move with tenant who earned allotment in first place -

~~the~~ People thrown off because refused to sign over gov't payments - back of assignment form calls for itemized expenses - no one ever sees this - tenants have no idea of what is owed or ~~to~~ how much charged for anything -

Comm. credit loans - until '66 N. never notified as to how much they still had on loan - N. didn't know they were legal owners, never signed releases, yet cotton gone. Checks not made out to tenants until landlord says all debts paid -

No N. on feed grain program - almost all farmers in ~~feed~~ grow corn (on Minter place). N. rec'd notice to report to ASCS office at 15 min. intervals - Mr. Minter + several large white tenants signed up for program - No Negroes - Suddenly N. called in (after corn planted + in bloom - planted under ASCS instructions) -

'67 - almost no N. still on feed grain program - prob. because no one has ever told them about it. -

Even with 80% cost sharing - farmers told they must pay everything in advance, then reimbursed by gov't -

Negro employed in office - if still there - completely invisible

Minter investigators - abuses proved over & over yet nothing ever comes of it - D.C. legal aid said Mr. Minter didn't know man he kicked off was involved in c.r. activities - but he'd gotten injunction to keep man from allowing marchers to use his rented land -

Do co-op given ASCS election observers - ~~obs.~~ tried to get obs. to sit at desk far removed from counting - Cand. disqual. because he lived in wrong area - boundary area inform. couldn't be obtained from ASCS office - Ran then as write-in in "proper" county - Ballots when appeared man was listed in community for which he had been disqualified -

Tremendous pressure being brought by FHA on SWAFCA members - loan amounts reduced when presented SWAFCA bills for payment - Total op. loans now 360.00 - won't begin to cover.
Food loans reduced - couldn't get home repair loan because house too bad - Build a new home - but loan approved for 3 bedroom house - not enough for 12 people -
Some counties FHA are denying SWAFCA bills - (Sumter)
Supv. said was going to destroy co-op & no point in dealing with them -
No communication between agencies & small farmers. Onus all on poor & small farmer - Farmer doesn't know what to ask -
Wash. regulations not implemented on local level -

Dr. Gomillion - Have farmers in ~~E~~ L county area rec'd any info. from county agents on ASCS programs -
S. H. - Almost none - if any. Most info. farmers have come from civil rights workers. Auburn recently have provided some crop information -

Bills presented from SWAFCA for fertilizer, seeds etc.

Why large farmer gets benefits -

Landowner decides who is going to get allotments & how much - Tenants never consulted about what is done - Note waives any legal rights - directs where cotton to be ginned - all personal property - owner can enter house & seize anything in repayment - If ten. in owners judgement not farming property owner can seize entire crop -

Investigators + results good - but watered down someone - local landowners part + parcel of system - as our political structures - Sou. legislators have great influence on Dept. Agriculture -

All sorts of laws regulating industry - protecting workers, small businesses etc -- none affecting agriculture -

Have no access to records, information - trying to get proof has to be done by par + c.r. workers - rather than by Dept.

B. D - Can equal op. become a reality under ASCS as it now exists -

Could benefit from some - programs designed by large farmers -

Mrs Hooter -
Mr Arthur Brown -
" Elijah Green
" Willie Williams
" Clement ~~Baylow~~ Barlow

Mrs Hooter - 1965 - rented lot 28, + 41 - 41 was separate from rest of place - got check for lot 41 - on 28 cut acreage - Said it was too much money "for you niggers to have" - When husband went down to rent land had him sign papers, wouldn't tell him what said - Mrs Hooter ~~said he~~ saw him + read papers - Said signed away checks for 4 yrs - When talked to O'Hare he said to talk to Mr. Hunter.

At election wouldn't let observers see counting -

Went to D.C. to complain about evictions - USDA said then give us 10 days + we'll have people back on land -
Hunter pressure kept other Negroes from renting her land -

Evicted because wouldn't sign check over - ~~got~~ told other Negroes what they were signing when Hunter told them not to tell others.

All but one evicted (some still have houses but no land) when refused to sign over check - Other one signed over ASCS check but ran for election in ASCS -

(Mr. Minter owns about 14,000 acres) -

Mr Williams born, raised on land - now 61 - cleared off land - now land removed, has only house - Minter now raised cotton & corn on land -

Mr. Minter told Mr. Williams reason he wouldn't rent him land was because he wouldn't sign over a check - wife & mother were there -

Also told Mr Barlow same thing - still living there but no land - No witnesses - "Can't carry you on this 20 cotton unless you sign your check over" - (this in March) - then wrote him a letter after he had broken land & getting ready to plant. Got registered letter (1.85 worth of stamps) saying Minter had notified ASCS office ~~he~~ Barlow wouldn't be farming land.

Minter gives script - good only at country store. Ask how much interest charged told "It's no secret but I don't think you need to know" No prices marked - no idea how much anything costs -

At gin check is made out to Minter - says m if for Will Moore - when accounts figured, if it comes out 100.00 due Moore Minter thinks of 100.00 not charged to account -
On 100 acres made some years 5 - a hundred clear -

Do any on Minter place participate in food stamp program? ~~thinks~~ a lot of things you can't get with food stamps.
Mr. Minter collects welfare checks, pensions etc. from post office & takes them to his office. You have to go to his office to get them -

Hooper - Had to pay rent in April for first time because knew check was coming from D.C.

Mr. Brown - Moved to new place - rented land elsewhere for 490.00
wife working in cafe - 19.00 for 6 days work -
Applied for welfare because of blindness - 2 months ago -
no reply as yet -
Has 9 children - fs

Mr. Green - Letter from Hunter - didn't tell why wouldn't sign check over -
Grew up on place - never had any trouble before -

No one has ever gotten checks - where are they?

Bob Doctor - Guesses held up because of litigation -

Letter from city atty saying Mr. Hunter wouldn't be here
because of litigation. (He's Hunter's atty)

No officials from Dallas -
Memphis got letter saying O'Hara would not be here -

Wilcox County

Mr. Beech - all office mgrs. contacted + he anticipates they will be here -

Mr. Payne - read report on Wilcox + added explanation of average ASCS payments -

Mr Albert Gordon - Camden
" Jessie Brooks - Coy
Mr. Gordon - ASCS elections in '66 - improvement over '65 - Fortunate in use of techniques to get voters - got a few chm. elected in Wilcox. Disc. factors in ASCS elections in Wilcox will continue until pressure put on officials. Community powers exert influence on N. voters - will last till N. control own land -

Can't solve many of problems because we don't have nec. information — are at least able to get some inform. (My guess would be on programs can get inform. can't get info. to prove discrim. in payments, allotments etc.)

Brooks - Elected alternate in '65 + '66 - letter saying elected also said would be informed of meetings - where it would be needed hasn't been notified yet - Community meeting twice a yr. are supposed to include alternates. Local white people ask N. to vote for whites - N. do same thing - Difference is that whites have power, can demand. Has been told by people that they were threatened if did not vote right way. Nothing he could take to court - moreover, afraid to face owner + say he did this + so - (as in court or SBC hearing).

Brooks - Several men lived close to him had to move because registered to vote - (not in ASCS elec. but in regular election)

Gordon - In Wil. situation - if people are allowed to have shack but no land does no good - Have to move to have land to farm to be able to live -

Mr. Gordon- lost job from his work in ASCS elections-

Q- If you had not worked on ASCS election would as many N. have voted?

Gordon- No - esp. those who are voting for first + second time- ASCS notification not satisfactory- Not informed of happenings- Before election people from office ~~for~~ letting Gordon's group set up informational meetings + someone from office attended.

Program information meetings - haven't heard of any-

Brooks- If you get infor about programs you can go to office & they'll tell you about them.

Both- Know of no N. farmers who have received conservation program funds.

What whites elected? Large farmers for most part-

The Negroes on ballot by committee?
Brooks- the 70 ~~that~~ couldn't rep. Negroes -
Gordon- Some 1 or 2 put on were asked- knew other N. were not going to support them- Some owned land, some Tenants-
Both- the 70 were uncle Toms-

Brooks- Lit. sent from office on programs etc. - N. don't understand it - So much of lit. is dropped unread - Only about 60% can read- People in office very nice - will come + tell you if you have overplanted etc.

Not trouble with overplanting in Cay community - At one time a couple meas. from office + students doing it - when office would come out it would be all met-

Doctor- Would booklets in basic english- limited wc - be helpful?

Gordon- Yes- but ~~if~~ a meeting- in person- would be of more valuable- Some people just don't read, period.

Brooks - thought spreading info. one of alternates duties - never given info. himself

Doctor - Asks Brooks & Gordon to circulate booklet in planning stage - & to evaluate it -

Mr. E. B. Davis - County Compliance Supv. - Wilcox County - Representing the office mgr.
Would rather not testify. ~~Comp~~ Submit questions to office & they will answer them.
Asked to come by Mrs Baker - the ASP(?) clerk -
Working about 26 yrs. - off & on - for ASCS office.
Measures land, makes inspections of storage etc -
Thinks N. treated equally well - ~~ja~~ may not be as well informed & doesn't ~~own~~ as much land -

Mr Milton Morrow - Dallas County Compliance Officer - Representing office mgr -
DO present full time N. in ASCS office -

How information given? Letters on elections mailed to all farmers -
Contacted all nom. -
If made aware of irregularities in election thinks they would notify landowner that he couldn't control how tenants voted -

No Negroes now measuring land - have ~~have~~ had them in past

B. Doc - What qualifications for jobs?
Field workers — H. S. graduates - able to measure & figure acreage -
N. who worked as temp. field workers were teachers - Mr. O'Hara asked supt. of schools to see if any teachers wanted summer work -
(Verry Coleman was one) measured Negro land & some white -

BOORUM & PEASE "NOTEBAR" ®
BOORUM & PEASE "NOTEBAR" ®

in 12/66 had one N. staff - shown as permanent - act. was temporary -

Mr. Payne - refer. to Godrey letter - calling for equal op. employ - Dallas has 74% N. & no perm. N. staff -

Mr. Morrow - that's Mr. O'Hara's job -

Mr. Payne - Can all white Comm. serve N.'s needs -

Mr. Morrow - Think it would be well if one qualified Negro could serve -

Does of know of any info. meetings held by ASCS to inform of elections

Nom. Neg. for Community Comm. — Assumes ~~Negroes~~ Nom. Committee appointed by County Committee -

Mr. Lane asked Mr. Morrow to come this morning (Mr. Lane worked out of office) -

Do you think election procedure a good one?
Thinks its fair -

Morrow - Landowner gets allotment (Hunter gets between 12 - 1300 acres) - land averages bale an acre - no requirement that tenant consulted -

Greene -

Mr. Payne read report -

Rev. McShane - Paul Bakulitch arrested in Demopolis - thinks he's being held till after meeting over -

Greene C. N. not notified of operation of ASCS - N. put N. on ballot by petition - those nom. by comm. are Uncle Toms - never put over 5 whites on ballot - Make it deliberately hard for N.
~~Sen~~ Put N. on ballots in wrong areas -
Whites got 2 ballots - wife & husband - understanding -
N. only get one -
Trouble at beginning of election - planned to do counting without poll watchers - Disqual. about 25 N. in every box; no whites -
1 watcher near - rest had to sit way back -
All ballots counted without watchers were redone -

Large landowners kept N. from voting - Mr. King - ASCS chrm. Controls large part of this land -

Had to move twice this year -

ASCS has held no inf. meetings on election or programs - now getting more letters - (Most families have someone who can read) -

One farmer (tenants) had paid his debt but his check being held till others paid their debts -

Negroes who didn't sign check over fend land now rented to big land Company - bring own help with them -

Do you think way elections run ~~are~~ allows N. to be elected -
If N. can stay in county - despite pressure - Eventually may be able to win election - whole plan now to drive N. out of County - N. now voting & looking for his rights -

said that they were going to starve N. out of Greene C. – Mr. Slane didn't hear it but was told it was said Power structure actions support this –
Landowners found N. could get fert. from Co-op agreed to sell it to them – (wouldn't let them have credit before)

Farmers who were borrowing from FHA now can't – holding up checks till after planting time – ~~Fed. Eq.~~ USDA agents working again co-op – ~~Eq. prop~~ USDA people going all out to kill Co-op –

Big land companies have raised value of land – from 100 to 200.00 an acre – Make it harder for N to get land. Land used to raise soybeans + run N. off –

Rev. Thomas E. Gilmore – Forteland –

ASCS pro. have not been favorable in ~~the~~ Greene County –
Eviction great problem in Greene – some done by strong men in ASCS –
Prog. handled – controlled – by power structure – ~~some~~ ~~as~~ the oppressors of the small farmer.

Found intimidation in ASCS election –
Mass migration of N. from country – N. not leaving voluntarily – 70 families evicted (at least) from 5/66-5/67.
Thinks N. voters is cause for eviction – People evicted had voted –
Some cases evicted farmers get 15 days notice – some have been told to be off "tomorrow" – (one after 37 yrs.)
Had been active in demonstrations –

Doesn't matter if the man tells them why they're being evicted – they know –

Mr. John Vance -

Supv. authority for all ASCS programs - resp. for seeing equal op., in employ., programs etc. Complaints by tenants, elections, + program discrim. investigated. Subscribes to idea of equal op. Many affirmative steps - more planned -

Farm prog. op - Cotton div. + feed grain program require tenants be allowed to participate + called for review of every tenant farm to det. if tenant-landlord relationship proper. Done in '66 - majority found to be fine -

All prog. require tenants cannot be displaced for participating - Landowners who do this cannot participate - Surveys made annually -

Employment - encouraged full compliance with agency pol. statement - present 23 full time & 98 part time N. emp. in Ala ASCS office - Program to cont. until all imbalance eliminated -

Training classes for minority groups to be sure qualified N. available for emp. Ala plan fully implemented -

4/67 - Inst. issued for Ala ASCS to recruit & train N. for state program specialist job -

Elections - '67

1). All elections held in 3rd wk. of Sept.
2) Elec. in Ala by secret ballot -
3) Notice of elections & comm. boundaries to be mailed 35 days prior to election + public notice
4). Public notices to be uniform
5). List of eligible voters posted 45 days prior election
6). Elim. req. N. be placed on ballot - new req. that at least 1 N " " " where N's = 10%
7). Uniform ballot
8). Name on ballot same as his sign.
9). Ballot + inst. for voting mailed to all voters
10). Voter cert. to make it clearer where sign. to go.
11). County Comm. must design. place unseg., large enough to hold all interested to count ballots in.
12). Allow poll watchers & let them observe
13). Encourage full participation of N. voters

Advisory Comm. meets sometimes with State ASCS committee -

What to be done about local county officers who haven't shown despite directive?

Cance to best of my knowledge every complaint investigated -

What affirmative action -
programs - all mailed information - spec. brochures for those with little education -

Do N. office mgrs. - county comm. elected by farmers hires county office mgr. Import. decisions etc. all made by county committeemen -
Some change in election of county comm. would require Act of Congress -

Under what cond. can a landlord require tenant check turned over to him - Never - Assignments can be made -

~~Mr. Brooks -~~
Complaints - Have any found guilty - yes.
Macon County office mgr. suspended over election -
(suspension comes before dismissal)

Mr Clegg - Program Specialist - Compliance -

Mr Vance - ~~Believes~~ True equality of opportunity - Progress being made - ~~Happy with~~

Mr Bridges - Agrees with Mr. Vance on employment - In program full equality exists -

Mr Vance - Federal funds should go where inequality exists? No real inequality in programs -
Mr Bridges - think some N County Committeemen will be elected -

Mr Vance - County office mgrs. continually impressed by need for ~~Emp~~ equal emp. opportunity -

Mr. Bridges - There's all white county comm. responsive to black needs -

Vance - USDA carrying out law with regards to equal employment - Has no respon. for equal employment under title 6.

Vance - Checked with Tuskegee, & others for appt of Negro to State ASCS -

Comm. Committees ~~formed~~ composed of present County Committee -

Sumpter

Mr. Payne -

Rev. Sam Little -
People told county election not going on - not allowed in to watch counting

Robt. Thomas -
Went down to meeting - not allowed in & nothing done.

Little - Can't account for fact that no N. elected - May be because too many N. nominated -
Intimidation exists - Klan exists -

Eva Burrell - (was sec. Sumter County Movement)

Mr. R.W. Williams - was on Rogers' sister land
Got letter from Mr. Barnes - 15.00 mo. rent for house - no garden, no livestock, no job, no nothing - Had been on land for 15 yrs. Nothing in writing - paid rent every fall - ~~[illegible]~~ 6.00 yr. acre per yr & 15 mo for house

Robert Thomas - Mr Rogers took land except for small garden 2 men built house on land & had to pay 15.00 mo. rent. Had 13 acres last year - Gave land to neighbor - Asked ~~[illegible] office~~ Mr. Barnes about my check & Mr Rogers didn't like it - No wells on property - Rogers also spoke to him about his civil rights. Wouldn't ~~[illegible]~~ give him credit unless signed over check - Active in civil rights - "just attended meetings" -

24 25 - 8 (no reg.) 74% N.

Did Mr. Rogers ask some evicted to work land as day workers?
No one really knows about it —

Mr. Ennis — Native of Sumter + family before him — '55 — office mgr. has encouraged N. to plant soil building crops — Has notified all N. leaders of programs — No industry —
Public invited to watch counting — no one showed up to my knowledge —
$ letters to sent to all farmers on any new programs —

Bob Doctor — Corrected his pron. of Negro —

Owns 200 acres — no colored employees — 3 older sons help —

Election carried out exactly according to book — Colored people prefer that whites carried on business affairs — ~~voted~~ N. voted in Election but voted for whites —

Tenant farmer a thing of past —
More Negro farmers — have more acreage — allotment goes to land owner — no ~~business~~ concern with what he does with his tenants —

~~Wha~~ Last advised about this meeting Wed. ~~had been planning to come all along~~ — Planned to go to Tuscaloosa — changed mind + decided to come yesterday —

22 whites on ballot — 100 Negroes — I Don't think this was to dilute the vote —

Census figures do not = their figures — All N. farm op. are eligible to vote —

County Committee meetings usually at 9 or 9:30 — [Mr. Thomas said Mr. Ennis stopped them from coming in during counting of ballots] Mr. Ennis says no one came —

Hopes for plywood plant to help economy —
Land values have tripled due to soy bean coming in —

BOORUM & PEASE "NOTEBAR" ®

Selma - '64 Miss. N. were first to participate in ASCS elections -
N. added to ballot to dilute law - Lowndes election
thrown out because didn't comply with spirit of
law -
Green County - torn up ballots on floor destroyed -
Regulations changed every year
'66 - wanted to find out what dist. you're in - who is
eligible - would have to pay for names - much
too expensive.

No post protection for those who participate in ASCS elections -
Something new necessary - Elections staggered - this
started when N. began voting -
Cut off ASCS - not programs - would be even better
to transfer it to F.H.A. - better still to do it as
the OEO with poor electing poor rep -
All this would apply only to areas where disc. proven to exist -

Perm date for election most important - based on slack season -
Adjusted by regions of county -

County comm. should be required to speak in each N. comm. several
times a yr - to explain election procedures - programs etc.

Lit. should be simplified - Notice should show dist. Envelope
has code tells office what dist voter in - ~~office~~ voter
doesn't know. Encl. should include names of eligible voters
in dist. - Contain blank petition.

Wives & Children should be barred - 1 vote per unit.

Nom. period to short - 30 days - then 30 days for ballot
to be returned -

(12 Randolphs nom. in Lowndes in '65)

Abolish power of board to nom. - min. slate of 5 N. & W.

Publish lists of who is nom & who signed petitions -
If petition defective allow 5 days to correct it -

®

Challenges of eligibility - phone call should be enough for ASCS to investigate eligibility -

Photographs & name on ballot where illiteracy high

No disqual. for technicalities - if ballot understandable

Ballots mailed to P.O. Box & remain there until counted -

Eliminate threat on envelope -
Simplify envelope -

Should be crime to collect ballots - ballots should be mailed -
2 observers for every candidate - space large enough - let them see envelopes opened - who voted -

Hale County

Lewis Black -
Problems same as elsewhere. ASCS Program most valuable for poor Ala. farmers - ASCS services not going to poor. About 1200 had ASCS contracts - over 1/2 Negroes - Only one man had over 500 acres crop -
ASCS def. eligible farmer in Hale raising cotton or corn - to get subst. allotment must rent land from whites - If you've done any C.P. work can't rent land -
Whites register all of family & thus get many votes to outvote N. - ASCS hasn't educated farmers on programs - Can't learn boundaries from ASCS office - no slides available -

Rents a farm - (denied eligibility) -

Disqualified from running in '65 - because man who signed petition couldn't vote in that community - where you farm in several communities can vote in one - Signer here assigned to "wrong" comm. so his vote wouldn't count -
Lewis now disqualified as a voter -

9 – full time
3 – N. P.T.

Feed grain Dallas

About 70% Hale County functionally illiterate – mostly N. –

Mr. Mashburn (Melvin) – Supv. for ASCS – 11 counties, inc. Sumpter & Wilcox
" Lane " " " Green, Hale, Dallas & ~~Sa~~
" Strother – Dist. mgr. Wilcox –

Mr Strother –
No part time employees – field reporters – this year –
Use county paper on programs – mail out letters – have some meetings – more colored at meetings with whites –
Held meetings on elections –

Has highest # N. elected & # voted – Due to fact we are fair & square –

How did 70 ~~ex~~ N. get nom. by committee – when it can only get 70 total? No whites nom. There is an error –
3 whites from each comm. + 7 non. whites from each comm.
Most N. elected came from those put on ballot by petition –
~~49 + 21~~

Community size
Mr. Lane – Community size unfair but community & county committees haven't been unhappy – Variation may be due to geography – Will call this variation to committee –

No correction in Wilcox as to relationship –
Community committeemen did work most places ~~kind of~~
Know of no corrections –

Assignments – biggest help to small farmers – otherwise can't borrow money –

Mashburn – operates 570 acres – cattle – Marengo County –

Conclusions -

Lack of co-ordination between gov't agencies -

USO

February 6, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Virginia

Dear Paul:

Here is a copy of the letter from Henry W. Pope about the U.S.O. meeting in New York on February 11. I think it is swell that you can be there to represent SRC.

I am sure that you know much more than I do about the operation and future possibilities of U.S.O. I feel that it would be a shame to lose the gains which have been made by U.S.O. agencies if there is any possible way of getting communities to retain these agencies as community or recreational centers with enough support to make them really function. Of course, SRC will be glad to help in building up local sentiment and finding local resources to carry on these centers.

In the June, 1945, issue of Southern Frontier we published something about U.S.O. I thought you might like to have a few extra copies, so I am enclosing them.

I will write you shortly some details about the Savannah meeting of February 25.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS • THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC COMMUNITY SERVICE • THE NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS • THE SALVATION ARMY • THE NATIONAL TRAVELERS AID ASSOCIATION

United Service Organizations, inc.

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44

January 31, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The USO Committee on Services to Negroes over a period of many months now has analyzed and discussed the question of withdrawal or termination of service in local communities as the need for USO services declines. This question has been approached from several angles. Among them have been: What has been USO's contribution to local appreciation of community organization in general and recreation in particular? What, if any, will be the carry-over value of USO's stay in the community? What is USO's obligation to communities in the area of future planning and how can this obligation be carried out most effectively? What is the extent of interest on the part of local community leadership - Negro and white - in continuing the pattern of cooperation and joint effort? Finally, what are the interests of the civilian divisions of the USO member agencies in this question of future planning on a local level?

Experience to date indicates that there is an extensive interest on the part of local leadership - Negro and white - in perpetuating the values of the wartime experience in behalf of post-USO and post-war community services. A preliminary check of the record of communities in which USO services had been terminated indicates that an appreciable percent of these communities have developed plans for continuing a social service or recreation program in one form or another. Other communities that are scheduled for termination of USO service are busy with the process of planning. As of this writing USO has established services in more than one hundred and fifty (150) communities serving a Negro constituency primarily.

It is believed that your organization is interested in the questions listed in paragraph one above. Accordingly, as a means of exploring further the problems and national resources available for encouraging and assisting these local community leaders in developing and implementing plans, it has been recommended that a meeting be called of representatives of interested agencies - USO member agencies and the National Urban League, the National Recreation Association and the Southern Regional Council.

At this meeting it is hoped that we may be able to review: (a) USO experience to date; (b) estimates of the probable period of USO's stay in the remaining communities; (c) the professional interest of agencies in these communities and how they might plan jointly for such services as they are in position to give, and indicate on what basis these services are available.

At the request of Mr. Ray Johns, Director, Department of Operations, Continental United States, I am writing to ask if it would be possible for you to designate a representative or representatives of your staff to attend such a meeting on February 11th at 2:00 P. M., USO Headquarters, 350 Fifth Avenue, Board Room, Fifty-seventh Floor.

Sincerely yours,

Henry W. Pope

Henry W. Pope
Director of Services to Negroes

HWP:eg:emr

COPY

UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS, INC.

350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, New York

January 31, 1946

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The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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The USO Committee on Services to Negroes over a period of many months now has analyzed and discussed the question of withdrawal or termination of service in local communities as the need for USO services declines. This question has been approached from several angles. Among them have been: What has been USO's contribution to local appreciation of community organization in general and recreation in particular? What, if any, will be the carry-over value of USO's stay in the community? What is USO's obligation to communities in the area of future planning and how can this obligation be carried out most effectively? What is the extent of interest on the part of local community leadership -- Negro and white - in continuing the pattern of cooperation and joint effort? Finally, what are the interests of the civilian divisions of the USO member agencies in this question of future planning on a local level?

Experience to date indicates that there is an extensive interest on the part of local leadership - Negro and white - in perpetuating the values of the wartime experience in behalf of post-USO and post-war community services. A preliminary check of the record of communities in which USO services had been terminated indicates that an appreciable percent of these communities have developed plans for continuing a social service or recreation program in one form or another. Other communities that are scheduled for termination of USO service are busy with the process of planning. As of this writing USO has established services in more than one hundred fifty (150) communities serving a Negro constituency primarily.

It is believed that your organization is interested in the questions listed in paragraph one above. Accordingly, as a means of exploring further the problems and national resources available for encouraging and assisting these local community leaders in developing and implementing plans, it has been recommended that a meeting be called of representatives of interested agencies - USO member agencies and the National Urban League, the National Recreation Association and the Southern Regional Council.

At this meeting it is hoped that we may be able to review: (a) USO experience to date; (b) estimates of the probably period of USO's stay in the remaining communities; (c) the professional interest of agencies in these communities and how they might plan jointly for such services as they are in position to give, and indicate on what basis these services are available.

At the request of Mr. Ray Johns, Director, Department of Operations, Continental United States, I am writing to ask if it would be possible for you to designate a representative or representatives of your staff to attend such a meeting on February 11th at 2:00 P. M., USO Headquarters, 350 Fifth Avenue, Board Room, Fifty-seventh Floor.

Sincerely yours,

Henry W. Pope
Director of Services to Negroes

HWP:eg;emr

February 6, 1946

Mr. Henry W. Pope
Director of Services to Negroes
United Services Organizations, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue,
New York 1, New York

Dear Mr. Pope:

Your letter of January 31 arrived while I was away on business in New York City. We are pleased that you have asked the Southern Regional Council to take part in the U. S. O. Conference which is to be held in New York on February 11th.

I have just talked on the telephone with our President, Mr. Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Virginia, and he will be glad to represent the Southern Regional Council at the meeting next Monday. He is deeply interested in the U. S. O. and I am sure he will make a valuable contribution to your conference.

I wish that I could also attend the meeting, but I have an important engagement in Florida on that day. However, our Associate Director, Dr. H. L. Trigg, will be in New York attending another meeting at the same time as yours, and I hope that he will be able to get in for at least part of the U. S. O. Conference.

I hope that you have a very successful meeting, and I shall look forward to hearing about the results.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GBJ.

MINUTES

COMMITTEE ON POST-USO SERVICES
EMPIRE STATE BUILDING
NEW YORK, N.Y.
February 11, 1946
3:00 P.M.

File

PRESENT:

Representative	Agency or Organization
Thomas Rivers E. T. Atwell	National Recreation Association
Miss Anne Grossman	N.J.W.B.
Arthur Hardy	Y.M.C.A.
Miss Goldie Carter Mrs. Louise Cochran	Y.W.C.A.
Dermid Nallin	N.C.C.S.
Capt. Walter Squibb	S.A.
Mrs. Odessa Williams Mrs. Kathryn Sample	N.T.A.A.
Ray Johns Dr. J. L. Zwingle Henry W. Pope	U.S.O.
ABSENT: *Paul D. Williams	Southern Regional Council, Inc.
*Guichard Parris	National Urban League

Presiding: Ray Johns, Director USO Operations, Continental United States

INTRODUCTION - PURPOSE OF MEETING

After introducing representatives of the respective agencies, the Chairman briefly outlined the purpose of the meeting. He stated that over a period of many months the Committee on Services to Negroes has discussed the question of withdrawal or termination of USO service in local communities. He expressed the hope that representatives present at this meeting may be able to review USO experience to date, estimates of probable period of USO's stay in the remaining communities, the professional interests of the agencies in these communities and how they might plan jointly for such services as they are in position to give and indicate on what basis these services are available to communities.

It was pointed out that it may be USO's job, at least to point communities to resources where they can get assistance in this

---

* Mr. Williams delayed in Washington;
Mr. Parris - error made in meeting date.

connection. The (USO) pamphlet PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE was mentioned. It was reported that USO cannot give club equipment to local communities, but appraisal and sale can be arranged. In many cases communities have taken over equipment intact.

In answer to the question on variety of sponsorship, it was pointed out that sponsorship ranged from City Recreation Departments and welfare agencies to churches and reputable groups of civic-minded citizens.

BACKGROUND FACTS

For the purpose of general background on terminations, Mr. Pope, Director of USO Services to Negroes, reported that at the peak of USO operational history, there were approximately 300 clubs staffed by Negro personnel and serving predominantly a Negro constituency. At the moment there are about 170 units, approximately 150 of which are operated by the National Agencies (USO member agencies) and the other 20 odd by local USO Councils. It was noted that in many communities there is no Negro population and in others a very small Negro population which is one of the factors that contributed to the thought that a meeting of this kind might be an appropriate first step toward helping these communities in their local planning as USO withdraws. Articles in "The Southern Frontier," published by The Southern Regional Council, Inc.; "The Christian Century" and "Survey Mid-Monthly" were mentioned in support of the growing concern on the part of communities in perpetuating the values of USO experience.

It was pointed out that many of the federal buildings are in process of being taken over by City Recreation Departments as USO withdraws.

Following a brief explanation of Exhibit "A" (attached), a list of "Active and Closed Clubs (serving a predominantly Negro constituency), the following observations were made and questions raised:

> In some northern communities it is to be noted that plans were for interracial constituency; Waukegan, Illinois was given as an example - youth constituency. On the other hand, most of the clubs listed were reconverted as Negro centers. This is easily understood inasmuch as Negroes are restricted pretty much to a "ghetto" pattern - therefore, a club in a Negro community, if perpetuated, would probably serve a Negro constituency. The stimulation in behalf of a community center has come in most cases from the Negro members on the Operating Committee and/or USO Council. Generally, it can be said that Negroes have been more vocal about trying to keep services than whites inasmuch as, in many cases, USO has offered the first recreational experience to the Negro community. This, of course, being particularly true in the South. In one or two instances there have been cases of clubs serving Negroes being taken over for whites - Rolla, Missouri; Bainbridge, Georgia are two cases in point.

DISCUSSION

In answer to the question what are the hazards that might be encountered in effecting useful future operation, it was pointed out that inadequate finance, inadequate understanding and interpretation of standards and range of program, and municipal domination would seem to be the most outstanding. Thus, you find the need for affiliation with a national organization to keep things going. In this connection Oklahoma City was mentioned as an instance where the YWCA was asked to give supervision until this community can take over.

It was pointed out that efforts to continue some of these services may prove a disservice if plans and support are inadequate. Perhaps there is need for cautioning in some communities. The thing of concern is the gap between conferring between social agencies and what actually happens in the communities. The opinion was expressed that the concern isn't so much in the overall planning, but in the fact that if anything is going to happen in these communities, it will have to be on the level of the people involved. Another factor of importance in the survival of these programs and services in the post-USO period is tieing community enthusiasm to some guiding influence. In this connection, a question was raised regarding the possibility of some field visits to these communities by staff members of national agencies.

Mr. Rivers, representative of the National Recreation Association stated that the National Recreation Association has three special Negro workers who travel throughout the United States, in most cases, in communities of 10,000 or more. He suggested that it might be worthwhile to have a list of the communities listed and compare it with the list of the National Recreation Association's field staff.

AGREEMENTS

IT WAS AGREED:

1. That there is need for a planning group of some sort. In the case of Evansville, Indiana, Council of Social Agencies invited a member of the National Recreation Association to come in and see what could be done. There was brief discussion regarding the coordination of national organizations, field visitation and the possibility of placing the "point of contact" nearer the communities involved. In answer to the question: How can National Travelers Aid participate in this plan? it was suggested that they might bring a composite record up to date on what is happening locally at the point of closing out of National Travelers Aid services.

2. That wherever interest is known in behalf of post-USO operations in a community, such interest should be made known to the National Recreation Association, and they would be glad to send in their District Representative to help in effecting successful reconversion. It was pointed out, however, that emphasis should be placed on invitation coming from the local group.

3. That it would be helpful if the USO staff would convey to their respective agencies, civilian divisions, the interest on the part of specific communities in having help in planning for the future. It was suggested that perhaps USO member agencies have moved slowly in offering assistance or promoting local future planning because of a desire not to be misunderstood as promoting their respective agencies.

4. That the skeleton information given in the list of active and closed clubs would be completed in Mr. Pope's office. It was suggested that agencies forward whatever information they may have regarding these clubs to Mr. Pope and that Mr. Pope would serve as a "clearing house" on what is happening, and could be contacted for information on specific communities.

It was suggested that Mr. Pope get in touch with the National Urban League and Southern Regional Council and transmit to their representatives the information given above. It was likewise suggested that requests for information on local communities be passed on to regional groups.

PLAN FOR NEXT MEETING

It was AGREED that the next meeting be held the first opportunity after an appreciable amount of data has been gathered - probably 60 days after February 11th. Tentative date - 25th or 26th of April.

Respectfully submitted,

Henry W. Pope
Acting Secretary

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS • THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC COMMUNITY SERVICE • THE NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
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United Service Organizations, inc.

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USO REGIONAL OFFICE: 44½ MARIETTA STREET, N.W. ★ PHONE MAIN 3352 ★ ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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February 18, 1946

RECEIVED
FEB 19 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I enclose program of the USO Staff Institute now in session at the USO-Servicemen's Center, 16 Courtland Street, Atlanta.

The program is a little the worse for use. But it is the only one in my office and I wish you to have it first thing in the morning.

All of us in USO appreciate your willingness to speak on "America and the World Order" at 2:30 Friday afternoon, February 22. And we all know we have a treat in store. Thanks again for accepting the invitation.

As I explained over the phone, you need not even refer to USO in your address unless you so desire.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Barker

Lillian Barker
Regional Publicity Representative

Encl.
LB:mb

USO IS FINANCED BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THROUGH THE NATIONAL WAR FUND

TALK ON AMERICA AND THE WORLD ORDER, Friday, Feb 22, 2:30 -- 3:30 P. M.

USO STAFF INSTITUTE
Region VII

Servicemen's Center, 16 Courtland Street, Atlanta
February 17 - 22, 1946

INSTRUCTIONS

Seminar A - "Understanding and Dealing with Individuals"

Chairman - Professor John Wallen, Black Mountain College, Black Mountain, North Carolina
Training Committee Associate - Miss Mary Louise McPartlin, NCCS

Seminar B - "Program Planning and Evaluation"

Chairman - Laurence B. Cairns, Program Director, YMCA
Training Committee Associate - Mrs. Louise Cochran, YWCA

Seminar C - "Staff Administration and Development"

Chairman - Dr. Thornton Merriam, Director of Training, YMCA
Training Committee Associate - Harry Minkoff, NJWB

Seminar D - "USO and the Community"

Chairman - Dr. Hedley S. Dimock, Coordinator of Training, USO
Training Committee Associate - Miss Helen McDonald, NTAA

Seminar E - "Work with Volunteers"

Chairman - Miss Anne S. Hooley, Assistant Executive Director, NCCS
Training Committee Associate - Miss Jean MaGuire, SA

Seminar F - "USO Services for Hospitalized Servicemen and Their Families"

Chairman - Mr. David Danzig, Director of Program Services, USO
Training Committee Associate - Miss Jean MaGuire, SA

Demonstrations and Round Tables

1. Social Recreation - Mr. Laurence Cairns

2. Lectures, Discussions, Forums, etc. - Miss Mary Louise McPartlin

3. Arts and Crafts - Mrs. Mary T. Dean, Program Specialist, Arts & Crafts, USO

Special Lectures

"The Next Stage in USO" - Mr. Ray Johns, Director of Operations, USO

"America and the World Order" - To be announced.

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March 1, 1946
(Dictated February 25)

RECEIVED
MAR 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

May I express the appreciation of the USO Joint Training Committee, to which I add my own, for the admirable talk which you gave at the closing session of our recent Staff Institute in Atlanta. Everyone seems agreed that this session made a very fitting close to our Institute and that it is largely due to your clear and provocative presentation.

I appreciated too the opportunity to talk with you a bit personally on our ride down town and to learn a little bit more about the work of the Southern Regional Council. I am requesting that a check be forwarded to you which at least will be a symbol of our appreciation for your participation in the USO Staff Institute.

Sincerely yours,

Hedley S. Dimock

Hedley S. Dimock
Coordinator of Training

HD:FL

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

June 1, 1946

Mr. Henry W. Pope
USO, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

DR. TRIGG PLANNING TO ATTEND MEETING ON JUNE 11.

Guy B. Johnson

(Paid)

May 28, 1946

Mr. Henry W. Pope
United Service Organizations, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Mr. Pope:

Thank you for your letter of May 23. We are very much interested in the forthcoming USO Conference which is to be held in New York on June 11. I regret that I cannot give you a definite answer right now as to whether a member of our staff can be present. However, after a day or two I shall wire you.

With highest regards and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

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44

May 23, 1946

air mail - Special

RECEIVED
MAY 27 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

You will recall that in February you were invited to participate in a meeting here at headquarters along with representatives of the six USO member agencies and the National Recreation Association, the National Urban League and the Southern Regional Council. This meeting was called for the purpose of reviewing USO's experience in the area of services to Negroes and questions related to possibilities for assisting communities in their post-war and post-USO planning.

It was pointed out that many of these communities were desirous of establishing some form of recreation or social service or community welfare project following the termination of USO. Accordingly, it was believed that the agencies listed above might profitably review the experience of USO to date and analyze the interest of communities in which USO is still operating to the end that plans might be made for making the resources of national agencies available to interested communities upon request.

It was agreed at this February meeting that a follow-up meeting would be called as soon as sufficient data could be gathered as a basis for further discussion. Such a meeting has now been projected for June 11th, 3:30 P.M., Committee Room, 57th Floor, Empire State Building.

Because of the large number of communities in the South in which USO has operated and still operates, and because of your organization's interest in interracial matters, we are

confident that your organization has a contribution to make to this discussion. USO prides itself on interracial advances made in the southern states. Largely this has been a by-product of the cooperative effort of white and Negro leadership in planning for over-all effective USO services in local communities.

It is recalled that the President and Dr. Trigg intended to attend the last meeting, but last minute difficulties prevented this. It is very much hoped that you or one of your associates can plan to be present on June 11th. Within the next few days I shall send you some material which will provide the basis for our discussion.

Sincerely yours,

Henry W. Pope

Henry W. Pope, Director
Services to Negroes

HWP:ewg

June 19, 1946

Mr. Henry W. Pope, Director
Services to Negroes
United Service Organizations, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, New York

Dear Mr. Pope:

I had the pleasure of attending the committee meeting on June 11 at your office, and regret very much that it was not possible for you to be present because of the illness of your mother. I trust that since that time she has become definitely better and is on the road to recovery.

The problems considered by the committees are certainly fundamental to the physical and mental health of the Negro in communities, and I hope that something tangible may be done.

You are aware of the fact that we do not have local units. May I assure you, however, that the Southern Regional Council stands ready and willing to lend any assistance possible in connection with this work.

When minutes of the meeting are available, would you be kind enough to send us a copy?

I did not know before going to New York that your brother, Mr. James Pope, had departed this life. I knew him quite well and thought he was doing a fine work. His widow was at one time a teacher in the school at Method, North Carolina, where I was principal of the county training school. I would be grateful if you would send me her present address.

With kindest good wishes and highest personal regard, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:m

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Frank L. Weil

44

June 6, 1946

Post USO
Negro + USO
Fayetteville

Dr. H. L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Enclosed please find:-

(1) Minutes of February 11, 1946 of the Committee on Post-USO Services

(2) List of clubs serving Negroes still in operation, including indication of tentative community plans, as well as disposition of clubs that have been closed.

It is hoped that you may be able to scan this material in preparation for the meeting of June 11th at 3:30 P.M., Empire State Building, 57th floor, Committee Room.

Sincerely yours,

Henry W. Pope

Henry W. Pope, Director
Services to Negroes

HWP:ewg
Encs. 2

Home address
752 Macon St.,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM June 19, 1946

To: Dr. Guy B. Johnson

From: Harold L. Trigg

Subject: USO Committee Meeting, New York City, June 11, 1946

On June 11, 1946, I met with the Post-USO Services Committee of United Service Organizations, Inc. and the Committee on Negro USO. The two met jointly in the offices of USO in the Empire State Building, New York City.

Three topics were considered.

The first and prime question was the possible continuation of USO services in communities where units of this organization existed during the war. No definite conclusions were reached, in view of the fact that each community and each USO center presented a picture which was more or less unique in itself. I was unable to commit this organization to any specific aid in the program, but did assure the chairman that we might request our local representatives to aid in the solution of the problem when conditions permitted this assistance, provided that we could get hold of specific information about each situation.

The second question which consumed most of the time was the disposition of USO centers for Negroes. This was quite difficult for many reasons which are evident. Many local communities have not had recreation services for Negroes prior to the war, and feel now that the need for such services no longer exists because the servicemen have been removed. No conclusions were reached. It was decided, however, that another meeting of the committee would be held in New York at some time during July.

The Fayetteville USO presents a special problem in itself. The large number of Negro servicemen at Fort Bragg during the war were provided recreation services at the State Teachers College and at an additional center in the city known as the Winslow Street USO. The building at State Teachers College burned, and President Seabrook continued the USO services in the college gymnasium. He has since discontinued the service there, and at the same time, the Winslow Street USO has been closed, which means that the Negro veterans remaining at Fort Bragg have little or no directed recreation. The mayor and city council of Fayetteville are willing to continue the services provided that USO make a substantial contribution of money toward the construction of a new building. It seems that they are really evading the issue, and the national organization does not know what to do. In view of the fact that I have been closely connected with work in North Carolina, I did not attempt to make any contribution to the solution.

It was also suggested that a national committee be formed composed of at least one representative from each of the organizations like the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., National Recreation Association, and others that serve Negroes in such capacity in order that opportunity be presented at least once or

twice a year to measure the services of these organizations to local communities and determine the extent to which they are securing support which is more or less adequate to do what they are attempting to do. In addition to this suggestion it was thought worthwhile to put on a national drive for funds, similar to the one which is being put on by the National Negro College Fund.

No conclusions were reached in any instance, and it was thought that something definite could be done at the next meeting of the Committee on Negro Affairs, which is planned for some date in July. I doubt the advisability of our sending a special representative to this meeting unless something new turns up.

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS • THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC COMMUNITY SERVICE • THE NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS • THE SALVATION ARMY • THE NATIONAL TRAVELERS AID ASSOCIATION

United Service Organizations, inc.

350 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 1, N. Y. · PHONE: PENNSYLVANIA 6-5400

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44

June 24, 1946

8592

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trigg:

Thank you very much for your letter of June 19th. I am indeed pleased that you could attend the Committee meeting here in New York, and regret more than I can indicate that I could not be here to help direct the thinking of the group. I shall write you more in detail about this later, and shall certainly send you a copy of the minutes as soon as they have been mimeographed.

I am confident Marthena (Mrs. James O. Pope) will be moved to learn of your inquiry. Her address is 80 East 121st Street, apartment 2D. I now recall having heard Jim and Marthena speak of you on several occasions. I wasn't certain that you were the Harold Trigg to whom they referred although I have known of you and your work for a long time. I certainly shall look forward to meeting you and coming to know you and your present work better.

Most cordially yours,

Henry W. Pope

Henry W. Pope, Director
Services to Negroes

HWP:ewg

6-11-'46 USO

Post-USO Committee
- Initiate from local Council of social agencies.
- Support from a nat'l organization?
- Local support?
- County or several counties combine on program of recreation services.

Next meeting
July 9 2 p.m.
USO Committee on Services to Negroes

Get list of USO's
CU no own building
Location of hdq.

September 13, 1946

Mr. Henry W. Pope, Director
Services to Negroes
United Service Organizations, Inc.
350 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Pope:

This will acknowledge your letter of September 3, with a copy of the minutes of our meeting on June 11 enclosed.

We shall be quite happy to render every possible service to the committee which Mr. Atwell may convene, and we look forward to some notice from him.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MJ

THE YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS • THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC COMMUNITY SERVICE • THE NATIONAL JEWISH WELFARE BOARD
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September 3, 1946

Dr. H. L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

The attached minutes of the Committee on Services to Negroes (June 11th meeting) are self-explanatory.

On behalf of USO may I extend our appreciation of your own and your agency's interest in the matter of Post-USO plans for recreation in local communities. It is hoped that the ideas which were evolved out of the two exploratory discussions (February 11th and June 11th) may lead to some planned coordinated efforts to make more definitive observations in respect to these communities and to see how the national agencies concerned can make their professional leadership and services known and readily available to interested communities. You would be interested to know that Mr. E. T. Atwell of the National Recreation Association has agreed to serve as convener pursuant to motion on page three of the attached minutes.

Sincerely yours,

Henry W. Pope, Director
Services to Negroes

HWP:ewg
Enc.

MINUTES

COMMITTEE ON SERVICES TO NEGROES
JUNE 11, 1946
Empire State Building, New York

PRESENT:

SA	Captain Walter Squibb
YMCA	Rev. Calvin Stalnaker
NJWB	Matthew Penn
NCCS	Dermid Nallin Dr. Euphemia Haynes
YWCA	Miss Mary Preston Miss Adah Kieffer
NTAA	Mrs. Odessa Williams
National Recreation Association	E. T. Atwell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.	Dr. Harold Trigg
USO	Mr. Frank Kramer Dr. J. L. Zwingle Mrs. Kathryn Wolf

ABSENT:

National Urban League Reginald A. Johnson

PRESIDING: Miss Adah Kieffer, Chairman

Minutes of the last meeting were adopted as circulated.

POST-USO COMMITTEE

The Agreements listed in minutes of the meeting of the Committee on Post-USO Services of February 11th were reviewed as background material for discussion. Report prepared by Miss Kathryn Sample (National Travelers Aid Association) was read by Mrs. Odessa Williams. Copy of report (Exhibit A) attached hereto.

In answer to question regarding the possibility of securing a report from the agencies on post-USO planning for communities, representatives of the several agencies stated that reports were in the making and should be ready for release in the near future. The Salvation Army representative pointed out that the report of his agency would point up instances where services to Negroes have been linked up with an interracial group.

In general discussion, Rev. Stalnaker pointed out that the YMCA can hardly escape carrying on post-USO services where there has been a YMCA operation. In most of these communities there is considerable concern about whether or not YMCA or community center should be developed. Harrisburg is one community about which Rev. Stalnaker has some concern. The opinion was expressed that national agencies other than USO member agencies could be of great help to many of these communities.

Mr. Atwell expressed the opinion that something ought to be done to stimulate necessary analysis of the future need of these communities and wondered if USO or a combination of agencies would take the initiative in such a project. Dr. Zwingle pointed out that this is one of the most illusive projects to pursue. Many committees have been set up. USO has done its share of talking on the subject, and probably took the heaviest burden when it released "Planning for the Future in Your Community." Dr. Zwingle stressed the fact that USO has to recognize its limited responsibility and capacity for doing the kind of thing under discussion once it has gone as far as to provide information on communities in question. Dr. Zwingle stated that USO member agencies within their civilian right may be able to carry on to the extent to which they can go financially.

Dr. Trigg pointed out that his organization would need a list of USO clubs and their locations with some indication of whether or not the present facilities are to be continued, if the Southern Regional Council is to be of any service. He pointed out further that the general approach of the Council to a problem of this kind would be stimulation of local Council of Social Agencies. In reply, Dr. Zwingle stated that perhaps in cities where the Council may have an interest, USO would proceed to give the details or perhaps refer the Council to the respective USO Regional Office. However, USO would have to await initiative of the Council. The value of USO would be in the exchange of information.

Question was raised regarding the extent of the Salvation Army's undertaking post-war work of this nature in communities. The Salvation Army representative pointed out that too much of an expense would be involved. The Salvation Army pattern of local community organization has to be followed which is a combination of religious and welfare activities. Recreation and group activities are an adjunct to these two activities.

In further discussion, Dr. Zwingle raised question regarding the existence of a scheme other than the Negro College Fund that has been sought for services to Negroes; wondered whether there was anything under study now for financial assistance of any kind, on experimental basis or otherwise. Mr. Atwell stated that there was no scheme at the moment, and felt that this was something to which some thought should be given.

Rev. Stalnaker raised the following question:- What can the Committee on Post-USO Services do regarding these communities? Dr. Zwingle pointed out that the Committee could discover how much interest the various agencies may have for attempting to make permanent recreation services to Negroes. The initiative however, will have to cease to stem from USO and come from other groups. Mr. Stalnaker was of the opinion that the Committee should proceed as a lay group, apart from the Committee on Services to Negroes. If the Committee is to have value, it must be free to find place where the need is, and at least make suggestions how need can be met.

Mr. Penn pointed out that a Committee of this type (Post-USO Committee) would call for:

1. Definition of the areas that a committee like this would or can consider.

2. Careful examination on the part of each agency to determine to what extent they would want to involve themselves along this line.

3. Question of financing the work of a committee which heretofore had been financed by USO would be involved.

Mr. Penn stated that it is a rather difficult decision to make. However the extent of interest in the establishment of such a committee could be indicated.

The Chairman wondered if points mentioned above should be included in a letter to the agencies. Mr. Penn considered this a good suggestion, however, felt that the letter should be written so as not to be confused with the regular work of the USO Committee on Services to Negroes. Perhaps the Post-USO Committee should draft such a letter addressed to the agencies.

The following MOTION was made by Mr. Stalnaker:-

> That the Chairman appoint a convener of such a separate committee and that the responsibility for discovering the disposition of the agencies be assigned to that convener. Convener to discover whether meeting should be called, if so, he would call it. MOTION CARRIED.

In discussion it was pointed out that technically the above would mean an end to the present committee. Dr. Zwingle pointed out that members of the Committee would know the convener and would keep in touch with him, thus, the Committee would be kept alive.

Mr. Penn stated that he would like to see some sort of REPORT PREPARED BY THE USO COMMITTEE which would be used by whatever committee comes into existence. (Report to include summary of recommendations, etc.) It was suggested that since Mr. Pope has been responsible for this material, he might be the person to make such a report to be transferred to whatever committee comes into existence as a result of these deliberations and explorations. Dr. Zwingle pointed out that USO itself can no longer be responsible for a Post-USO Committee, it will have to become a committee in its own right.

MOTION CARRIED that the Committee ask Mr. Pope to prepare a report summarizing the work of the Committee on Post-USO Services to date, and that this report be made available to whatever agencies are interested in indefinitely continuing this form of study of services to Negroes.

REPORT OF SUB-COMMITTEE

The Chairman pointed out that the function of the Committee on Services to Negroes has been, in the early years of USO, to help form policies and watch developments in services to Negroes:

Mr. Nallin, member of the Sub-Committee gave the following report:-

1. The Committee thought it would be a good idea to have each agency report on what it had done regarding services to Negroes.

2. The Committee thought it would be a good idea to find out the staff relationships in interracial clubs in particular.

3. The Committee is interested in knowing what can be expected in services to Negroes in this post-war period as an outgrowth of USO community experience.

4. The Committee raises the following question:- Will all of the agencies be permanently affected by the Negro services that they have been giving?

5. From an Agency standpoint, the Committee raised the questions:- Should meetings of the Committee on Services to Negroes continue through the summer months? What should be program of the Committee from now on?

Miss Kieffer, chairman, suggested that each agency be asked the kind of things they think this Committee should do, and what will be its program for the next eighteen months.

It was AGREED that a letter would be gotten out immediately to the agencies asking for the kind of material that will be needed for discussion at the next meeting of the Committee on Services to Negroes.

FAYETTEVILLE

Dr. Zwingle reported that since the last meeting of the Committee, the Committee on Field Operations recommended that the Winslow Street designation in Fayetteville be cancelled, and that matters be brought to the Conference of Executives. The Conference of Executives recorded its "unhappiness" and suggested that the USO record should be made available to interested parties in Fayetteville. Letter was drafted which in effect stated that USO was eager to provide services, but in view of protests of the Mayor, City Council and other responsible groups in Fayetteville, unfortunately USO had done all that it could. USO did not consider services to Negroes adequate in that community and stands ready to do what it can when the community is ready. Subsequently a wire came from the Mayor requesting that USO send representatives to discuss with him and others the possibility of erecting a building for services to Negroes. USO's reply was that representatives would be sent when something specific regarding the city's intention to take the initial responsibility was received. USO Regional Executive was asked to contact the Mayor regarding his ability to confer with him. Therefore this matter is still pending, and subject to further negotiations.

NEXT MEETING

It was AGREED that the next meeting of the Committee on Services to Negroes would be July 9th at 2:00 P.M.

EXHIBIT "A"

COPY

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mrs. Odessa L. Williams DATE: June 7, 1946

FROM: Kathryn Sample

I have attempted to chart for you the TA service which will be left in the community of permanent value to Negroes, as USO withdraws. It does not follow Mr. Pope's prescribed outline and, therefore, requires the explanation that "due to the administrative structure of our service we cannot very well isolate those services to Negroes, as they are integrated under one administrative head. Consequently, wherever a regular Travelers Aid Society, or a provisional society has emerged out of the USO experience, that service is available to Negroes as well as white persons and contributes to the welfare of both groups."

Below are the regular Travelers Aid Societies and the Provisional Societies, all of which have developed as a result of the USO participation - and are either wholly or partially supported by local funds:-

Regular Travelers Aid Societies:

Akron, Ohio
Atlantic City, N. J.
New Haven, Conn.

Provisional Societies:

Spartanburg, S. C.
Newport News, Va.
Des Moines, Iowa
Amarillo, Texas
Shreveport, La.

Among those units merged with Travelers Aid Societies there are already some definite gains and others are in the making.

Community	Tentative Plans
Miami, Fla.	As a result of a study by one of our USO workers, the TAS Board is considering the employment of Negro staff to cover the terminals and airports.
Portsmouth, Va.	The TAS Board has expressed a desire to continue the supervision of USO-TA Negro Volunteers for the peace-time service in the Negro waiting room at the terminals.

Norfolk, Va.	The TAS Board has requested the employment of a professionally trained Negro worker. (The old TAS had a Negro worker sometime ago, but she was untrained).
Montgomery, Ala.	The TAS Board has been so favorably impressed with the service administered by our present USO-TA Negro Staff that it has included in its plan for an expanded peace-time service - the employment of a Negro caseworker.
San Diego, Calif.	Through the merger with USO, a Negro caseworker was employed by the TAS to work at terminals and to carry on an undifferentiated caseload.

Of Mobile, Ala., Petersburg, Va., and Tacoma, Wash., we can only say that while these Societies gave services to Negroes prior to the war - the interpretations to these communities in regard to services to Negroes as made possible through USO, will undoubtedly make these services more adequate.

Among the gains in other communities which fall into neither of the above categories are:-

Marin City, California - This is the outstanding example of cooperative effort on the part of both Negro and White residents who rallied to preserve the positive values of USO Travelers Aid for Marin City. The NAACP took the initiative in collecting voluntary contributions which were supplemented by the Chest, making possible the establishment of a Family agency with our USO-TA director as the executive.

Augusta, Ga. - Has the potentiality of a society - which has not yet emerged, but already their TA Committee has proposed the employment of a Negro caseworker.

Greensboro, N.C. - Here we have a Unit and a TAS which have operated separately. There is now a Negro worker on the Unit Staff, and the TAS Board in anticipation of USO's withdrawal has requested of the Community Chest, salary for a Negro caseworker on the Travelers Aid Society staff. Although the request was denied last year, the Board has indicated that they will submit their request again this year. In the meantime, they have expressed the desire to supervise the USO-TA Negro volunteers when the USO-TA Unit is finally terminated.

Newark, N.J. - As a result of the use of Negro volunteers in the USO Lounge, Negro volunteers were recruited by the TAS for the intake desks in the terminals.

Philadelphia, Pa. - The USO subsidy to the society for the employment of a Negro worker has carried over into the peace-time service. The Negro worker is still employed, but is now paid out of local funds. She works at the terminals and serves all the clients.

New Brunswick, N.J.- There may be other contributions to the Negro community before the Unit is finally closed, but one which is already evident is in the housing area. The new Federal Housing Project which is now under construction, resulted from a housing survey made by our USO-TA staff.

Chehaw, Ala. - The women's club of Tuskegee Institute have tentative plans for taking over the USO Lounge at Chehaw and operating some form of information and direction service - a service which has proven so valuable to the community during USO years.

El Paso, Texas - Our workers here see as one of the USO gains the USO Lounge in El Paso which, although it is geographically south with southern traditions, has operated successfully on an inter-racial basis for nearly two years. Many persons in the community have been interested in the so called "experiment" and this demonstration was a primary step indirectly influencing a movement to employ Negro personnel on the Police force.

Memphis, Tenn. - Pioneering with professional Negro workers in the USO Lounge, brought to the TAS staff and Board a realization of the importance of Negro professional staff members and there are now four Negro workers employed. At least two of these will continue with the Society after the closing of the Lounge.

The more intangible values of USO cannot be measured since if the Unit or Lounge closes and there is no facility left there is no concrete evidence of the increased understanding, the inter-racial goodwill, culminating from cooperative effort in a common cause. The USO Lounges perhaps more than the other USO facilities offered the opportunity for broadening and enriching the experiences of the constituency and of those who served because they were more widely used on a non-segregated basis. Our white volunteers who gained their first knowledge and understanding of Negroes through serving them in the USO Lounge at a USO-TA Information Desk, will not necessarily lose it simply because the Lounge or Unit closes. The inclusion of Negro members on Operating Committees will no doubt carry over into personal and professional relationships. The extent that our efforts to give more adequate service to Negroes may have influenced other social agencies, cannot be told. There is no criteria for weighing these values. Then, too, another practical difficulty to any attempt at an evaluation of the carry-over value of USO is that we are too close on the heels of the present to be able to forecast what will hold for the future. Also, in some communities, the six agencies have been so well integrated in effort that the net results in services to Negroes is inextricably bound up in the total USO staff and no one agency can lay claim to much that was achieved.

Perhaps some of these same difficulties hold true for the other agencies in their attempts to account for the residual values of USO. I would, therefore, like for the Committee to advise NTAA as to the use it can make of this kind of material which is reported in such an unorthodox and un-uniform fashion. It may be pointed out, however, that if the committee is concerned with the perpetuating values of the USO experience on a broad scale, the concrete establishment of a community center is only one evidence of this and may not represent the largest gains from this inter-agency, inter-faith, and inter-racial venture.

KS:yb

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . INEZ B. TILLISON . .

September 18, 1946

Evelyn:

Enter the Christian Social Relations Department
United Council of Church Women
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

on the mailing list--$2.00 subscription.

Miss Louise Young, who was listed at this address is now at Scarritt College, Nashville, Tennessee. Send her notice of 1946 dues, as an individual member.

I believe that you have posted the $2.00 sent from the C.S.R. Dept. on Miss Young's card. Erase this, as the membership card should be for Miss Young, not the organization.

IBT

DARBY - ATLANTA

September 18, 1946

Mrs. S. T. Cushing, Associate Secy.
Christian Social Relations Dept.
The United Council of Church Women
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mrs. Cushing:

Your letter of September 10 to Miss Emily H. Clay has been received. In Miss Clay's absence on vacation, I wish to thank you for your letter and your check for $2.00. Receipt is enclosed.

We are glad that you wish to continue to receive our publications even though Miss Young is not now with you. We are continuing the Christian Social Relations Department on our list to receive all of the Council literature.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Inez B. Tillison
Asst. Secy.-Treas.

Encl.

THIS MEMORANDUM IS FOR YOUR FILES. PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING CHECK.

IN ENDORSING THE ATTACHED CHECK THE PAYEE ACCEPTS IT IN FULL SETTLEMENT OF THE ACCOUNT INDICATED ABOVE.

9/11/46	Dues	10/19	2.00

The United Council of Church Women

ONE FIFTY SIX FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-3230

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Mrs. EMORY ROSS
LOUISE YOUNG
Associate Secretaries

September 10, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 13 1946
Southern Regional Council

Miss Emily H. Clay
Secretary-Treasurer
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Clay:

Your letter about Council dues has come to our office. I am answering this personally because I want you to know that Miss Louise Young who has been on our staff for a year has now returned to Scarritt. There are now two of us - Miss Nina Roberts and I carrying on the work of Christian Social Relations.

We would like to continue our membership in the Southern Regional Council because of the valuable information you provide. Will you please address all material to the Christian Social Relations Department.

A check for annual dues of $2.00 is enclosed.

Yours sincerely,

Frances M. Cushing

Mrs. S. T. Cushing
Associate Secretary
Christian Social Relations Dept.

C-uvm

Encl.

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION

Founded 1906 as the Playground Association of America

Serving Over 6000 *Communities a Year*

315 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

October 3, 1946

Dr. Harold T. Trigg
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Trigg

You will recall that under the auspices of USO the Southern Regional Council, the National Urban League, the National Recreation Association and the six USO member agencies were invited to send representatives to a meeting in February of this year. This meeting was called to discuss possibilities for post-USO services for Negroes in communities served by USO.

A follow-up meeting was held in June. At this second meeting the Chairman was authorized to appoint a convener to bring together representatives from the above listed agencies, independent of USO auspices, to explore further the possibility of being of assistance to many of these interested communities. I have been designated as the Convener for such a meeting, and I am requesting through you that your agency designate a staff person to attend a meeting on October 21st at my office, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City (20th Floor),Room E.

There are one or two items that would be of interest to those who attend which I would like to have you bring along with you if you care.Following are the items I have in mind:

(a) A list of cities considered as promising for further development and indicate fair prospects to carry on as a peace time community agency.

(b) Accompany the cities so listed with the name and address of the key people who may have shown interest and concern in the use of the facilities, equipment, and program on a postwar basis, in the local community.

(c) List cities where the facilities and equipment are so remote from the neighborhood or community location that little or no energy or work need be invested to carry on in that particular location.

At the meeting on October 21st at 3:30 P.M. mentioned above it is my understanding that we are merely to review what has been done and decide if anything may be done further either by ourselves or the joint group or otherwise. It, therefore, seems to me that if we had this additional information from each agency where contact has been made it will be very helpful in formulating even our own decision as to the future.

Sincerely yours
Ernest T. Attwell
E.T.Attwell,Field Representative

HOWARD BRAUCHER, PRESIDENT
JOHN G. WINANT, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. OGDEN L. MILLS, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
SUSAN M. LEE, THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
ROBERT GARRETT, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
SUSAN M. LEE, SECRETARY OF THE BOARD
GUSTAVUS T. KIRBY, TREASURER

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION

Founded 1906 as the Playground Association of America

Serving Over 6000 *Communities a Year*

315 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

October 16, 1946

Dr. Harold T. Trigg
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Trigg

Since I have had very little response to my letter of October 3rd regarding the proposed meeting here in New York on October 21st with reference to U.S.O. cities, I am advising that the meeting will be postponed to some other date not yet determined. It may be that by putting the date far enough away we can get some response from the agencies involved to that a substantial representation will be assured.

So far I have no word indicating attendance and only two acknowledgements, - one from the Jewish Welfare Board and the other from the Y.M.C.A. The Southern Regional Council advises me that they would send a representative to this meeting but this will not be necessary at this time. We have no other word from any of the other agencies concerned.

Sincerely yours

E. T. Attwell

Ernest T. Attwell
Field Representative

ETA/ml

HOWARD BRAUCHER, PRESIDENT
JOHN G. WINANT, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. OGDEN L. MILLS, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
SUSAN M. LEE, THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
ROBERT GARRETT, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
SUSAN M. LEE, SECRETARY OF THE BOARD
GUSTAVUS T. KIRBY, TREASURER

Charge to the account of ~~SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc. 63 Auburn Avenue NE~~

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER	X	URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

October 18, 1946

MR. ERNEST T. ATTWELL
NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION
515 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

IRA DeA. REID NOW AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY WILL REPRESENT US AT MEETING MONDAY. PLEASE GIVE HIM MINUTES OR OTHER BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON PREVIOUS MEETINGS. REGRET VERY MUCH NEITHER DR. TRIGG NOR I CAN ATTEND.

GUY B. JOHNSON

Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., 63 Auburn Ave. NE $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER	X	URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER		NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

October 18, 1946

DR. IRA DeA REID
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON SQUARE
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

GLAD YOU CAN ATTEND MEETING MONDAY. I HAVE ASKED ATTWELL TO SEND YOU MINUTES OF PREVIOUS MEETINGS. NO PARTICULAR INFORMATION HERE BUT WILL SAY THAT UNLESS THERE IS PROOF OF REAL FUNCTION FOR COMMITTEE WE ARE LUKEWARM TOWARD IDEA OF MAKING COMMITTEE PERMANENT.

GUY B. JOHNSON

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

(21)

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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1946 OCT 17 PM 8 56

Q.NA1367 9 COLLECT=NEWYORK NY 17 803P

DR GUY B JOHNSON, CARE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

220 1 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=1

REURTEL WILL ATTEND USO MEETING MONDAY ANY INSTRUCTIONS? =

IRA DE A REID.

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

USO.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc. 63 Auburn Ave. N.E. $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

October 16, 1946

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
New York University School of Education
Washington Square
New York, New York

Can you represent us at committee meeting on post-USO services, New York, October 21, 3:30 P.M. at Ernest Atwell's office. Please reply collect by Western Union.

Guy B. Johnson

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION

Founded 1906 as the Playground Association of America

Serving Over 6000 *Communities a Year*

315 FOURTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

October 17, 1946

Dr. Harold T. Trigg
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Trigg

AT THE REQUEST OF SOME OF THE AGENCIES INVOLVED, WE HAVE DECIDED TO CHANGE THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE MEETING REGARDING U.S.O PROJECTS AND TO HOLD SAME OCTOBER 21, 1946 AT 3 P.M. AT NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION OFFICE.

Sincerely yours

E. T. Attwell

Ernest T. Attwell

November 20, 1946

Mr. E. T. Attwell
National Recreation Association
315 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Attwell:

I thank you for your letter of November 12 announcing the meeting for November 25 at 2:30 in the afternoon.

Dr. Johnson has requested that Dr. Ira DeA. Reid represent us, in view of the fact that he attended the previous meeting and will know background for the next one.

We trust that something definite will come out of this meeting and wish to assure you that we shall be happy to do whatever is in our power to assist any definite plans set up.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MP

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Ave. NE $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

November 19, 1946

Dr. Ira DeA. Reid
School of Education
New York University
Washington Square
New York, New York

Can you represent us again at meeting November 25 2:30 P.M. Attwell's office?

Guy B. Johnson

Charge to the account of Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Ave. NE $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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TELEGRAM	✓	ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

November 19, 1946

Mr. Ernest T. Attwell
National Recreation Association
315 Fourth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

We are asking Dr. Ira Reid to represent Council at November 25 meeting.

Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION

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Serving Over 6000 *Communities a Year*

315 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

November 12, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg

At the meeting of the agencies representing the U.S.O. which was held in the office of the National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City on October 21st, those attending decided to hold a second meeting on November 25th at 2:30 P.M. at the same place.

This second meeting will attempt to discuss the possibilities of the participants in the meeting formulating some plan to make use of the facilities and programs of the U.S.O. on the local level as applied to certain cities. These cities have service clubs and the decision will be made at this coming meeting as to just which cities show signs of continuance and which may be given strength to do so by the committee.

It will be decided on November 25th whether the committee will continue at all in its effort and in what manner the committee may be representative of the various agencies to which the individuals attending are attached.

I think those who plan to attend should confer with their officials of their agency before they come to the meeting so that this point of the agency relationship to the work of the committee may be clarified.

I am merely acting as temporary chairman and as stated in the previous meeting the point of discussion would be (a) If anything should be attempted further by the agencies, singly or as a committee made up of national organization representatives or (b) Whether the entire effort to save the local interest, facilities and equipment should be dropped.

It is expected that Mr. Pope will have at this coming meeting the twenty-five or thirty cities where service clubs have been going on and which may possibly be translated into a peace time program.

Sincerely yours

E. T. Attwell

Ernest T. Attwell

P.S. Please note the time of the meeting is 2:30 P.M. and please notify me whether you plan to be present or whether anyone representing your agency will be present.

Your last representative in Dallas was quite effective & satisfactory.

HOWARD BRAUCHER, PRESIDENT
JOHN G. WINANT, FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. OGDEN L. MILLS, SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
SUSAN M. LEE, THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT
ROBERT GARRETT, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
SUSAN M. LEE, SECRETARY OF THE BOARD
GUSTAVUS T. KIRBY, TREASURER

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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QB35

Q.BRA28 26 NL COLLECT=WP PHILADELPHIA PENN 20

GUY B JOHNSON, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL=

11 63 AUBURN AVENORTHEAST ATLA= Ga

REURTEL REGRET CANNOT ATTEND MONDAYS MEETING. HOWEVER WILL SECURE DETAILS. MEANWHILE PLEASE SEND ME COPY YOUR PROPOSAL TO SHARECROPPERS FUND. HAVE BEEN ASKED TO JUSTIFY=

IRA DE A REID..

Wired Paul Williams & asked if he could stay over in NYC for USO meet.
G.B.J.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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QB88

1946 NOV 22 PM 11 27

Q.NA1394 9 COLLECT=HJ NEWYORK NY 22 1057P

GUY B JOHNSON= 8.- 10

326 SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL ATLA=

:SORRY IMPOSSIBLE MAKE USO MEETING NEW YORK MONDAY=

PAUL D WILLIAMS.

USO..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Charge to the account of ~~Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Ave. NE~~ $

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
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WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

November 21, 1946

Mr. Paul D. Williams
Shelton Hotel
Lexington and 49th
New York, N.Y.

Can you represent Council at USO meeting there Monday 2:30 PM? Reply Western Union collect.

Guy B. Johnson

November 26, 1946

Mr. E. T. Atwell
National Recreation Association
315 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Atwell:

We had depended upon Dr. Ira Reid to represent us at your meeting on November 25 and were notified of his inability to attend when it was too late for any of us here to make arrangements to attend the meeting. You are aware of the restrictions put on transportation over the weekend.

We hope that you had a successful meeting and wish to assure you that we shall be glad to do anything within our power to help with the program which you set up.

With kindest good wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg,
Associate Executive Director

HLT:ms

file

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION

Founded 1906 as the Playground Association of America

Serving Over 6000 *Communities a Year*

315 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

December 5, 1946

Mr. Harold L. Trigg
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Trigg

Thank you for your letter of November 26th which I have just received on my return from a trip.

The committee had a meeting and they were sorry that Dr. Reid could not be present. However, it was understood that the Southern Regional Council, and you yourself, still are interested in the problem and whatever follow-up may be developed we shall hope you will participate in it.

It was decided to ask Mr. Pope to notify the several cities where the U.S.O. work should be continued and in his letter he would give the name and address of national programs and representatives who they may call upon for advice and aid in perhaps personal visits and services.

Sincerely yours

E. T. Attwell

Ernest T. Attwell

ETA/ml

SALUTE

January 1-15, 1947 Person Street USO Club Fayetteville, N. C.

USO CLUBS

Operated by the

NATIONAL CATHOLIC COMMUNITY SERVICE

RECEIVED
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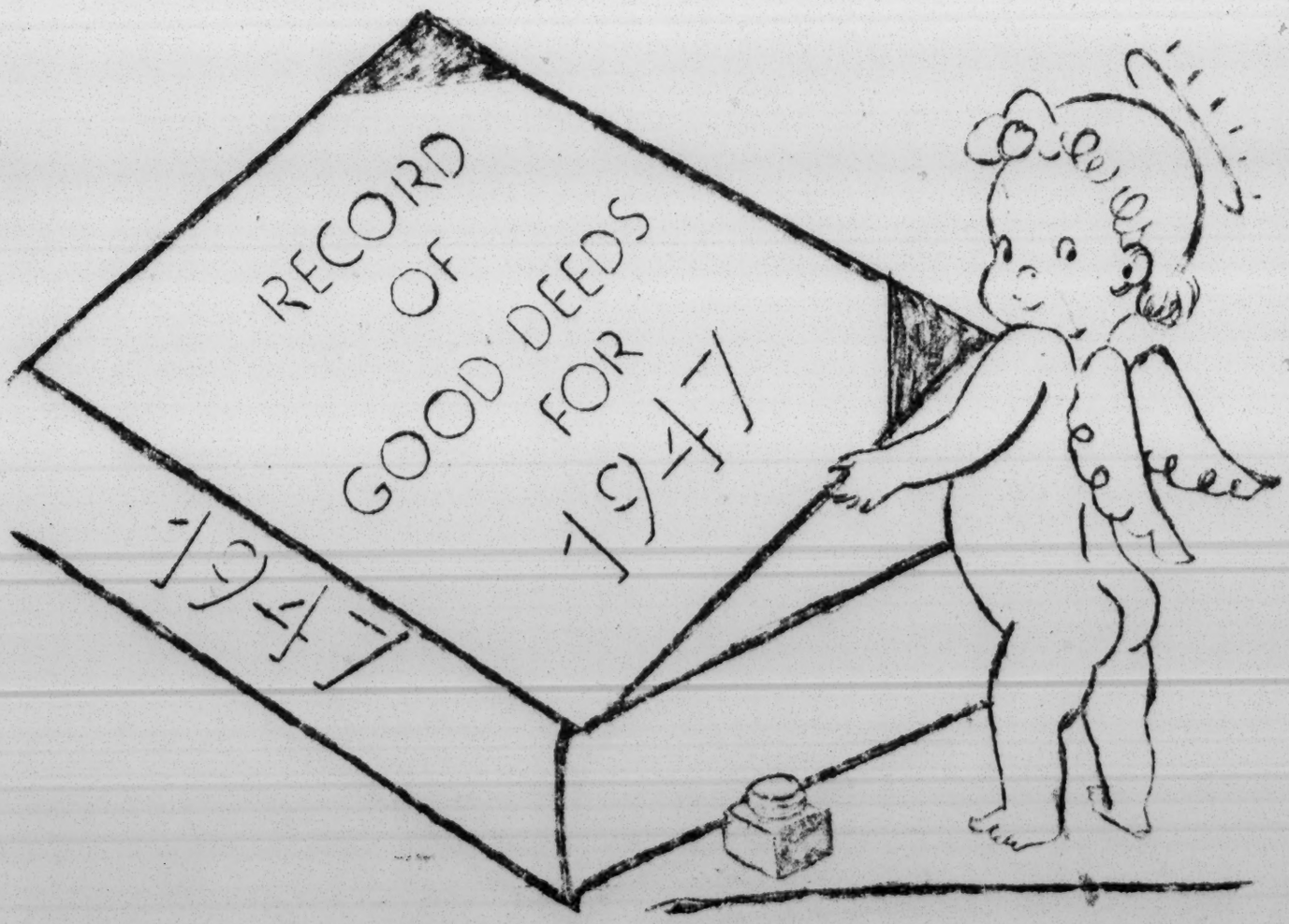
Southern Regional Council

HAPPY NEW YEAR



Published Semi-Monthly
January 15, 1947

SALUTE

USO CLUB
Operated by the
NATIONAL CATHOLIC COMMUNITY SERVICE

139½ Person Street
Fayetteville, North Carolina

Phones 6277-9968

Miss Beatrice M. Cox, Director — Fr. Wm. P. Ryan, O.M.I. Moderator

Miss Pansy Pendergrass, Director — Desk Space — Young Women Christian Association

DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT

On Sunday, December 15th, at 8:00 P.M. the Y.W.C.A.-USO Advisory Board presented Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University.

Dr. Clement selected for his topic, Three Aspects of the Race Situation in America. Namely: Suffrage, Segregation and Security.

The address was very inspiring and well received by a large and very attentive audience.

Program
(Mrs. P. E. Tilley, Mistress of Ceremonies)

America ..... Audience
Invocation ..... Rev. D. I. W. McInnis
Pastor, Evans Metropolitan A.M.E.Z. Church.

Music ..... E.E. Smith Glee Club.

YWCA and the Community ... Mrs. P.E. Tilley
Chairman, YWCA-USO Advisory Board

The USO in 1947 ..... Miss Beatrice M. Cox
Director, Person Street USO-NCCS Club

Music ..... E. E. Smith Glee Club
Miss J. V. Mullins, Directress

Introduction of Speaker .. Dr. J.W. Seabrock
President, F. S. T. College

Address ..... Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President, Atlanta University

Solo--"The Lord's Prayer" ..... Malotte
Sgt. James L. Carmichael

Announcements were made by the YWCA Director, Miss Pansy E. Pendergrass.

Benediction .. . Rev. D.I.W. McInnis

Everyone was served in the Club Lounge.

F.S.T. College Choir Broadcasts

On Wednesday night, December 18th, 1946 the Person St. USO Club presented F. S. T. College Choir in a 30 minute broadcast over station W.F.N.C.

The choir consisting of 66 well blended voices, under the direction of Mr. George Van Hoy Collins, and accompanied at the piano by Miss Edith Brown, rendered the following program:

Selections from the Christmas Contata "The Christ Child." "Also, Carol of the Bells," "Sing Unto God" And "Rocking Jerusalem."

Following the broadcast, members of the choir and G.I.' were served punch and cake, after which the college students and service men danced to the music of E. E. Smith High School Band. The lighted Christmas tree in the center of the auditorium, helped with the Christmas atmosphere.

****

Christmas Dance

The hostesses and G.I.'s really had a merry time Christmas night at Person St. USO.

The auditorium was set up in Cabaret style. Each table was heaped with fruits nuts, and candy to which everyone present helped themselves. A stuffed Christmas stocking was received by each from our hugh Christmas tree in the center of the auditorium.

From the laughter and happy expressions on everyone's face, we know that the Christmas night of 1946, will be long remembered.

HAPPY NEW YEAR TO ALL OUR READERS!

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

JODIE CORNER

SALUTE WISHES TO 'SALUTE' THE FOLLOWING DISCHARGEES.

Cpl. Alvin McFarlin, Home, Los Angeles, California.

Pfc. Johnny Audreu, 18 months service. Home; Gary, Indiana.

Cpl. Major Ashford, 6 years service. Home; Los Angeles, California.

Sgt. Andrew Brown, 6 years service. Home; Orlanda, Florida.

T/5 Charles Underwood, 2 years service. Home; Fayetteville, North Carolina.

* * * * * * * *

CLUB VISITORS

Miss Jessie Frank, Fayetteville, N. C.
President & Mrs. J. W. Seabrook, Fayetteville, State Teachers College
Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President, Atlanta University
Mr. Leroy Brist, Buffalo, New York.
Miss Ruth Jones, Columbia, South Car.
Mrs. Ralph Lockhart, Conn.
Miss Alberta Pettiford, Spring Hope North Carolina.
Mr. Clifton Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary Weston, New York.
Mr. Harold Watkins, New York.

* * * * * * * * * *

HISTORICAL BIRTHDAYS JANUARY 1 *****

The month of January is studded with the birth dates of men prominent in the history of America. The list of men includes Paul Revere, born January 1, 1735; Alexander Hamilton, January 11, 1757; Benjamin Franklin, January 17, 1706; Daniel Webster, January 18, 1782; Robert E. Lee, January 19, 1807; "Stonewall" Jackson, January 21, 1824.

DATES TO REMEMBER

January 1 -- New Year's Day; Paul Revere, Detroit, born, 1735.

January 2 -- Georgia Admitted to Union 1788.

January 4 -- Utah admitted to Union, 1896.

January 6 -- New Mexico joined Union. 1912, Old Christmas Day, (Epiphany).

January 7 -- First national election, 1789; First regularly established bank in America, opened 1782.

January 9-- Connecticut joined Union, 1788. Photography was first used, 1839.

January 11 -- Alexander Hamilton, born 1757.

January 13 -- First Sunday School in country started by Philadelphia Quakers 1791. Modern printer's ink first used in Philadelphia by Jacob Johnston, 1804.

* * * * * * * *

Answers to CHRISTMAS Quiz published in last issue of Salute (December 15-31-46)

1. True 2. True 3. False 4. False
5. True 6. False 7. True 8. False
9. False 10. False 11. True
12. True 13. False 14. True 15. False.

* * * * * *

John Hancock, January 23, 1737; Franklin D. Roosevelt, January 30, 1882, and Thomas Paine, January 29, 1737.

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

SALUTE WISHES TO THANK THE FOLLOWING PERSONS FOR SEASON'S GREETINGS:

The Douglass', Fayetteville, North Carolina
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas J. Sweatt & Son, Fayetteville, North Carolina
Mr. & Mrs. H. A. Black And Family, Fayetteville, North Carolina.
Mrs. Mabel White Pate, Fayetteville, N. C
Sgt. Armstrong, Fayetteville, N. C.
Mrs. Sara P. Tate, Fayetteville, N. C.
Miss Lois P. Turner, " " "
Mr. Harold Watkins, " " "
Amber C. Philips, " " "
Mr. & Mrs. J. S. Cameron, " " "
Miss Mary McDonald, " " "
Mr. & Mrs. Everett Smith, " " "
Misses Patricia & Pamela Regis, " "
Mr. & Mrs. Harmon Mitchell, " " "
Miss Pandonia Sawyer, " " "
Mrs. Nettie McDonald, " " "
Mrs. Elizabeth C. McNeill, " "
Mr. & Mrs. Albert Lamb, " " "
Mr. & Mrs. J. Hollinsworth, " "
Radio Station W.F.N.C., " " "
Mr. & Mrs. S. S. Drake, " " "
The Furgason Family, " " "
Miss Margaret Murchison, " " "
Mr. & Mrs. E. E. Miller " " "
Miss Julia C. Elliott, " " "
The Mancinis' " " "
Mr. & Mrs. F. L. Tilley " " "
Mr. & Mrs. Henry Wilson " " "
Mr. & Mrs. D. A. Williams " " "
Dowd's Esso Station, " " "
Miss Pansy Pendergrass " " "
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas E. Daniels " "
The Typewriter Exchange " " "
Miss Nettie Pearl McNeill, " " "
Coca Cola Bottling Co. " " "
1st Sgt. & Mrs. Regionald Hightower & Son Fayetteville, North Carolina.
Miss Gladys Treadwell, Fayetteville, N. C.
Miss Queen Esther Evans, " " "
Joseph, Quessie and Joyce Drake " " "
Mr. Stepney Sims, Fort Bragg, N. C.
Lt. & Mrs. W. L. Ford, " "
Calvin & Nettie Daniels, " " "
Lt. & Mrs. Raymond Flemming, " " "
Miss Flo Smith, Service Club # 5, " "
Ralph Lockhart, Fort Bragg, N. C.
C.W.O. & Mrs. Thomas B. Hall, " "

Pfc. Stanley Turner, Fort Bragg, N. C.
Sgt. & Mrs. Howard Miles, " " "
Mr. & Mrs. L. E. Garris, Fayetteville, N. C.
Fr. William P. Ryan, O.M.I. " " "
Mr. & Mrs. J. W. Seabrooks, F. S. T. College, Fayetteville, North Carolina
Miss Romaine Clark, " " "
Mr. George Van Hoy Collins, " " "
M. Newsley, USO Club, New Jersey
Miss Vidi Branche Williams, " "
Miss Rebecca Purcell, New York
Miss Loretta A. Foust, A.P.O c/O N. Y.
Miss Marion J. Hopkins, " " " " " "
Miss Georgia Hudson, New York.
Mrs. Joseph S. Brown, " "
Dr. & Mrs. J. N. Bugg, " "
Mr. Joseph Harris, " "
Mr. Cecil B. Richard " "
Eloise & Tommie Cofield " "
Sara & Lee Campbell " "
Pfister Family, Patterson, N. J.
Mr. & Mrs. Foster Richmond 19, Va.
Mr. Thomas G. Gunner, Newport News, Va.
Rev. Hourven & Family, Alexanderia, Va.
St. Francis De Sales High School, Rock Castle, Va.
Mr. Ralph R. White, Norfolk, Va.
Mr. John M. Fulmer, NCOS, Richmond, Va.
Miss Grace Walker Phillip, Newport News, Va.
Mr. Forrest Cotton, NCOS, Richmond, Va.
Mr. Clifton B. Monk, Newton Grove, N. C.
Mr. J. M. Carrington, Norfolk, Va.
Mr. Nathaniel B. Cox, Newton Grove, N. C.
Miss Mabel Powell, Clinton, North Carolina
Misses Beulah Mae & G. D. Cox, Newton Grove North Carolina.
Mr. & Mrs. A. C. McLendon, Elizabethtown, North Carolina.
H. R. Dobbins, Rosehille, North Carolina
Mr. & Mrs. Wm. J. Person III, Durham, N.C.
The Whiteside's, Maxton, North Carolina.
Miss Mildred E. Mitchell, Greensboro, N.C.
Miss May Lula Evans, " " "
Mr. James M. Ridley, Louisburg, N. C.
Pfc. Frank Clark, Fort Bragg, North Car.
Miss Celia Pettiford, Spring Hope, N. C.
Miss Janie Bonner, Edenton, North Carolina
Mr. & Mrs. Albun C. Long, Chicago, Ill.
The Editors & Publishers of Young Catholic Messengers, Dayton, Ohio.
Sgt. E. C. Lee, Camp Hood, Texas
Sgt. L. F. Wells, Fort Sill, Okla.
Beatrice A. Woodhouse, Philadelphia, Pa.
Miss Vera Ferguson, Nashville, Tenn.
1st. Sgt. Sim Williams, Fort Jackson, S.C.
Miss Edith Chandler, Atlanta U. Atlanta, Ga.
Capt. & Mrs. Toomer, Toledo, Ohio

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MAILBAG — Continued

Rev. Francis McCarron, O.M.I., Douglas, Ga.; Mrs. A. M. Gill, Wilmington, N. C.; Mr. Hurbert L. Rolland, N.Y.C.; Mr. Jimmie Hill, Newport News, Va.; Mrs. Ernestine Jones, Chicago, Ill.; Mr. & Mrs. Samuel Pierce, Waycross, Ga.; Beatrice & Jeremiah Hill, Springfield, Ill.; Miss Christine Sessoms, Sarcis, Va.; Mr. Joseph J. Robichaux, Jr., Chicago, Ill.; N.C.C.S., Bennie; Mae Hall Greenfield; Miss Margie A. Moore; Robert & Edna Jones; Mrs. Miriam Washington, D. C. Mrs. Phyllis Williams; Herbert L. Armstrong; Cpl. Danna Holden; Ohio. Cpl. A.J. McHealey; Detroit, Mich. Miss Mary Covington; Mrs. Anne H. Spratley, Virginia. "Dot & Spurge", Carlisle, Pa. Mr. & Mrs. Harold Hodges; Mr. & Mrs. Joe H. Armstrong, Tenn. Ruth & George Oliver; Mattie M. Conley; Philadelphia. S. Sgt. Carl Andrews; 1st. Sgt. Sim Williams; Fort Jackson South Carolina. Mr. Victor Burton; Kansas City, Kansas. Mr. Wm. M. Harmon; Kansas City, Mo. Mr. S. J. DeVane, Cambridge, Md. Anne, Legs, and Boots Westbrooks; Mr. & Mrs. William Wardell Campbell; Louisville, Ky. Mr. & Mrs. James C. Calvin; New Orleans, La. Mr. Walt McLean, Jeffersonville, Ind. Dan & Bertha; Mr. Neil E. Thagard; Raleigh North Carolina. Mr. William Lloyd Graham; The Petersons; Red Springs, North Carolina. Mr. & Mrs. George M. Lewis; The Browns Family; New York. Mr. & Mrs. George Hayes & Daughter; Washington, D. C. Miss Martha Tyson, Rocky Mount, N. C. Miss Dorothy Moore; Chadbourn, N. C. Mr. Wm. F. Potts; Bishop; Wilson, North Carolina.

Sgt. George L. Pittens, Camp Lejeune, N.C. Mr. & Mrs. Earl Lee, Dudly, N. C. Miss Georgia Mason, New York. Aspden Associates Greensboro, N.C. Miss Marjorie Cox, N.Y. Mr. & Mrs. J. Franklin Drake; Montclair; New Jersey. Mr. Joseph J. Morgan & Family; Philadelphia, Pa. Miss Mildred Sherman; Fayetteville, N. C. Mr. Virgil J. Lee; Lawrence, Kansas. Mr. Dave Petit; San Francisco, California. Miss Mittie Wells; Fayetteville, North Carolina. Notra & Mitchell, Columbus, Ohio.

Cpl. & Mrs. J. C. Jones & Son; Monroe, La. "Red"; Indianapolis, Ind. Mr. Danny Mack; Rome, Ga. Mother Madeleine Sophie; Father Vincent Smith; Our Lady of the Divine Shephard; Trenton, New Jersey. Mr. Thomas B. Santos; Providence, R.I.

Cpl. James Alvin Jules & S/Sgt. John A. Carson. Fort Sam Houston, Texas.

"We appreciate "Salute!" Wish you would keep up the good works.

Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to all."

Mr. (Sgt) Cecil N. Richard, New York, N.Y.

"Regards to all, and Merry Christmas."

Mrs. Dorothea Taylor Moore, Carlisle, Pa.

"Thought sure I was going to be around for Christmas and midnight mass at the Church, but no such luck. Saw Earl Watkins in Washington. Thanks loads for 'Salute' Was rather impressed with your Christmas Quiz. Merry Christmas & A Happy New Year."

Mr. (Sgt.) Willie C. Lawrence, Detroit, Mich.

"I must say I am very proud of 'Salute' Enclosed is a clipping on Attorney Charles Smith. Here's hoping that your Christmas was a merry one, and may the New Year bring you much happiness."

Mrs. Ruth Jackson, Oahu, Hawaii.

"I wish every member of the Club was here. Love to all."

Mr. (Sgt.) Simpson, Salisburg, N. C.

"It has been a rare pleasure to have known you. Lots of luck."

Miss G. A. Dunlap, Marion, N. C.

"Sends greetings and an invitation to attend their "Pre-Christmas Party."

S/Sgt. Elmer Jackson, Camp Hood, Texas

" A Happy Christmas to all the hostesses "

Rev. Francis Donlan, C.S.S.R., New Smyrna Beach, Fla.

"From your USO Bulletin, the 'Salute' I can see that you have very few idle moments. Fr. Ryan is to be greatly commended for his mailing plan of religious literature. God bless you and our dear Mother of Perpetual Help protect you always."

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January 1-15, 1947 SALUTE Page 5

PROGRAM - JAN 1-15, 1947

1-15, 1947

Tuesday, December 31st.

8:00 P.M. .... Hostess Meeting

Tuesday, December 31st.
8:00 P.M. .... Hostess Meeting
9:00 P.M.-12:30 A.M. ... Informal Dance
Orchestra. * * New Year's Resolutions.

Wednesday, January 1st.

8:00 P.M. .... Games, Music Galore & Dancing

Hostess Meeting
12:30 A.M. ... Informal Dance
New Year's Resolutions.

Thursday, January 2nd.

8:00 P.M. Quiz Program & Dancing

Friday, January 3rd.

8:00 P.M. .... Whist tournament-- Prizes

Saturday, January 4th.

8:00 P.M. .... Amateur Hour

9:00 P.M. .... Jam Session -- Orchestra

Sunday, January 5th.

10:00-12:00 Noon..... Breakfast
1:00 - 5:00 P.M. ... Church Goers Dinner
6:00 P.M. ..... Hostess Meeting
7:00 P.M. ..... Musical Program
8:00 P.M. ..... Movie

Monday, January 6th.

8:00 P.M. .... Bridge, Whist, Pinochle

Tuesday, January 7th.

8:00 P.M. .... Hostess Meeting

9:00 P.M. ..... Cigarette Bingo

Wednesday, January 8th.

8:00 P.M. .... Bridge, Whist, Pinochle

Thursday, January 9th.

8:00 P.M. .. Informal Dance -- Orchestra

Thursday, January 9th.
8:00 P.M. .. Informal Dance -- Orchestra

Friday, January 10th.

8:00 P.M. .... Whist Tournament --Prizes

Saturday, January 11th. Dance -- Orchestra

8:00 P.M. Amateur Hour

9:00 P.M. ..... Jam Session .. Orchestra

Sunday, January 12th.

10:00 - 12:00 Noon..... Breakfast
1:00 - 5:00 P.M. ... Church Goers Dinner
6:00 P.M. ..... Hostess Meeting
7:00 P.M. ..... Musical Program
8:00 P.M. ..... Movie

Monday, January 13th.

8:00 P.M. ..... Bridge, Whist, Pinochle

Tuesday, January 14th.

8:00 P.M. .....Hostess Meeting

9:00 P.M. .....Cigarette Bingo

Wednesday, January 15th.

8:00 P.M. ..... Games

9:00 P.M. ..... Dancing

* * * * * * *

AVAILABLE SERVICES

Free Use Of Dark Room

Free Writing Facilities

Rent A Bike

Free Showers With Towel & Soap -- Information Service

"If You Don't Know, We Do."

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Charge to the account of SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC., 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.$

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED			
DOMESTIC		CABLE	
TELEGRAM		ORDINARY	
DAY LETTER		URGENT RATE	
SERIAL		DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER	X	NIGHT LETTER	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1206

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

NIGHT LETTER

Mr. E. T. Atwell
National Recreation Association
315 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Late development prevents Ira Reid attending meeting Monday. Too late to arrange trip for one of us here. Express regrets to group. Count on us for cooperation in plans. Please send us copy of proceedings.

HAROLD L. TRIGG

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION I

CLUB	TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Manchester, N. H., YMCA			
Newport, R. I., YMCA			
Portland, Me., YMCA			
Bangor, Maine	Community Center	Possibly Bangor Community Chest	

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION I

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Mashpee, Mass., YMCA	Recreation Center		Building purchased by residents
Taunton, Mass., YMCA			
Taunton, Mass., SA (X)			
New Bedford, Mass., NJWB			

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION II

CLUB	TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Hempstead, N. Y., YMCA			
Orangeburg, N. Y., NCCS	(No immediate community, Volunteers from surrounding communities being related to local YWCAs Urban League and YMCA)		

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION II

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Newburgh, N. Y., YMCA (X)			
Riverhead, N. Y., SA			
Rome, N. Y., NCCS-WD (X)			

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION III

CLUB	TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Asbury Park, N. J., YMCA			
Wrightstown, N. J., YMCA			
Cape May, N. J., SA			
Stelton, N. J., YMCA			
New Brunswick, N. J., YMCA			

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION III

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Chester, Penna., YMCA			
Farrell, Penna., YMCA			
Farrell, Penna., NCCS			
Harrisburg, Penna., YWCA			
Newark, N. J., NCCS			
Red Bank, N. J., YMCA Office X			
Trenton, N. J., YMCA (X)			
Atlantic City, N. J., YMCA (X)			
Dover, Del., YWCA (X)	Community Center	City	
Wilmington, Del., YMCA			
Harrisburg, Penna., YMCA			

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION IV

CLUB State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Washington, D. C., YMCA-YWCA			
Fayetteville, N. C., NCCS			
Raleigh, N. C., YMCA	Community Center or YMCA	City or YMCA	
Greensboro, N. C., YMCA	Community Center	City	
Edenton, N. C., YMCA			
Jacksonville, N. C.			Facility undesirable
Hamlet, N. C.			
Newport News, Virginia, YMCA	YMCA	YMCA	
Norfolk, Va., YMCA	Community Center	City	
Portsmouth, Va., YWCA	YMCA	YMCA	
Blackstone, Va., YWCA	Community Center	City	
Richmond, Va., YMCA	Funeral Parlor	Price Funeral Home	
Bowling Green, Va., YMCA			
Petersburg, Va., YMCA			
Annapolis, Maryland, YMCA	Community Center	City-Army-Navy YMCA	
Havre de Grace, Maryland, YMCA	Lodge Hall	Masons	
Baltimore, Maryland, YMCA			
Hopewell, Va., YMCA	Community Center	F.P.H.A.	

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION IV

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Hampton, Va., NCCS (X)	Community Center	Colored Community Center, Inc.	
Alexandria, Va., YMCA	Community Center	City	
Bowling Green, Va., YMCA (X)			
Fredericksburg, Va., YMCA (X)			
Newport News, Va., YWCA, YMCA-Ind.	Community Center	City	
Hopewell, Va., YWCA (X)			
Spring Lake, N. C., NCCS			Federal Bldg. locked
Morehead, N. C., YMCA			
Kinston, N. C., YMCA			
Monroe, N. C., YMCA	Recreation Center	City Recreation Dept.	
Southern Pines, N. C., YMCA			
Hertford, N. C., YMCA (X)			
Wilmington, N. C., NCCS	Community Center	City	
Elkton, Md., YWCA	Community Center	?	
Williamsburg, Va.	School	City	
Fayetteville, N. C.	Gymnasium	Fayetteville State Teachers College	
Durham, N. C.	Community Center	City	
Lackey, Va.	Community Center	York County Postwar organization	
Washington, D.C., YMCA	YMCA	YMCA	
Washington, D.C., YWCA	YWCA	YWCA	

Laurinburg, N. C. (City may buy or lease present USO Building for Community Center)

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION V

CLUB	TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Louisville, Ky., YMCA			

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION V

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Oscoda, Mich., NCCS (X)			
Mt. Clemens, Mich., SA			
Sault Ste. Marie, Mich., SA (X)	Youth Center	City	
Battle Creek, Mich., YMCA	Community Center	City Recreation Dept.	
Buchanan, Mich., YWCA Office	Community Center		
Paducah, Ky., NCCS (X)			
Hopkinsville, Ky., YMCA (X)			
Morganfield, Ky., YMCA	Community Center	County Board of Education and Negro Citizens	
Lockland Heights, Ohio, YWCA			

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION VI

CLUB	TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Franklin, Ind., YMCA			
Waukegan, Ill., YWCA	YMCA	YMCA	

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION VI

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Rockford, Ill., SA (X)			
Peoria, Ill., YMCA	Teen Age Social Center	Independent Board (Expect community fund support eventually)	
Venica, Ill., NCCS-WD Office (X)			
Seymour, Ind., SA (X)	Community Club	Local	
Evansville, Ind., YMCA) Evansville, Ind., YWCA)	Community Center Organization &	Carver Community Evansville Community Chest	
Vincennes, Ind., NCCS (X)			
Madison, Wisc., YMCA (X)			
Macomb, Ill., YMCA			

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION VII

CLUB	TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Knoxville, Tenn.,YWCA-YMCA-Ind.	Community Center	City	
Clarksville, Tenn., YMCA			
Columbus, Ga., YMCA	(Possibility of new YWCA)		
Augusta, Ga., YWCA	YWCA		City purchased building
Macon, Ga., YWCA	YWCA	Lucy C. Laney Branch YWCA	
Columbus, Ga., YWCA			
Delray Beach, Fla., YMCA			
Pensacola, Fla., YMCA			
Key West, Fla., YMCA			
Green Cove Springs, Fla., YMCA			
Daytona Beach, Fla., YWCA	YWCA	YWCA	
Jacksonville, Fla., YWCA			
Tampa, Fla., NCCS	Community Center	City	
Biloxi, Miss., YMCA			
Hattiesburg, Miss., YMCA			

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION VII (CONT'D)

CLUB	TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Birmingham, Ala., YMCA			
Montgomery, Ala., YMCA			
Tuskegee, Ala., YMCA			
Anniston, Ala., NCCS			
Columbia, S. C., NCCS			
Charleston, S. C., YWCA			

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION VII

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Jacksonville, Fla., NCCS	Community Center		Federal Rec. Bldg.
Pensacola, Fla., NCCS			
Sanford, Fla., NCCS (X)			
St. Augustine, Fla., NCCS (X)			
Tallahassee, Fla., YMCA	Recreation Center	Tallahassee Negro Civic League	
Key West, Fla., YMCA (X)			
Milton, Fla., YMCA (X)			
Starke, Fla., YMCA			
Lakeland, Fla., SA (X)	Youth Center		
Marianna, Fla., YMCA (X)	Community Center	City	Construction cost partly borne by USO
Miami, Fla., YMCA			
Avon Park, Fla., YMCA	Community Center-School	City	Federal Rec. Bldg.
Sebring, Fla., YMCA	Community Center		Federal Rec. Bldg.
Smyrna, Tenn., SA (X)			
Tullahoma, Tenn., YMCA (X)	School		
Milan, Tenn., YWCA (X)			
Dyersburg, Tenn., YMCA (X)	Youth Community Center	Colored Citizens of Dyersburg	
Bainbridge, Ga., YMCA (X)	American Legion Post (white)		
Savannah, Ga., NCCS	Catholic Community Center		
Savannah, Ga., YWCA			
Waycross, Ga., SA Office (X)	Community Center		

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION VII (CONT'D)

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Rome, Ga., NJWB Office (X)	Community Center	City	
Thomasville, Ga., YMCA (X)	Community Center	Negro Citizens League	
Moultrie, Ga., YMCA (X)	Lodge Hall	Prince Hall Masons	
Savannah, Ga., YMCA	YMCA	YMCA	
Birmingham, Ala., YMCA (X)			
Enterprise, Ala., YMCA			
Tuscaloosa, Ala., SA	Community Center	Local (Aid from city & public subscriptions)	
Talladega, Ala., YWCA			
Huntsville, Ala., YMCA-Ind. (X)	Community Center	City	
Florence, Ala., YMCA-Ind. (X)	Community Center	Negro Citizens Service League	
Ozark, Ala., YWCA	Community Center	City	
Dothan, Ala., YMCA			
Columbus, Miss., YMCA (X)			
Gulfport, Miss., NCCS			
Grenada, Miss., YMCA	School	City	Fed. Rec. Bldg.
Meridian, Miss., YMCA (X)	Community Center	?	Operating funds not yet obtained
Centreville, Miss., YMCA			
Jackson, Miss., YMCA	YMCA	YMCA (Financed through YMCA & Community Chest)	
Spartanburg, S. C., YMCA			
Charleston, S. C., NCCS			
Waterboro, S. C., YMCA	School-Community Center		Fed. Rec. Bldg.
North Charleston, S. C. YMCA	Community Center	City	

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION VII (CONT'D)

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Columbia, S. C., YWCA			
Myrtle Beach, S. C., NCCS			
Florence, S. C., NCCS Office (X)	Community Center	City & Negro Citizens	
Gadsen, Ala., YMCA	Community Center or YMCA-		Operating funds not yet obtained
Selma, Ala., YMCA			
Beaufort, S. C., YMCA			
Hinesville, Ga., YMCA			
Panama City, Fla., YMCA	Recreation Center	Negro Improvement Assn.	
Columbus, Miss., YMCA			
Mobile, Ala., YMCA			

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION VIII

TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS

CLUB State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION VIII

CLUB State, City and Agency	DISPOSITION Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Sioux Falls, S. D., YMCA (X)			
Tonopah, Neb., YMCA (X)			
York, Neb., YMCA			
Alliance, Neb., SA (X)			
Omaha, Neb., YMCA			
Des Moines, Iowa, YWCA	YMCA	YMCA	
Ottumwa, Iowa, SA (X)			
Sioux City, Iowa, NCCS			
Kearney, Nebr., SA			

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION IX

CLUB	TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Springfield, Mo., NCCS			
Sedalia, Missouri, YMCA			
Joplin, Mo., YMCA			
Olathe, Kansas, NCCS			
Topeka, Kansas, YMCA			
Salina, Kansas, YMCA (Local organizations interested in development of Community Recreation Program)			
Leavenworth, Kansas, SA			
Enid, Okla., YMCA			

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION IX

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Rolla, Mo., NCCS			
Garden City, Kans., NCCS (X)			
Hays, Kans., NCCS (X)			
Independence, Kans., SA (X)			
Hutchinson, Kans., YMCA (X)			
Winfield, Kans., YMCA (X)			
Liberal, Kans., SA (X)			
Coffeeville, Kans., YMCA (X)			

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION IX (CONT'D)

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspcies	Remarks
Dodge City, Kans., NCCS (X)			
Junction City, Kans., SA			
Herrington, Kans., SA (X)			
Manhattan, Kans., YMCA	Recreation Center	Joint Board City & Bd. of Education	
Lebanon, Mo., SA (X)			
Waynesville, Junction, Mo., SA			
Malden, Mo., SA (X)			
Rolla, Mo., SA			
St. Louis, Mo., YMCA			
Waynesville, Mo., YMCA			
Joplin, Mo., YMCA			
Neosho, Mo., YMCA			
Waynesville, Rolla Area, Mo.,YWCA (X)			
Elk City, Okla., NCCS (X)			
Muskogee, Okla., NCCS			
Hugo, Okla., NCCS (X)			
Muskogee, Okla., NCCS			
Frederick, Okla., SA			
Altus, Okla., YMCA (X)			
McAlester, Okla., YMCA	Community Center	City	
Oklahoma City, Okla., YWCA	YWCA	YWCA	(Also A Community Center)
Muskogee, Okla., YMCA			
Ardmore, Okla., SA (X)	Community Center	City	

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION IX (CONT'D)

CLUBS	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Lawton, Okla., YMCA			
Clinton, Okla., NCCS (X)			
Newport, Ark., SA (X)			
Arkansas City, Ark., YMCA (X)			
Walnut Ridge, Ark., YMCA (X)			
Bauxite, Ark., YWCA (X)			
Stuttgart, Ark., YMCA (X)			
Blytheville, Ark., YMCA (X)			
Wichita, Kansas, YMCA			
Pratt, Kansas, NCCS			
Fort Smith, Ark., YMCA			

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION X

TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS

CLUB State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Leeville, La., NCCS			
New Orleans, La., YMCA			
New Orleans, La., NCCS			
Clovis, N. M., YWCA			
Roswell, N. M., NCCS			
Amarillo, Texas, YMCA			
Austin, Texas, NCCS			
Corpus Christi, Texas, YWCA	(New YMCA expected)		
Denison, Texas, SA			
El Paso, Texas, YWCA			
Houston, Texas, YMCA			
Kingsville, Texas, YMCA			
San Angelo, Texas, YMCA			
San Antonio, Texas, YWCA	Recreation Center	City	
Temple, Texas, YMCA			
Wichita Falls, Texas, YMCA	(Building to be retained by School Board for both School and Community activities)		

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION X

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Cuero, Texas, NCCS			
Dalhart, Texas, NCCS			
Gainesville, Texas, NCCS			
Hondo, Texas, NCCS (X)			
Laredo, Texas, NCCS (X)			
Odessa, Texas, NCCS (X)			
Eagle Pass, Texas, NJWB (X)			
Harlingen, Texas, SA (X)			
Pecos, Texas, SA			
Brackettsville, Texas, YMCA			
Childress, Texas, YMCA (X)			
Gatesville, Texas, YMCA			
Marfa, Texas, YMCA (X)			
Paris, Texas, YMCA			
Alpine, Texas, YWCA (X)			
Childress, Texas, YWCA (X)			
Tyler, Texas, YMCA			
Greenville, Texas, SA (X)			
Pampa, Texas, SA (X)			
Del Rio, Texas, YMCA (X)			
McAllen, Texas, NCCS (X)			
San Marcos, Texas, NJWB (X)	American Legion and Community Center		Financed through rentals, social gatherings, etc.

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION X (CONT'D)

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Texarkana, Texas, YMCA-Ind.			
Delhart, Texas, NCCS (X)			
Dallas, Texas, YMCA			
Big Spring, Texas, YMCA (X)			
Bryan, Texas, YMCA (X)			
Abilene, Texas, SA			
Victoria, Texas, NCCS (X)			
De Ridder, La., NCCS (X)			
Leesville, La., SA			
Baton Rouge, La., YMCA	YMCA	YMCA	
Lake Charles, La., YMCA (X)			
Alexandria, La., YMCA, YWCA	YWCA	YWCA	
Shreveport, La., YMCA			
Carlsbad, N. M., NCCS (X)			
Deming, N. M., SA (X)			
Bastrop, Texas, YMCA -(Plans under way for Community Center)			
Beeville, Texas, NCCS			
Hobbs, N. M., YMCA (Plans under way for Community Center)			
Monroe, La., NCCS			
Harlinger, Texas, SA			
Brownwood, Texas, YMCA - (Plans under way for Community Center)			
Waco, Texas, YMCA			
Alamogardo, N. M., YMCA			
Victoria, Texas, NCCS			

ACTIVE CLUBS

RETION XI

CLUB	TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Denver, Colo., YMCA			
La Junta, Colo., YMCA			
Pueblo, Colo., NCCS			
Ogden, Utah, YWCA	Community Center	City	(New YWCA being organized in which Negroes participating)
Salt Lake City, Utah, NCCS			
Cheyenne, Wyoming, YMCA	(Possibility of YMCA Branch)		

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION XI

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Great Falls, Mont., NCCS (X)			
Pocatello, Idaho, NCCS (X)	("Meeting Place for Negroes")	City	
Mountain Home, Idaho, YMCA			
Mountain Home, Idaho, YWCA			
Wendover, Utah, NCCS (X)			
Brigham City, Utah, NCCS-WD (X)			
Denver, Colo., YMCA (X)			
Guernsey, Wyo., YMCA (X)			
Boise, Idaho, NCCS			

ACTIVE CLUBS

REGION XII

CLUB	TENTATIVE COMMUNITY PLANS		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Bakersfield, Calif., YMCA			
Marysville, Calif., SA			
Monterey, Calif., YMCA			
Oakland, Calif., YMCA			
Oxnard, Calif., NCCS			
Pittsburg, Calif., YMCA			
San Bernardino, Calif., YMCA			
San Diego, Calif., YMCA			
San Francisco, Calif., YMCA			
Vallejo, Calif., NCCS-WD			
Watts, Calif., YMCA			
Las Vegas, Nev., NCCS-WD			
Bremerton, Wash., YMCA			
Seattle, Wash., YMCA			
Spokane, Wash., NCCS-WD			
Tacoma, Wash., YMCA			
Walla Walla, Wash., YMCA			

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION XII

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Kingman, Ariz., NCCS-WD			
Douglas, Arizona, YMCA			
Yuma, Ariz., YMCA			
Fresno, Calif., NCCS			
Indio, Calif., NCCS			
Indio, Calif., NCCS-WD			
Richmond, Calif., NCCS-WD			
Vallejo, Calif., NCCS-WD (X)			
Merced, Calif., YMCA			
Needles, Calif., YMCA (X)			
Riverside, Calif., YMCA			
Wilmington, Calif., YWCA	Community Center	YMCA & YWCA	
Victorville, Calif., NCCS (X)			
San Francisco, Calif., YMCA			
Chico, Calif., NCCS (X)			
Stockton, Calif., YMCA			
Paso Robles, Calif., YMCA (X)			
Blythe, Calif., NCCS (X)			
Wilmington, Calif., YMCA			
Long Beach, Calif., YMCA-Ind. (X)			
Tonopah, Nev., YWCA	Community Center		(Tax Supported)
Reno, Nev., NCCS			
Bend, Oregon, NCCS (X)			
Portland, Oregon, YMCA			

Astoria, Oregon, YMCA - No Negro families in area hence no community plans for Negroes. Servicemen stationed in Astoria will fit into program at other USO

CLOSED CLUBS

REGION XII (CONT'D)

CLUB	DISPOSITION		
State, City and Agency	Type of Program	Auspices	Remarks
Pendleton, Oregon, YWCA			
Spokane, Wash., NCCS (X)			
Hanford, Wash., YWCA			
Fort Huachuca, Ariz., YMCA			
Fresno, Calif., YMCA			
Tucson, Ariz., YWCA			

REVIEW OF SERVICES TO NEGROES

UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS, INC.

File Amer. Civil Liberties Union

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Statement by American Civil Liberties Union on Jury Trial Amendment to Civil Rights Legislation

REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 22, 1957

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to a statement which the American Civil Liberties Union has released today opposing the jury trial amendments to the civil rights bill.

As Senators know, the heart of the attack upon the right to vote bill (S. 83), now pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee, is the allegation by its opponents that persons cited for contempt of court under the bill's provisions would be denied the right to jury trial.

The bill in question would permit the Attorney General to bring a civil suit in the Federal district courts to enjoin State officials or others from depriving citizens of their right to vote. In the normal court case, of course, the party who is enjoined from a given course of action can be expected to comply with the court's order. Contempt cases arise only when the court's order is disobeyed.

It is in the latter kind of case that opponents of right to vote legislation now seek to impose a jury trial.

The injection of this issue into the discussion of S. 83 has engendered confusion not only in the press but in Congress as well. No supporter of constitutional rights likes to be charged with denying another's rights, particularly a right so fundamental as trial by jury. And much of the public does not understand that neither the Constitution nor prior legal precedent provides for a jury trial in contempt cases of the kind which might arise under S. 83.

It is, therefore, particularly gratifying to note the Civil Liberties Union's release today of a lucid and concise analysis of the jury trial amendment.

During its long career the Civil Liberties Union has steadfastly refused to temporize with any of our constitutional liberties. For this reason, its opposition to the jury trial amendment assumes particular significance at this time.

The jury trial is, of course, one of our most prized institutions of justice. While our Constitution does not guarantee jury trial in contempt cases, Congress has on occasion extended the right to jury trial to cases where the Constitution does not require it. I, for one, appreciate fully the jury's value as a check upon the arbitrary exercise of governmental power. But I am convinced that it has no place in so-called civil-rights legislation.

As the ACLU's memorandum points out:

> While there is always need to guard vigilantly against the misuse of Government power, including injunctions which are too broad and restrain constitutional activity (as we have recently argued is the case in the Clinton, Tenn., injunction), there is also need to prevent weakening of the power of our courts to uphold the law of the land. The right of equal treatment under law is fatally undermined when community sentiment blocks the enforcement of law.

Enforcement of the law has been undermined in some sections of the country where community sentiment has blocked effective enforcement of the right to vote. If court orders are to be respected in cases of this kind in which the Federal Government seeks to uphold public policy, the courts must be able to punish contemptuous acts. In conclusion, I quote once more from the ACLU's memorandum:

> To grant jury trials in the civil-rights legislation would protect officials who are failing to do their duty in protecting the constitutional rights of citizens. Jury trials in contempt cases growing out of such legislation would give a privileged position to State officials who might defy Federal judges upholding the law of the land.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the statement from the American Civil Liberties Union be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ACLU STATEMENT ON JURY TRIAL AMENDMENT TO CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

The American Civil Liberties Union believes that all Americans are entitled to all the civil liberties guaranteed in the Constitution, free speech and association, due process and equality before the law. To advance equality before the law for all Americans, particularly the Negro citizens of the South who have been denied equal treatment, the ACLU is supporting Federal legislation toward this objective—bipartisan legislation suggested by the administration and backed by influential leaders in the Democratic Party.

The key sections in this legislation authorize the Federal Government to seek by the civil remedy of injunction a more effective protection of the right to vote and other constitutional rights, against deprivation especially by State officials. This is proposed to insure more effective protection for Negroes against intimidation, coercion and physical assault which prevent their voting and enjoying other constitutional rights. The need for this civil relief was pointed up by the Attorney General, in his testimony of February 14, 1957, before the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights:

"Criminal prosecutions of course cannot be instituted until after the harm actually has been done, yet no amount of criminal punishment can rectify the harm which the national interest suffers when citizens are illegally kept from the polls. Furthermore, criminal prosecutions are often unduly harsh in this particular field where the violators may be respected local officials."

Civil rights legislation has been blocked for years by the filibuster and other devices. This year it is being opposed especially on the ground that persons who are charged with contempt of a Federal court injunction restraining interference with the right to vote will not receive a trial by jury. Opponents of the legislation correctly state that under present law, although a person charged with criminal contempt is generally entitled to a jury trial when the enjoined acts would be a violation of the criminal law, he is not entitled to it in a case where the United States has brought the action for injunction, as would happen under the proposed civil rights legislation.

The right of trial by jury is rooted deep in our constitutional guarantees, to prevent the power of Government being used as a weapon of oppression, among other purposes. The American Civil Liberties Union has been a vigorous defender of this right, even in some areas where it is not strictly required constitutionally, because of our strong belief that the abuse of governmental power can be limited by juries, which represent a cross-section of community sentiment rather than the views of a single judge. This concern for the citizen's liberty has made us apprehensive of broadening the power of Federal courts to prohibit criminal conduct under the threat of punishment for criminal contempt, as indicated in our February 27 statement on the Clinton, Tenn., case. That case concerned John Kasper and 16 other anti-integrationists who were arrested for contempt of the court order enjoining them from interfering with the Clinton school integration program.

The Constitution guarantees jury trial only in criminal cases, and in civil suits involving more than $20; there is no such guarantee in contempt cases. Until 1914, Congress made no provision at all for jury trials in contempt proceedings. Then, in the Clayton Act, it allowed jury trials in contempt cases where the acts were also violations of Federal or State criminal laws except, in order that the Federal Government might carry out its functions and enforce the laws of the land, in cases to which the United States is a party. Another exception was made in 1932, when the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Act accorded labor unionists jury trials when they were charged with contempt of court injunctions in strike situations.

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The absence of a jury trial in suits brought by the Government is not unusual. There are at least 28 other laws under which the United States is authorized to seek injunctions, without provision for jury trials; these include the antitrust laws, the Atomic Energy Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Securities and Exchange Act and acts affecting the Interstate Commerce Commission and Federal Trade Commission. Moreover, jury trials in contempt proceedings are not generally required under the constitutions or laws of the States, including the Southern States.

After full and careful study of the possible need for a jury trial amendment to the proposed civil rights legislation, we are convinced that the present jury trial argument is chiefly a contrived obstruction to defeat the desperately needed civil-rights legislation. So, we are vigorously opposed to any amendment requiring a jury trial.

What are the reasons for the ACLU's opposition to the jury amendment?

1. While there is always need to guard vigilantly against the misuse of Government power, including injunctions which are too broad and restrain constitutional activity (as we have recently argued is the case in the Clinton, Tenn., injunction), there is also need to prevent weakening the power of our courts to uphold the law of the land. The right of equal treatment under law is fatally undermined when community sentiment blocks the enforcement of law. The injunction is an effective legal technique to protect constitutional rights. As the Attorney General pointed out in his testimony, this method of protection would seek to prevent State officials from committing acts violative of a criminal statute. It is far better for all concerned—including those officials—to enjoin these acts before they are committed than to prosecute after the harm has been done. The main point to be kept in mind is that the proposed legislation aims simply at providing more effective enforcement of voting and other constitutional rights for all citizens.

2. Supporters of jury-trial amendments contend that to grant power to the courts to restrain criminal conduct would circumvent due process. However, before a person is enjoined he is entitled to all the guaranties of a fair hearing, with every opportunity to prove the invalidity of the application for the order. He also has a full right to appeal to higher courts, a check on arbitrary decisions. Even temporary restraining orders are issued only if the Government's affidavits show clearly that an immediate and irreparable loss will be suffered, so that no notice can be given and a hearing held. Then hearings on temporary restraining orders are quickly scheduled; the orders are of minimal duration; preliminary injunctions cannot be issued without notice and a hearing, which gives the defendants an opportunity to be heard. Then, at the trial for a permanent injunction, the Government has to present its case that there is a threat of irreparable injury; the defendants are represented by counsel, they may confront and cross-examine witnesses and present information to show that the injunction is unwarranted. Finally, if the order is disobeyed, it must be established beyond reasonable doubt that the disobedience was willful before a person can be punished for criminal contempt. The act of disobedience is an act of contempt of court, not an act violating a criminal statute, and it is penalized in order to maintain the court's traditional and indispensable authority to uphold the law—and the due process requirements provide a safeguard against the fear that Federal judges will not administer justice impartially, because of regarding violation of their injunctions as a personal affront or because of owing loyalty to the national administration under their appointment by the President.

3. A major argument advanced for the jury-trial amendment is the alleged discriminatory treatment of persons disobeying an injunction to guarantee civil rights, as compared with the treatment of labor unionists under the Norris-LaGuardia Act. But the very purpose of the Norris-LaGuardia Act was to support a congressional policy, that workers should be free to organize and bargain collectively; it was passed for the very reason that judges had been going beyond the law. As Senator PAUL DOUGLAS said, in a brief submitted to Congress on the jury-trial question on April 18:

"In the decades prior to the 1932 * * * courts would issue injunctions and use their contempt power indiscriminately, not to prevent violations of law but to prevent labor organization and freedom of collective bargaining. Decades of such demonstrated hostility by the courts to labor and its interests prompted Congress to implement the growing national policy in the labor field by specifically curtailing the Federal injunctive power in many areas of labor litigation and by providing that juries rather than judges determine whether contempt had been committed."

In short, the jury trials granted under the Norris-LaGuardia Act were included to protect people against oppressive government. To grant jury trials in the civil-rights legislation would protect officials who are failing to do their duty in protecting the constitutional rights of citizens. Moreover, Congress subsequently limited the Norris-LaGuardia Act jury trial provision by providing in the Taft-Hartley Act that such provision would not be applicable to injunctions sought by the United States under the new act.

The current congressional proposals to strengthen our civil-rights laws are the least dramatic and most cautious approach to the enforcement of basic constitutional rights. Their purpose is not to punish, but to prevent infringement of the right to vote. Jury trials in contempt cases growing out of such legislation would give a privileged position to State officials who might defy Federal judges upholding the law of the land.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I wish to compliment my colleague, the Senator from New Jersey, for inviting the attention of the Senate to the document he has just offered, which refers to the key question on the proposed civil-rights legislation, the right to a trial by jury on a contempt citation brought by the United States Government.

I believe the procedure mentioned is nothing but begging the question. The procedure of citation for contempt is a time-honored method of procedure, and I am very glad to see that other organizations, in addition to those which are discussing the matter here, are coming to grips with it. I compliment the Senator from New Jersey for bringing this statement of the American Civil Liberties Union to the attention of the Senate.

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

So-Called "Civil Rights" Bill is Needless, Absurd and Threatens to Destroy Right of Trial By Jury

SPEECH

OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 10, 1957

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Chairman, the jury trial phase of this debate has been ably and thoroughly presented by the speakers who have preceded me.

I do not see how one could hear the arguments presented by these able lawyers and students of the Constitution and fail to be convinced of the danger—the threat to the American form of government which is involved in this attempt to destroy the right of jury trials.

I would not let the opportunity pass without placing myself on record as being unequivocally opposed to this attempt to strike down what I regard as one of the foundation stones of free government. It is a potent weapon, a strong protection, one of the greatest shields which the believers in free government have yet devised against tyranny and oppression. Trial by jury has been the prized possession of Anglo-Saxons since the English barons forced King John to grant Magna Carta at Runnymede in 1215. I cannot forget today the words of John Greenleaf Whittier, reminding us that "We too are heirs of Runnymede."

I believe with that great Englishman, Lord Brougham, in his statement that, "All we see about us, kings, lords, and commons, the whole machinery of the state, all the apparatus of the system, and its varied workings, end in simply bringing 12 good men into a box."

It has been a shocking thing to me to hear Members take the floor during this debate and with seeming unconcern advocate the tearing down of this great provision which has stood throughout the centuries as a barrier and protection of every citizen, however weak and helpless he might be, against tyranny and oppression by any government, however powerful it might be, either Federal or State.

In the limited time which has been allotted to me, I shall endeavor not to repeat the arguments of the able Members who have spoken in behalf of the jury trial amendment on both sides of the aisle. I concur in those arguments, and I shall proceed to discuss other matters relating to this pending legislation.

This is needless legislation. Such demand as there is for it is political and artfificial. The hullabaloo which has been stirred up over it was created by radical and rabblerousing organizations such as Americans for Democratic Action, NAACP, and a string of other organizations of the same character, who have developed an expert technique in propaganda broadcasting.

I direct your attention to material in the printed hearings on this bill itself which illustrate my statement that this legislation is useless. On page 344 of the printed hearings, you will find appendix B to a statement of the Attorney General which begins on page 325. This statement of the Attorney General illustrates the absurd, ridiculous and unreasonable extent to which the Attorney General and the Justice Department have gone in pandering to the NAACP.

This statement of the Attorney General and the appendix which is found on page 344 of the hearing was introduced by Chairman EMANUEL CELLER of the Judiciary Committee at a committee hearing before Subcommittee No. 2 of the Judiciary Committee.

I want you to notice the ridiculous and absurd number of complaints of violations of civil rights which was stirred up and caused to be filed with the Justice Department by this radical organization, the NAACP.

In the years for which total number of complaints of alleged civil-rights violations were given and total number of cases tried and convictions secured, the figures given by the Attorney General were as follows: In 1940, 8,000 civil rights complaints were received; no figures given as to how many cases prosecuted, or how many convictions secured. In 1942, 8,612 complaints received; prosecutive action taken in 76 cases; no statement as to how many convictions or acquittals. In 1946, 7,229 complaints were received in civil rights and political cases. Fifteen cases were prosecuted, in which five convictions were secured. In 1947, 13,000 complaints were received; 12 cases were prosecuted, of which 4 defendants were convicted. In 1948, 14,500 complaints were received; 20 cases prosecuted; no figures given as to convictions. In that same statement the Attorney General estimated that 15,000 complaints would be received during 1949.

Certainly when a situation exists where 13,000 complaints are filed alleging violations of civil rights, of which 12 were considered worth trying, and of that 12 cases tried 4 convictions were secured, undoubtedly the world's record is broken for the filing of groundless complaints.

Yet these groundless charges, stirred up by the NAACP, 41 percent of whose officers and directors are cited in the records of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as having connection with subversive organizations, caused the harassment and hindrance, and in some cases intimidation, of policemen, sheriffs, prosecuting attorneys, and law enforcement officers all over this country. It cost the taxpayers millions of dollars to process 13,000 groundless complaints. The Department of Justice, according to the testimony of witnesses, maintains in the Federal Bureau of Investigation 172 specialists on civil-rights matters, and the Attorney General maintains in his Civil Rights Section 7 civil-rights attorneys and 4 other civil rights employees.

While the Attorney General's office is spending millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money on this civil-rights foolishness, he is costing the taxpayers of the country other millions of dollars which could be saved if money spent for employees in this useless civil rights section were used to employ attorneys to try cases which are 5 years and more behind in the tax division and court of claims, cases in which interest is running against the Government, and will finally have to be paid, at the rate of $5,000 per day, or nearly $2 million per year. If the Attorney General would use this money which he is wasting fooling with 13,000 groundless civil-rights complaints, and hire lawyers to catch up with these untried cases in which interest is running against the Government, these millions of dollars could be saved.

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Testimony on this waste of taxpayers' money is found in the statement of Attorney General Brownell on page 56 of the Senate State, Justice, and Commerce Subcommittee hearings on May 10, 1956, and the testimony of Mr. W. E. Burger on page 47 of the State, Justice, and Commerce Subcommittee hearings of the House on March 2, 1953.

One might well ask why the United States Department of Justice would continue year after year to encourage and magnify thousands of groundless complaints, which their experience of 18 years since the Civil Rights Section was set up in 1939 has demonstrated to be groundless. I think the testimony of Mr. S. A. Andretta, administrative assistant to the Attorney General, on page 149 of the State, Justice, Senate subcommittee hearings for fiscal 1957 let the cat out of the bag and gives the answer. This is that testimony:

Senator JOHNSON. Mr. Andretta, I want to ask you 1 or 2 questions. I understand that the appropriation carries provision for several lawyers in the Civil Rights Section; is that right? I understand it is seven.

Mr. ANDRETTA. Yes; it is.

Senator JOHNSON. I understand that, going back to 1951, you have had the same number.

Mr. ANDRETTA. Yes; the same staff.

Senator JOHNSON. If you were not asking for any additional people in the Civil Rights Section in all these years—1952, 1953, 1954, 1955—why is it that you are asking for a whole new Division in an election year, 1956?

Mr. ANDRETTA. I don't know how to answer that.

Senator JOHNSON. Thank you very much.

Now, the same question presents itself with reference to these pending bills. If the 18 years' experience with this Civil Rights Section in the Justice Department shows that as many as 13,000 civil-rights complaints will be stirred up and filed in a year, of which all but 4 were groundless, what reason is there for creating a new Civil Rights Division, which could be done under this legislation?

One reason, I think, is this: Although there are many good law-abiding Negroes in this country, nevertheless the bulk of the crimes of violence are committed by Negroes. The records show it, and there is no escaping the truth of it. This radical organization, the NAACP, under the guise of protecting civil rights, runs to the assistance of Negro criminals and seeks to protect them from the punishment for the crimes they commit. This has been their record.

This pending legislation, if enacted, would tie the hands of the law-enforcement officers throughout the country, and would place law-abiding men, women, and children at the mercy of brutal, merciless, hardened criminals.

Much of the crime of this country is committed by dope addicts. A Federal Narcotics Bureau report issued on February 15 shows that 60 percent of the drug addicts in the United States are Negroes, and that news item and that report from the Narcotics Bureau is carried in the Washington papers of February 15, 1957. That article and that report says that Negroes represent about 10 percent of the total population, that the Bureau's breakdown gave the figures that 60 percent of the United States drug addicts are Negroes. The breakdown shows white population, 87.8 percent, with 29 percent of the addicts; Mexican, 1.5 percent, and 4 percent of the addicts; Puerto Rican, 0.2 of 1 percent of the population, 5 percent of the addicts. Other races, 0.5 of 1 percent of the population, 2 percent of the the addicts.

The article is as follows:

SIXTY PERCENT OF UNITED STATES DRUG ADDICTS ARE NEGROES

WASHINGTON, February 15.—A Narcotics Bureau report that 60 percent of United States drug addicts are Negroes was made public Friday.

Negroes represent about 10 percent of the total population, the report said. It was contained in testimony by Narcotics Commissioner H. J. Anslinger to a House Appropriations Subcommittee in closed hearing February 4.

The bureau's breakdown gave these other figures: White population, 87.8 percent of the total, with 29 percent of the addicts; Mexicans, 1.5 percent of the population, 4 percent of the addicts; Puerto Rico, 0.2 percent of the population, 5 percent of the addicts; other races, 0.5 percent of the population, 2 percent of the addicts.

Representative PASSMAN, Democrat of Louisiana, said in a statement the analysis was furnished at his request. He commented it shows an extremely one-sided racial distribution of addiction, and he added:

"I think this is significant and should be brought into true perspective, so that the problem may be factually and objectively recognized by the public."

Here in the city of Washington, the Nation's Capital, where both white and black ought to make the best possible showing, crime records for fiscal year 1955 show that of major crimes committed, 82 percent were committed by Negroes, the figures being 1,947 committed by whites, 9,053 committed by Negroes. The crime records of the Federal Department of Justice show that of 13 Eastern, Northern, and Western States, including Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, the rate per 100,000 of Negroes in prison on felony charges was 681 percent over whites. The same crime records show that in the 10 Southern States the Negro is a better citizen than his northern counterpart, the rate of Negroes per 100,000 in prison on felony charges there being only 248 percent over whites.

Law-enforcement officers in every section of this country know that this pending legislation would seriously cripple law enforcement.

On February 1 of this year Police Chief William H. Parker, of Los Angeles, Calif., in speaking to the California Peace Officers' Association, pointed out the danger of this legislation. He told the association that those very bills pending before the Judiciary Committee, being the civil-rights program offered by the Eisenhower administration through Attorney General Brownell, would put the police out of business.

That is not my language. That is the language of Chief Parker, of the Los Angeles Police Force. He further stated that he opposes the proposal to establish a Federal commission to investigate alleged civil-rights violations by local law-enforcement agencies. He declared that such a group, a Federal Civil Rights Commission, would play into the hands of Communists, "who know they cannot bring about a revolution or make advances in the face of a resolute police force."

Gentlemen, the California Peace Officers' Association, after hearing Chief Parker, authorized its executive committee to petition Congress to "look at both sides and beware of legislation which might seriously cripple law enforcement."

The article is as follows:

PARKER HITS CIVIL-RIGHTS LEGISLATION—LAW ENFORCEMENT MAY BE HAMPERED, HE TELLS OFFICERS

FRESNO, February 1.—The California peace Officers' Association, at the urging of Police Chief William H. Parker, of Los Angeles, asks Congress to be careful of any civil-rights legislation which would hamper law-enforcement officers.

The group's action was taken here today. The executive committee was authorized to caution Congress to "look at both sides and beware of legislation which might seriously cripple law enforcement."

San Diego Police Chief Elmer Jansen, association president, said the action will not commit the organization to oppose or support any specific legislation, but will state the organization's views.

Parker declared the civil-rights program offered by the Eisenhower administration through Attorney General Herbert Brownell "would put the police out of business."

He said he opposes a proposal to establish a Federal commission to investigate alleged civil-rights violations by local law-enforcement agencies.

Parker declared such a group would play into the hands of Communists, "who know they cannot bring about a revolution or make advances in the face of a resolute police force."

There is no necessity for this legislation in order to protect voting rights. The law now on the statute books is ample to protect any person from being deprived of his right to vote. I call your attention to the case of Thornton et al. against Martin et al., registrars of Randolph County, Ga., No. 520 in the United States District Court for the Middle District of Georgia, Columbus Division. This case was tried in 1955.

The suit was brought by nine Negro plaintiffs on behalf of themselves and others who alleged that their names had been illegally removed from the voters' registration list in 1954. A jury verdict was taken in which the allegations of the plaintiffs were sustained and $880 damages were awarded to the named plaintiffs. A decree was entered by the court upon the jury verdict in which the registrars were ordered to place the names of 134 Negroes back on the voters' list within 10 days of the decree, and the order was complied with.

If there are any other Negroes in Georgia or anywhere else who claim they are illegally deprived of the right to vote, the same remedy under the same law is available to them in the United States district court just as in the Randolph County case. Being brought under Federal laws, and tried in a Federal court, the same remedy is

available to citizens of any State, a fact which is well known to the Attorney General and his civil-rights section.

The Negro population of this country is 10 percent of the total population. By far the great majority of the Negroes—about two-thirds—have lived and now live in the South.

In the South we have had the burden of educating them, carrying them on the relief rolls, furnishing housing for them, and solving the multitude of problems that arise whenever two races live in close proximity in large numbers; and these problems do arise whenever this condition exists, whether it be South, North, East, or West.

We have dealt generously with the Negro in the South.

In the South, we have known for many years that, if Negro children are to be educated, the cost of educating them would have to be paid for by white people. I live in DeKalb County, Ga., whose population is 210,000. It was 186,000 in 1950. The city of Atlanta lies in Fulton County and DeKalb County; and I want to give you some facts about our treatment of Negro children which may be news to some of you.

In 1950 I requested the superintendent of county schools in my home county to give me figures from his records regarding the number of Negro children in our county public school system, the cost of operating those schools, and by whom that cost was paid.

The facts were that we had 2,042 Negro children in the county public school system; that the county, not including the State contribution, spent $85.33 per pupil on white and colored alike, which amounted to $174,243.86 the county paid toward the education of these Negro children.

His information further showed that Negro property owners in DeKalb County paid school tax upon 1,348 parcels of real estate, total valuation of $357,320, net valuation after deducting homestead exemptions, $77,600. Negro property owners paid taxes upon 842 items of personal property, gross valuation $79,500, net valuation after homestead exemption $50,750. The Negro property owners thus paid school tax on $128,350 of taxable property. Our school tax rate is $1.50 per $100. The total amount of school taxes paid by those property-owning Negroes was $1,925.35.

The county operated 4 Negro school buses to haul Negro schoolchildren to the county public schools at an annual expense of $2,000 each, or a total expense just for school buses of $8,000. So the total school taxes paid by the Negroes of DeKalb County into the county school system was not enough to pay the operating expense of one school bus; it was less than one-fourth the actual money spent by the county to haul their children to the schoolhouses. The $1,925.35 would provide less than $1 per pupil for the 2,042 Negro children who attend the county public schools.

We have known all through the years that we have to carry the tax burden. We have carried it uncomplainingly, and are now carrying it uncomplainingly, because we know that if the burden of educating their own children were carried by the Negroes, they simply would not be educated. Last year, in 1956, I asked the county school superintendent to furnish me the same information which he previously furnished me in 1950. Last school year the State of Georgia paid $92.35 per pupil for operating purposes, and DeKalb County paid $51.70 per pupil, making a total of $144.05 per pupil. Of the $51.70 local payment the Negro taxpayers paid $1.93 per pupil; the white taxpayers paid $49.77 per pupil. In the past 6 years the DeKalb County Board of Education has spent $1,377,223.28 rehousing Negro children and purchasing school equipment for them. This represents $517.95 per Negro pupil in capital outlay.

The value of Negro property in my home county has grown now to $326,920, and their annual school taxes for 1956 amounted to $5,124.47, which, as I stated before, amounts to $1.93 per Negro pupil.

On Sunday, December 11, 1955, DeKalb County dedicated 13 new school buildings. Eight of those were for white children, and five of them were for Negro children. At this time all Negro children in our county are in new classrooms. All Negro schools meet full standards for accreditation; of the Negro teachers, 17 percent hold master's degree; 75 percent hold bachelor of arts or bachelor of science degrees, and only 8 percent have less than 4 years of college. No Negro teacher with less than a bachelor of science degree has been employed in the last 5 years.

We have provided for the Negroes in the South uncomplainingly, and as I stated above, the great majority of them are in the South.

While we have been doing this, other sections of the country, instead of helping to solve the problem, have made it worse by meddling, by criticism, by promoting dissension and ill feeling with a holier-than-thou attitude, and by sponsoring such legislation as this now under consideration.

Now, if any obligation rests upon white people to carry these burdens, it is not an obligation which rests upon the South alone. It is an obligation of all the people, in every section. Throughout the years, we in the South have discharged not only our obligation but yours also.

It is time now for you of the North, the East and the West to accept your share of this burden. If it is a Christian duty to do more for the Negroes than we have been doing, then by the same token, an equal share of the responsibility rests upon the North, the East, and the West. Those sections of the country cannot discharge their Christian obligation or civic obligation by pointing the finger of criticism at the South and saying "dig deeper—do more."

If you want them treated better, take your share of them, and deal with them in your own States and in your own jurisdictions.

Many of the Members of this House who, in the past, have supported this ridiculous and absurd civil rights legislation do not have a handful of Negroes in the entire State. Let me say to you, your protestations of alarm and concern have a decided hollow ring when we stop to consider that your complaints are directed against a people who have for generations uncomplaining carried not only their own burden, but yours also. Let me say to you, stop evading your own responsibility. Take your share of the country's Negro population and care for them. It will not only help your own self respect. It will give you an understanding of a problem which you have never had, and which you do not now have.

Unless you are willing to do what you are demanding of the South, then your attitude is hypocrisy, and your claims are sham.

This burden cannot be shared equally if the bulk of the Negroes are kept in the South. The equitable way to distribute it is for the North, the East and the West to take your share of the Negroes. You have not done it up to this time.

Even the small percentage of the Negroes who have left the South for other sections have been relegated to Negro ghettoes; they have been grossly overcharged for rent; they have been segregated in residential areas, and through this means segregated in the schools pretty much to the same extent as they were segregated in the South.

They have been discouraged from coming to your sections. In some instances they have even been sent back to the South because the citizens in the so-called "promised land" refused to take them with their string of inevitable "dependent children" and put them on the relief rolls. One Negro woman who went to Cleveland, Ohio, from Sumter County, Ala., last year with eight dependent children, was actually banished back to Alabama by a judge of the Cleveland juvenile court. No work was furnished for them; no means of livelihood provided; they were simply sent back against their will from Cleveland, Ohio, to Sumter County, Ala. Here is the news item as it appeared in the Atlanta Journal on June 8, 1956:

NO RELIEF IN OHIO, JOBLESS MOTHER AND EIGHT ORDERED BACK SOUTH

CLEVELAND, June 8.—Because they are not eligible for relief funds in Ohio, a jobless Negro mother and her eight dependents were under a court order Friday to return to Livingston, Ala.

The mother, Mrs. Martha Winston, 40, objected tearfully to the ruling by Juvenile Court Judge Albert A. Woldman Thursday.

"I brought the children here because I didn't want them to grow up in the South," she said. "I won't go back South."

"Do you want your children to starve?" asked the judge as he issued the order to return to Alabama. "Do you want that little baby to die?"

"I'll do the best I can, and if that's not enough, then it's up to the Lord," the woman replied.

But Friday, the court ordered deputies to go to the family's home in an East Side slum section and put all nine on a bus or train for Alabama.

The dependents are seven children—the oldest is a 17-year-old girl—and an 11-day-old infant born to the girl out of wedlock.

Between them and relief aid in Ohio is a law that only persons who have lived in Ohio a year can qualify.

Mrs. Winston and her husband separated 5 years ago. She said she came to Cleveland 4 years ago because she could not earn

a living in Alabama. She brought her children here last October.

As a means of getting the family's plight to the attention of the court, Mrs. Winston was charged with neglect of six children under 16 by keeping them out of school.

"I kept them out," she said, "because they did not have any shoes or clothes to wear."

She said she occasionally was able to get a day or two of work. But the family had eaten nothing in the last 2 days.

A local welfare representative told Judge Woldman that the Sumter County, Ala., relief organization had acknowledged the children to be legal residents of Alabama and entitled to relief there.

"If these people are allowed to remain here, your honor, word will get back to the South and we will be flooded with similar families," the welfare representative told the court."

You will note from the last paragraph in this news item that the Cleveland people "do not want to be flooded with similar families."

This attitude and desire to rid themselves of responsibility and place it all upon the South is not a Christian attitude or a religious attitude. So I say to you take your own percentage of them, give them the same treatment you are asking the South to give them, and then you can with good grace criticize us for any deficiency. So, it is a fact that other sections of this country have discouraged Negroes from coming and casting their lot in those sections. The time is here now for you to show good faith. There is pending in the House, H. R. 4672, introduced by Representative ANDREWS of Alabama. The purpose of this bill is to authorize the Federal Government to assist dissatisfied Negroes in moving away from the South, and going to the North, East, or West to seek more satisfactory living conditions. Why not support this bill and thus secure an equitable distribution of the Negro population into every State in this Union?

We in the South believe that we have maintained the best possible race relations throughout the years until rabble-rousing and meddlesome, trouble-making organizations and individuals began to meddle in these race relations.

We have had in the South just about twice as many Negroes as are scattered throughout the entire balance of the Nation. To be exact, according to the 1950 census there were 15,042,286 total Negro population in the United States. The total in the South was 9,654,664, leaving a balance of 5,387,622 for the remaining three-fourths of the States. In the Southern States the average Negro population is approximately one-third of the whites. In some of the southern States Negro population is more than one-third of the white.

It is a cruel fact that hypocritical representations of some contemptible politicians seeking Negro votes have created false hope in the minds of southern Negroes. Some Negroes have accepted these hypocritical statements at face value and are moving into such cities as New York, N. Y., Chicago, Ill., Detroit, Mich., Columbus, and Cincinnati, Ohio, and elsewhere, believing that they will be accepted into schools, churches, and all phases of community life. When they arrive, they find the opposite is true. They are herded into squalid tenement quarters like cattle. They are overcharged. They are cheated. If they settle in a white neighborhood the white people rush to move away as if the bubonic plague had struck the community. Although Negroes are not segregated by law, they are segregated by reason of residence, and the only way their children can be sure of attending nonsegregated schools is for the school authorities to haul Negro children from Negro communities past Negro schools, and enter them in white schools in white communities, and on the other hand to haul white children from white communities past white schools and put them in Negro schools and Negro communities.

It is hypocritical for so-called liberals in other sections of the country to point an accusing finger at the South and say we are more intolerant and have more racial antagonism than other sections in the face of occurrences in other sections; in the face of such occurrences as fights between 300 white and Negro school students at the Kansas Municipal Stadium on April 24, last year; a fight between about 200 whites and Negroes, with thousands of spectators milling about, in Asbury Park, N. J., on July 2, last year; a fight between white and Negro sailors in Honolulu on June 9, last year, resulting in the death by stabbing of 1 white sailor; fighting between white and Negro Air Force recruits in Crocker, Mo., on June 1, last year; a racial disturbance in Muncie, Ind., on June 10, last year, resulting in the closing down of a newly integrated swimming pool in that city; Memorial Day race riots last year in Crystal Beach, Ontario, which was referred to in newspaper stories as a nightmare of flashing knives and sobbing, frightened passengers; a riot at Newport, R. I., among 1,500 white and Negro sailors and marines, their wives, and women companions, on September 18, last year, which completely wrecked a club and sent 15 sailors to a hospital; 1,110 taxi drivers in St. Louis going on strike on August 18, last year, in protest against the hiring of Negro taxicab drivers.

On July 25, last year, a Toronto judge upheld an apartment-house owner in his refusal to rent to a Negro. There were cross burnings and court hearings in Columbus, Ohio, on November 14, last year, resulting from Negroes moving into a white section in Columbus; banishment of a Negro woman and 8 children from Cleveland, Ohio, on June 8, last year, although the woman tearfully protested she did not want to return to Alabama.

Ohio seems to be learning something about the race problem. On August 1, last year, a Negro, one I. W. White, Jr., executive director of the Council To Aid Migrant Workers in Cleveland, wrote a letter to an Alabama schoolteacher advising him to urge his pupils to stay in the South instead of coming North. He was reported as having said that "the exodus North of southern Negroes has hurt the battle of Negroes to obtain 'first-class citizenship'." The Ohio Supreme Court, on April 18, last year, upheld an amusement park near Cincinnati in refusing to admit a Negro.

The papers are constantly carrying news stories of similar occurrences and of racial problems in the North, East, and West. Several years ago Sgt. John Rice, an American Indian who was killed in Korea, was refused burial in a privately operated Sioux City, Iowa, Memorial Park Cemetery. Burial in that cemetery is limited to Caucasian only, and the body of the American Indian sergeant was finally interred at Arlington National Cemetery.

While I am talking, I want to refute all the charges which have been made, either directly or by innuendo, so far as they apply to my district and State, that Negroes are deprived of the right to vote.

The city of Atlanta is in my congressional district. An analysis prepared by the Metropolitan Voting Council in Atlanta revealed that more than 73 percent of Atlantas' registered Negro voters cast ballots in the recent city primary as compared to 54 percent of the registered white voters. The analysis further showed that in the runover primary held about the middle of May, 70.4 percent of the Negroes voted in the runoff election, as compared with only 36.2 percent of the white voters. There are approximately 28,000 registered Negro voters in the city of Atlanta. This information is carried in a news story in the Atlanta Constitution of June 3, 1957.

The same newspaper carries an article in its June 7, 1957, issue which states that Negro voting strength increased in 97 Georgia counties last year. According to this article the records in the Secretary of State's office in Georgia showed 158,000 registered Negro voters in Georgia in 1956, which was an increase of about 20,000 over the 1954 figures. White registration in the 2-year period gained 2 percent, while Negro registration in the same period gained 15 percent.

Mr. Chairman, if equity is to be done, we in the South are obligated to carry one-fourth of the Negro population of the United States. We have been carrying two-thirds of it.

Instead of maligning and criticising the people of the South, let the North, East, and West now assume their proportionate share of this problem. You will better understand it, and you can clear your own conscience by accepting your own responsibilities, which you have not done up to the present time.

That is what should be done instead of passing this bill.

In closing, let me again urge that the amendment to provide trial by jury be adopted. It would be most tragic if by some evil chance this bill should be passed and become law without the jury-trial provision. I would remind you of the eagle in Aesops' Fables which had been shot down by a hunters arrow. As it fell to the ground dying, the eagle noticed that the shaft of the arrow which had taken its life was tipped with eagle feathers. "Alas!" it cried as it died, "we often give our enemies the means for our own destruction." To destroy jury trials, whatever might be the reason, is to hand a weapon to those who would destroy free government and individual liberty.

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Origins and Aims—Report on Negro Voters

SPEECH

OF

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, July 26, 1957

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, at various times in the past I have quoted the publications of the Southern Regional Council. The Southern Regional Council is composed entirely of southerners, men and women of good will of both races in the South. It is in no sense a lobbying organization. I have been able to obtain material it provides through the Library of Congress, at my request.

I think the statement which has been prepared on the origins and aims of the Southern Regional Council should be printed in the RECORD at this point so as to indicate the high qualifications of the council and its emotional attachment to the South. So I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that the statement be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL: A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGINS AND AIMS, APRIL 1956

"The South of the future toward which our efforts are directed, is a South freed of stultifying inheritances from the past. It is a South where the measure of a man will be his ability, not his race; where a common citizenship will work in democratic understanding for the common good; where all who labor will be rewarded in proportion to their skill and achievement; where all can feel confident of personal safety and equality before the law; where there will exist no double standard in housing, health, education, or other public services; where segregation will be recognized as a cruel and needless penalty on the human spirit, and will no longer be imposed; where, above all, every individual will enjoy a full share of dignity and self-respect, in recognition of his creation in the image of God." (From a Statement of Policy and Aims of the Southern Regional Council (1951).)

SRC AND THE COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

The Southern Regional Council and its predecessor, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, have a history of 35 years of constructive activity.

In the troubled days following World War I, race conflict and the lawlessness of terror organizations reached such proportions that the need for new techniques of restoring harmony could not be ignored. To meet this need, interracial committees were formed in cities and towns throughout the South. It was found that by bringing together influential members of both races grievances could be aired, mutual problems discussed, and a meeting of minds effected. This method had such beneficial results that interracial committees became an established part of the life of the South in the early twenties. Their influence became southwide through the formation of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a central organization with headquarters in Atlanta.

The commission was founded in 1919 by a group of the South's leading church men and women. Among them were Dr. M. Ashby Jones, prominent Baptist minister, Dr. John Hope, president of Atlanta University, Mr. John J. Eagan, businessman and philanthropist, Dr. Plato Durham, dean of the Emory University Theology School, Dr. Robert Moton, president of Tuskegee Institute, and Dr. Will W. Alexander, the commission's director. Its work in behalf of sound race relations was acclaimed by the South's leading newspapers, religious leaders, and by many public officials.

The commission helped organize, extend, and guide the work of State and local interracial committees. It assisted them in making their influence felt by newspapers, civil authorities, churches, school officials, police administrators, and health officers. It gave much attention to factual analysis of the problem of lynching and other forms of interracial violence. Its auxiliary, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, under the direction of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, did much to educate public opinion in the causes and possible remedies for such violence.

From these early activities, the commission built up a body of acquaintance and confidence that has been an increasing asset through the years. The traditional barrier between the races was broken down to allow an interchange of ideas and mutual trust. The notion of cooperative action by people of good will, both white and Negro, took root and has continued to grow. In its 25 years of operation, the commission made the meeting of white and Negro citizens for the discussion of common problems an accepted practice almost everywhere in the South. It marshalled thousands of southern church people in opposition to lynching and other injustices, brought new light to bear on race relations, issued 2 million copies of pamphlets and leaflets, and symbolized the faith of the southern white people and Negro people in the processes of mutual agreement and cooperation.

Transition to SRC

In 1939 the leaders of the commission began to explore the possibility of expanding the activities of the organization to permit a broader approach to the problems of the South. In October, 1940, the commission instructed its executive committee to "take whatever steps are necessary to carry out the plans for the formation of a council on southern regional development," which would include in its program "the work of the commission and other activities connected with the economic, educational, and social development of the South."

Meanwhile the efforts of other progressive southerners were leading them to a similar purpose. The first movement in that direction took place when a group of southern Negro leaders met in Durham, N. C., on October 20, 1942, to set forth just what the Negro wants and is expecting of the postwar South

and Nation, and to enlist the aid of interested white southerners. The result of this historic conference was a comprehensive statement covering the following areas: Political and civil rights, industry and labor, service occupations, education, agriculture, military service, and social welfare and health. Many social thinkers regarded the Durham statement as the most hopeful pronouncement on race relations that had come out of the South in the last 75 years.

In April 1943 a group of southern white leaders met in Atlanta to consider the statement of the Durham conference. These white leaders found the statement so frank and courageous, so free from any suggestion of threat and ultimatum, and so demonstrative of good will, that they gladly pledged their cooperation. "The need," they concluded, "is for a positive program arrived at in an atmosphere of understanding, cooperation, and mutual respect."

SRC organized

Representatives of both the Durham and Atlanta conferences met in Richmond in June 1943, to work out further details. The Durham statement was adopted as a general guide to action, and a continuing committee was appointed to devise practical means of approach. The organizing meeting of the council was held in response to a call issued by some of the South's finest leadership, including C. H. Gillman, Georgia director, CIO; George L. Googe, southern director, AFL; M. Ashby Jones, Baptist minister; Ryland Knight, Baptist minister; Rabbi David Marx, The Temple, Atlanta; Bishop Arthur J. Moore, the Methodist Church; Ralph McGill, editor, the Atlanta Constitution; Stuart R. Oglesby, Presbyterian minister; Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, bishop of Savannah-Atlanta; Dean S. Paden, president, King Hardware Co.; J. McDowell Richards, president, Columbia Theological Seminary; Bishop John Moore Walker, the Protestant Episcopal Church; Goodrich C. White, president, Emory University.

Following the deliberations of this group and a subsequent conference with southern Negro leaders, the SRC was chartered early in 1944. The incorporators were Bishop Arthur J. Moore; Ralph McGill; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University; and Dr. Howard W. Odum, professor of sociology at the University of North Carolina. At the charter meeting, the Commission on Interracial Cooperation met and formally merged its program and assets with those of the council. A strong and democratic council had been established to attain through research and action the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the region.

Since this auspicious beginning, the council's membership has included distinguished southerners, white and Negro, in all walks of life. Dr. Odum was the first president of the organization. He was succeeded by Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., a prominent Catholic layman and cofounder of the Catholic Committee of the South. Mr. Williams served as president for 6 years—from 1945 until 1951. He was succeeded by Mr. Marion A. Wright, widely known as a South Carolina attorney active in civic and educational affairs, now living in Linville Falls, N. C.

How SRC works

The Southern Regional Council consists of a board of some 80 southerners representing the major religious faiths, both races, and the 13 States of the region. These people are the Southern Regional Council. They make the policies and review all activities at an annual meeting. They elect an executive committee which meets at least every 3 months to give closer direction to the organization. And full reports of all activities are sent to the members quarterly. The council is nonprofit, nonpolitical, and nondenominational.

Financial support for the council has come from many different individuals and organizations. Some of the organizations are: the Julius Rosenwald Fund, General Education Board, the Fund for the Republic, Division of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, Woman's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, Phelps-Stokes Fund, Catholic Committee of the South, Board of Education of the Methodist Church, Ashby Jones Memorial Fund, Committee on Woman's Work of the Presbyterian Church of the United States, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Marshall Field Foundation, the Doris Duke Foundation, various trade unions, and some business firms. Individuals support the council through contributions, legacies, and payment of membership dues.

What SRC does

The council's present functions may be summarized as follows: (1) Clearinghouse and coordinating work with numerous agencies working on southern problems; (2) research and survey to determine the facts and the state of public opinion as a basis for sound social action; (3) educational activities through a monthly bulletin, the New South, and through pamphlets, press, radio, television, conferences, and personal contacts; (4) consultative services to private and official agencies; (5) promotion of specific programs of action through the council staff and affiliated State organizations.

Following are some of the areas with which the SRC's educational program has been concerned:

Employment of Negro policemen in southern communities.

Newspaper handling of racial news.

Community self-surveys, in which local people of both races study their problems as a basis for achieving local solutions.

Conferences of leading white and Negro southerners with common concerns and a common desire to further democratic practices in their areas of interest—religion, health, housing, education, etc.

Voluntary decisions to open professional associations, private colleges, public libraries, and the like to all qualified persons without respect to race.

The right to vote without racial discrimination or intimidation.

Impartial enforcement of the law and administration of justice in the South.

Orderly compliance at the community level with the recent decisions of the Supreme Court holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

Church support

Church people have always been the moving force in the southern interracial movement. This is as true today as it was 35 years ago. All of the major religious groups represented in the South have taken their stand in favor of the principle embodied in the Supreme Court's segregation ruling. The Court ruling was endorsed by the Southern Baptist Convention, many of the southern conferences of the Methodist Church, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (southern), the Province of Sewanee (southeastern) of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Catholic Bishops of the South, the various Jewish religious and fraternal groups, and virtually all of the other denominations found in the South. It is only natural that many religious southerners should seek to put the principles of their faith into everyday practice.

The Southern Regional Council and the affiliated State groups have enjoyed both financial and moral support from religious bodies representing the three major faiths.

Dr. George S. Mitchell, executive director of the council, received the 1953 annual award of the Catholic committee of the South "for his significant contribution to the welfare of the South."

Affiliated State organizations

With the aid of a grant from the Fund for the Republic, the Southern Regional Council is assisting interracial organizations in 12 Southern States—Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Each of these organizations has its own membership, officers, and staff. In each case, people of the State involved make their own decisions as to policy and program. Affiliation with the Southern Regional Council is voluntary, and the purpose of the short-term financial aid from SRC is to help the State groups become strong, self-sustaining human relations agencies.

Toward the South of the future

The Southern Regional Council's main asset is and has always been those southerners who believe deeply in democratic practices, and who know firsthand the problems of the region. On such people rest the hopes of the South. They have wanted a regional organization, not out of any provincial desire to separate the South's problems from the Nation's, but out of the conviction that such an organization has unique advantages. It can express the best and often neglected elements of Southern thought and con-

science; it can serve as a convincing demonstration of southerners working together as fellow citizens without regard to race; and it can tap local resources and initiative often inaccessible to national groups.

The Southern Regional Council and its affiliates seek to be practical organizations, aiming at working solutions rather than spectacular pronouncements. They hold the belief that every community must ultimately find its own answers within the framework of law and conscience. They offer no master blueprint, no sovereign remedy for the South's human problems. But they do offer a method—that of representative citizens, white and Negro, coming together in equal dignity to find the best ways to move ahead.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, following the statement with respect to the Southern Regional Council, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a most extraordinarily able survey the Southern Regional Council has made, which is just off the press, under date of July 18, 1957. Again I wish to emphasize I have obtained the material at my request from the Library of Congress to show that it was in no sense forced upon me, so to speak.

The survey deals State by State with the various ways in which Negroes are prevented from voting in the South. I highly commend this factual account to the Members of the Senate, as we debate part IV of the bill.

There being no objection, the survey was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE NEGRO VOTER IN THE SOUTH—PART OF A REPORT OF A SURVEY BY THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(Furnished on his request to Senator DOUGLAS by the Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service)

DISCRIMINATION AND INTIMIDATION

Just as the main segregationist movement has switched from the white sheet of the Ku Klux Klan to the white collar of the citizens council, so has the pattern of discrimination against the Negro southerner changed in recent years.

In no field is this gradual shift to subtler methods seen more clearly than in a study of Negro registration and voting. Killings, beatings, the dragging of Negroes from their homes in the middle of the night—these are now rare occurrences, compared to previous decades.

Overt violence is, in brief, the exception rather than the rule for racist dealing with assertive Negro citizens. The threat of violent tactics, however, is kept alive in some areas by anonymous telephone calls to Negro leaders. Crosses still are burned, jobs threatened. Occasionally, homes are shot into or bombed.

But, today, with less obvious means employed generally, Negroes interested in voting are far more likely to be barred by a question on the Constitution than by a rope or whip.

Alabama

The Alabama consultant directed a field survey in each of the counties in his State. According to these reports:

Negroes might be treated courteously, as in Bullock County, Ala., where the board of registrars has received Negro applicants pleasantly, let them fill out forms, then told them they didn't pass—with no reasons given. In this county, with 5,423 Negroes of voting age, only 6 were registered in the summer of 1956. In 1953, more than 100 attempted to register; in 1955, only 20 even tried, and of these 19 were refused. One of the six registered succeeded only on his seventh trip to the board.

In other counties of central Alabama, like Bullock, Negroes encounter greater difficulty. This is the black-belt section of the State, so-called because of the dark rich soil, an area where 15 counties have populations over 50 percent Negro.

Among these is Dallas, where only 275 of the 18,132 Negroes of voting age are registered.[1] In 1956 alone, at least 350 were turned down. Some reported that they filled out questionnaires 3 or 4 times but still were not sent registration certificates. Many reported they were given no help in filling out forms although white applicants were. One Negro teacher who registered was fired allegedly for being "too smart;" this frightened many other teachers.

Marengo, another county in the Alabama black belt, simply seems to have stopped registering Negroes. Of 10,223 eligible, 170 were registered before the Supreme Court decision calling for an end to segregated schools. This, plus formation of a local citizens council, is reported to have hardened the lines of white resistance to Negro equality and to have put the brakes on Negro registration.

In Monroe County, Ala., where 140 of the 5,914 Negroes of voting age are registered, other hopeful applicants said more often than not they found the board of registrars had "misplaced the application forms" or told them to return later. Registrars in Hale County, where 130 of 7,036 eligible Negroes are on the voting roll, have turned down 300 in the past 2 years for "failure to fill out forms correctly."

One Negro teacher in Alabama said she was refused because she didn't know the address of her estranged husband. Many Alabama boards require two voters to vouch for all Negro applicants and some require Negroes to produce white character witnesses. Registrars in one county where about 2 percent of nearly 7,000 Negroes over 21 have registered announced that a "good white man" must accompany Negro applicants.

In a black-belt county which is somewhat less than 50 percent Negro, registrars closed their office when a group of Negroes appeared. Other Negro applicants said they were told when the board would meet but then found no one present on arrival. A Negro leader who encouraged other Negroes to vote reported he was threatened anonymously by telephone and told to stop his activities or he would be run out of town. Only about 200 of over 5,000 Negroes have registered.

A Negro leader in Coosa County, Ala., also said he was threatened. Crosses were burned in front of the homes of two leaders of a Negro voters' drive in Choctow County. In the latter, 112 of 4,819 Negroes of voting age are registered; 28 said they were turned down on their first try, but accepted the second time. Most of those initially refused are teachers; maids and yardmen have found it somewhat easier to enroll.

Birmingham and surrounding Jefferson County present one of the gloomiest pictures for Negroes in the South. In no other major city of the region has it been so difficult for them to vote. Only about 7,000 of 121,510 Negroes over 21 are registered; at least that many more have been turned down. Instead of the standard form and the character witnesses, Jefferson County registrars have employed another method unique in the State: Added questions about government. They might ask on what date the 10th amendment to the Constitution became effective, what was the 14th State to be admitted to the Union, on what date did Oklahoma change from a territory to a State? They have recognized no limits to their power to interrogate. While Negroes have been the board's main target, white union members, particularly if they wear overalls or work clothes, have reported that they sometimes find registration difficult or impossible. Negroes appearing before the board often have been questioned for from 35 to 40 minutes; they have had to line up separately, and the longer the line the longer the questioning.

Strong, in his study of Jefferson County, described the method used by registrars to avoid suits with the following hypothetical case: a person who failed to satisfy the board was told orally he did not qualify; the applicant then secured an attorney and filed a suit, which was a signal for the board to register the plaintiff. His suit collapsed and no court has an opportunity to pass on section 33 of the Alabama Code and the "qualified to register" phrase.[2]

In Macon County, Ala., home of famed Tuskegee Institute, many college trained Negroes have found the barriers impregnable. Negroes outnumber white persons about 5 to 1; of the 14,526 of voting age, 1,100 have reg-

[1] Registration figures used are those of 1956.

[2] Donald S. Strong, Registration of Voters in Alabama (Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama).

istered. By contrast, the Associated Press reported in April 1956, that 2,700 out of a total Macon County white population of 5,000 had registered, or that fewer than 100 white persons over 21 had failed to do so. An Alabama observer said that the board of registrars would sit until all white citizens interested had registered and then resign. In any event, for the major part of 1956, there was no board in the county, for 2 of the 3 members resigned and it takes at least 2 to transact business. This was at least the third time in a decade this had happened.

North Carolina

In North Carolina, as in other States with literacy laws, the registrar has considerable latitude. He can have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or he can dictate. Some Negroes have protested the use of dictation, since a registrar often reads too fast or uses a particularly difficult section. However, the State board of elections has upheld a registrar's right to use this means of testing.

A Negro attorney in a rural eastern county of North Carolina said that in certain precincts of this and adjoining counties, "It takes a white man only a few minutes to get registered, but it may take an hour for a Negro. Actually, the latter is given an academic rather than a literacy test. In this county, the tests are tough and the literacy rate low, which doubly handicaps the Negro. The tests given here actually require an interpretation of law."

A Negro college graduate in North Carolina who attempted to register for the May 1956, primary said he was turned down because he could not write a section of the State constitution from memory. Some registrars who want to disqualify Negroes have asked for a definition of such words as "ordained," "sovereignty," "posterity," etc. The replies often do not satisfy the registrar.

But there are counties throughout the State, including the rural piedmont and eastern sections, where literacy requirements are ignored for anyone, white or Negro, who wants to register. In others, only Negroes are required to do some reading. In some rural North Carolina counties, Negroes can register with a minimum of trouble only if sponsored by white persons.

Louisiana

Louisiana applicants for registration have been given a rather complicated form and the law has barred any help in filling it out. In most instances, completion is regarded as evidence of literacy although the registrar may, if he wishes, examine an applicant. There has been wide variation in the practice of helping applicants and in the strictness with which forms are scrutinized for mistakes. In some parishes, Negroes have found it almost impossible to satisfy the high standards demanded of them. In others, both Negroes and whites have been permitted to copy from previously completed forms and mistakes have been overlooked.

If a person is unable to complete the form satisfactorily, he still may qualify in some parts of Louisiana. In a number of parishes many white and Negro illiterates have registered under the physical disability provision of the State constitution. This makes it possible in some instances to control their ballot, because such registrants are entitled to ask for assistance in voting. Practice varies widely with respect to registration of illiterates but, as a rule, where literate Negroes have found it easy to qualify, illiterate Negroes also have met few obstacles.

Under one Louisiana statute which adds to the difficulties of Negro voting, two bona fide registered voters can challenge by affidavit the right of a person to be registered. The person challenged has to respond within 10 days by appearing before the registrar to prove his right to remain on the voting list. If a person fails to appear, his name is removed automatically. Citizens council groups have purged several hundred Negroes from voting lists through this device in more than a dozen parishes, including Natchitoches, Webster, and La Salle. They are able to learn which Negroes have registered under another Louisiana law which permits any 25 registered voters, by application, to copy or photostat registration records.

The Colfax Chronicle, county weekly of Grant Parish, reported (October 12, 1956) that members of the citizens council worked in the registrar's office that week in a frank effort to disfranchise the county's 864 Negro voters. The Chronicle also reported:

Their action followed a White Citizens Council meeting in Dry Prong attended by State Senator William Rainach and other Louisiana segregation advocates. W. J. B. Jones of Colfax County, WCC president, said the group voted unanimously to try to purge Negro voters. Louis Earl Stevens, council secretary, subsequently estimated that at least 90 percent of the Negro registrants were challenged in Grant Parish.

Where, instead of writing out colored on registration blanks the applicant simply put "C," the applications were challenged as being incorrect. Each Negro's age in years, days, and months was refigured and often found off by a day or so. The Chronicle checked the first 100 white registrations in one ward and found only one card which would meet the standards set by the WCC for Negroes. Four, including the superintendent of schools, figured their ages incorrectly. In a further check, the Chronicle discovered that not a single member of a citizens council committee had filled in correctly all the blanks. Needless to say, only the Negroes were challenged. Of the more than 700 Negroes purged 2 weeks before the November general election, 399 had cleared the challenges a week before the deadline.

The Chronicle commended Registrar Maxine Mosley for her fairness in dealing with the Negroes challenged.

Not all members of the white community supported the purge effort. District Attorney Sam L. Wells said he would be a witness and sign affidavits for those challenged registrants whose place of residence he knew of his own personal knowledge. J. M. Straughan of route 8, Colfax, wrote the Chronicle:

"I'm a southerner born and raised right here in central Louisiana and I am opposed to integration as strongly as any southerner could be. But what has integration got to do with the removal of Negroes from the registration rolls. I for one, will be glad to sign an affidavit for those colored voters I know to help keep them from being imposed on."

On February 25, 1957, the Justice Department made public some FBI findings on registration of Negroes in Louisiana. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, said the FBI material indicated that testimony by Louisiana Attorney General Jack P. Gremillion to a House Judiciary Subcommittee "might have left a misleading impression in a number of respects." Olney's statement was in a letter to Chairman EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, who presided at hearings in which Gremillion testified against the Eisenhower administration's civil-rights proposals.[3]

Olney said that Gremillion had mentioned "some difficulty with respect to voting" in Ouachita Parish, but contended this was "more or less an exception."

In fact, Olney asserted, the FBI investigated the handling of registrations in 10 Louisiana parishes and found that 8,552 Negroes were challenged when they tried to register in 1956.

Olney said that in Ouachita Parish there were some 4,000 registered Negro voters in the early fall of 1956 but that after a purge in October "there were in excess of 3,000 Negro voters deprived of the right to vote in the general election of November 6."

The Justice Department official challenged a number of Gremillion's statements, including his claim that registrants had a free choice in selecting the section of the United States Constitution they wished to interpret as part of their test.

"In none of the 10 parishes is there any evidence that the registrar permitted the applicant to choose which clause of the Constitution he wished to interpret," Olney said.

"Specifically, in the case arising from Ouachita Parish, the investigation by the FBI disclosed that the registrar of voters in examining applicants used a card on which was written an excerpt from the Constitution, which card was given to the registrar by the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish."

Gremillion had told the committee that when a registered voter was challenged, the registrar sent a record of the challenge to the registrant, including a reply form, giving him 10 days to appear and establish his right to remain on the rolls by presenting statements from three voters registered in the same parish.

Olney said this did not appear to be the general practice in the parishes investigated. In six, he added, registrars "did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits

[3] Associated Press, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1957.

in the statutory form and generally refused them when offered." He told Chairman CELLER that the FBI found instances of registrars refusing to accept white persons as supporting witnesses for Negroes on grounds they were of a different race.

There appeared to be a concerted effort in October 1956 by white citizens councils in Louisiana and other Southern States to get Negro registrants off the rolls or to prevent their registration, Olney added.

"With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the FBI," he continued, "the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

"Bienville, 560; Caldwell, 330; De Soto, 383; Grant, 758; Jackson, 953; La Salle, 345; Lincoln, 326; Ouachita, 3,240; Rapides, 1,058; and Union, 600."

However, there still are areas in Louisiana where there are no Negro registrants to challenge. For example, in one parish, which is over 50 percent Negro, none of the 4,500 Negroes of voting age had registered at the time of the 1956 general election. Only one had tried in recent years. A local priest recounted the Negro's experience: when he appeared, the registrar immediately took him to the sheriff, who asked, "Aren't you happy here? Is something wrong with the way things operate around here? If you aren't happy perhaps we could arrange for you to leave." The hapless Negro promptly assured the sheriff of his happiness and allowed that his attempt to register had been a tragic mistake. He remained in the community but his wife lost her job.

There are no Negroes registered in Tensas, East Carroll, Madison, and West Feliciana Parishes, all counties with populations over 50 percent Negro. "In these parishes," the Louisiana consultant said, "subterfuge is unnecessary to discourage Negro registration. Negroes know they should not and cannot register and therefore rarely attempt to do so."

In the general election in November 1956 Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help the Citizens Council cut Negro voting even more. The measure was drafted by the legislative watchdog committee on segregation which previously had won approval easily for its proposals. The amendment, which was turned down by an unofficial total of 190,410 to 178,833, required certain administrative steps before a voter losing his registration could take the matter into court. Thus, said the Associated Press in a dispatch from Baton Rouge, it would have set up "administrative barriers to a Federal court action."

South Carolina

In South Carolina the prevalence of discriminatory tactics in some counties where Negroes are in the majority is quite evident. Registration books are moved from place to place to keep Negroes from getting a certificate; they are given literacy tests that have little to do with reading and writing the State constitution, as required by South Carolina law; Negroes complain that if a number go together to register in some counties, clerks will pass only one or two and tell the rest the books are closed for the day. In a few counties, Negroes who had been certified have complied with demands of employers and other white persons that they remove their names from registration books. Some have said they were threatened with harm for attempting to vote, and many landlords reportedly have warned their Negro tenants that if they registered they would be fired.

Calhoun County, S. C., with more than twice as many Negroes as whites—10,449 to 4,304—has no Negroes registered, although 4,437 of them are of voting age. "Any Negro who tries to get a registration certificate is called a smart Negro and sooner or later leaves the community," a field consultant said.

McCormick County, S. C., where the population split is 5,998 Negroes, 3,589 whites, also has no Negroes registered out of the 2,625 over 21. All Negroes who had registration certificates in 1948 had their names purged from the voting list. The majority of Negroes in the county are sharecroppers; reportedly, they could not sell their produce until their names were removed.

In another South Carolina county, Abbeville, where only 15 of the 3,687 Negroes of voting age are registered (as compared to 6,000 of the 8,951 whites), an atmosphere of fear was found. Three years ago a Negro cottonwood worker was said to have been beaten at night for voting. Since then, Negroes have not taken part in elections and almost all of those who had registration certificates have lost them.

Texas

Intimidation as a means of limiting Negro voting in Texas was found to be relatively rare. Recent violence in the State usually has been aimed at school integration, notably in Mansfield. There have been occasional reports of local discrimination against potential Negro voters, generally in the form of a segment of the white population playing on the ignorance of the poorly educated among the Negroes—to imply, for example, that property taxes must have been paid to vote. But, by and large, the poll tax remains the only obvious deterrent.

Virginia

While discrimination in applying provisions of the Virginia poll tax and registration law is not found generally in that State, nevertheless it has been reported in certain counties and a few cities. Some Negro leaders feel that poorer white citizens often experience the same difficulties as do Negroes.

The poll tax can be an effective barrier for the politically uninformed, the educationally handicapped, and the socially disadvantaged. Just the use of words confuses many of the poorly educated who often do not know that in paying their Virginia capitation tax they have paid their poll taxes. Some tax collectors reportedly have discouraged voting by telling Negroes they do not have to pay poll taxes. Many Negroes have reported they did not receive poll-tax bills along with their property-tax notices, as did their fellow white citizens. These and similar methods have been employed to discourage Negroes from paying their poll taxes in some counties and it often seems that only those who know the legal requirements and insist on paying can win their right to register.

As for registration itself, Negroes sometimes encounter further barriers in Virginia. The same discriminatory methods of administering literacy tests found in other States turn up here and there in the State, where in some counties Negroes have to meet all the technical requirements of grammar, punctuation, and handwriting in filling out their application forms; they alone are given reading or education tests, or have to complete printed forms containing legal phraseology. Some white registrars will see white applicants at any time but are busy or ill or do not have their books when Negroes appear. When registrars operate in their homes, this presents a particular problem because of the long-standing southern custom of Negroes appearing in white homes only in a servant capacity.

Florida

In 1940, Florida had 51 counties with no Negroes registered, by 1946, only 4, and 10 years later only 2. However, the number of counties in which Negroes are registered gives an exaggerated picture of the extent of Negro registration. In some counties Negro electors constitute a small proportion of those on the voting lists. This is seen, for example, in the following counties:

County	Negro population over 21	Negro percentage of total population	Number of Negroes registered, 1956
Flagler	872	45.6	13
Gadsden	10,930	56.1	3
Liberty	333	18.1	1
Taylor	1,945	30.5	77

In the counties where Negro suffrage is limited most sharply, fear is a major deterring factor. In parts of the State, indirect methods are used to discourage Negro voters and the open threat has been reported, too. In one county, the first Negro registrants in history were subjected to several forms of intimidation—cross burnings, bomb-throwings and shots fired into their homes. All but one of the registrants in this county withdrew their names from the rolls.

In another Florida county, in the plantation section, it was reported that Negroes, most of whom live in rural areas, are not permitted in the business district on election day. In still another county one supervisor of registration has told Negro applicants, "Come on in and register," while sitting with his legs stretched across the door. Other Negroes complained that loungers around a courthouse told them, "Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterward."

Georgia

Field studies were made in a number of Georgia counties representative of the various subregional areas of the State. One of these is Early, located in the extreme southwest portion of Georgia on the Alabama line. It is in a cluster of counties considered the hard core of the State in terms of resistance to integration. In such counties as Early, Miller, Seminole, and Decatur, the Negro population is from 30 to 50 percent of the total. In other southwest counties such as Clay, Calhoun, Baker, Dougherty, Quitman, Randolph, Terrell, Lee, Sumter, Webster, and Stewart, the Negro percentage of the total population is over 50 percent. The means of excluding Negroes as registrants in these counties is similar to that reported in other areas of the South. In some, there is the ever present threat of racial violence, which erupts on occasions. Often, police brutality against Negroes indicates to them they cannot depend upon law enforcement authorities to offer them protection if they try to vote. In recent years, economic pressures have been directed against Negroes militant enough to demand educational and political equality.

In some instances, Georgia sheriffs, instead of the boards of registrars, question prospective Negro registrants about the Constitution. Sheriffs, being white and also the "law," Negro applicants thus receive two warnings at one time.

In Early County, only 226 Negroes of the 4,790 over 18 (the legal voting age in Georgia) are registered. Many others who went to the courthouse to register said they later were summoned to appear there before the board of registrars to answer questions. The majority of those who showed up were disqualified and those who did not were removed from the list automatically. This is an effective method of disqualifying Negroes there who often think of going to the courthouse for any reason with misgiving. They know they are not expected to drive their cars up to the courthouse square to park.

Separate ballot boxes for white and Negro votes continue in use in many Georgia counties. This practice of separating ballots on a racial basis is an indirect technique of disfranchising some of the Negro voters who are unwilling to take a chance on having white persons discover how they voted.

Often, racial incidents have an effect both in the community involved and in adjacent counties. There is disagreement on the extent to which they deter registration, but fear of violence is bound to condition the thoughts and actions of some. In Walton County, Ga., many Negroes interviewed said there is more fear of lynching outside the county than inside. This county was the scene of an unsolved daylight lynching in 1946 of 4 Negroes—2 men and 2 women, 1 of whom was pregnant. One Negro in Walton said he did not think that Negroes generally are afraid to register there. He added that the so-called leading Negroes are afraid but the Negro working by the day isn't. Negro teachers and ministers seem to be afraid because of what they may lose; but what it is, I don't know."

Arkansas

In Arkansas, on rare occasions, clerks in the sheriff's office may tend to discourage poll-tax payments through various means of discourtesy. For the most part, however, the poll tax is more important in Arkansas as a source of revenue than as a device for the disfranchisement of the Negro. In 1956, voters rejected an amendment to repeal it. Some important Negro leaders opposed its abolition. They believed that if the State dropped the poll tax it might adopt registration procedures requiring the filling out of forms or answering of questions and that Negroes then would experience far more difficulty than at present.

Mississippi

Finally, Mississippi. All forms of violence, intimidation and discrimination reported from other States were found here. Where other sections usually rely on 1 or 2 means of limiting Negro registration, Mississippi, home of the White Citizens Council, apparently uses them all. As a result, the State which has the highest percentage of Negroes in the country has the lowest percentage registered. Only 4 percent were on the list of qualified voters in 1955, although Negroes make up 41 percent of the total population of voting age.

In the 13 Mississippi counties listed as having a population of more than 50-percent Negro, a total of 14 votes was cast in the 3 elections on which information was available for 1954. Five of the counties had no Negroes qualified and 3 had 1 registered who never voted. In the 7 counties having more than 60-percent Negro population, 2 votes were cast by Negroes in 1954.

Violence, threats, and economic reprisals discouraged Negroes interested in voting in Mississippi. Some instances were publicized but it may reasonably be supposed that others went unreported. In 1955 alone, a string of reports of brutality and illegal tactics came out of the State.

In the early spring of that year, Gus Courts, a Negro grocer at Belzoni, Miss., was told to move from his home and withdraw his name as president of the local NAACP chapter. He was forced to move his grocery store and advised to remove his name from the voting rolls. He refused; and, in November 1955, he was shot and seriously wounded by a group of men in a car who fired into his store.

Recovering from his wounds, Courts told a reporter: "I've known for a long time it was coming, and I'd tried to get prepared in my mind for it. But that's a hard thing to do when you know they're going to try to slip up and steal your life in the night and not in the bright. It's bad when you know you might get shot just walking around in your store. That's a hard kind of life to lead."

Courts was puzzled as to why anyone would want to shoot him for, "I've never been a troublemaker and I've never had on handcuffs. I'm 65 years old and I've never had the vote. That's all I wanted."

Courts' predecessor as NAACP president in Belzoni, the Rev. George Washington Lee, was killed May 7, 1954. The United Press, in a story from Belzoni on the Courts shooting, gave this background on the Lee death:

"The Reverend Lee was shot, allegedly on the day he refused a request from a white citizen that he remove his name from the voters' registration list. In that death, first of three race killings in Mississippi this year, Lee reportedly was driving down a Belzoni street when a car in which two white men and a Negro were riding suddenly came from behind and a shotgun blast shattered the Negro's car."

A coroner's inquest returned a verdict of accidental death and made no reference to the wounds in the dead man's face.

Other incidents in Mississippi in 1955, as reported by wire services and newspapers: T. V. Johnson, Belzoni Negro undertaker, was told to remove his name from the voting rolls if he desired continued credit; the Rev. James Hargroves fled the State after he was threatened with the fate of the Reverend Lee if he continued to work for the NAACP. In August, Lamar Smith, a Lincoln County Negro, was shot fatally; no indictment was returned, although reports indicated there were several witnesses to the shooting. Elsewhere, the home of a Negro leader was fired upon, and crosses were burned in front of the homes of two others. There were additional instances of violence against Negroes for activities other than voting.

If, despite the harassment and brutality, Negroes still try to vote in Mississippi, there is the State's registration law to act as a deterrent. The rigid education test, the essay on citizenship, all the requirements of the tighter registration law passed in 1954, present innumerable opportunities for the white registrar opposed to Negro registration.

LEGAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The legal weapon most widely used in the South to discourage Negro registration is some form of literacy or constitutional interpretation test.

This weapon is the successor to the white primary—long the most effective method of restricting voting. Another weapon effective in the past, the poll tax, also has lost much of its sting with increased economic opportunity. Today only five States retain the poll tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Some of the requirements in Southern States based on literacy or constitutional interpretation tests include:

Alabama

In addition to the usual basic qualification, the Voters Qualification Amendment of

1951 provides: "The following persons * * * shall be qualified to register * * * those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language which may be submitted to them by the board of registrars, provided, however, that no person shall be entitled to register as electors except those who are of good character and who embrace the duties and obligations of citizenship under the Constitution of the United States and under the constitution of the State of Alabama, and provided, further that * * * each applicant shall be furnished * * * a written questionnaire * * *. Such questionnaire shall be answered in writing by the applicant, in the presence of the board without assistance."

Georgia

A registrant must be able to read correctly in English any paragraph of the State or United States Constitution and correctly write the same when read to him. Only those unable to read or write because of physical inability may qualify if they can understand and give a reasonable interpretation of constitutional sections read to them. There is a property alternative: 40 acres of land in the State on which an elector resides or property in the State assessed for taxation at $500 or more.

Mississippi

In 1954, Mississippi voters approved a constitutional amendment tightening the State's registration law. It makes ability to read and write a prerequisite; before that, an applicant could register if able to read or understand the Constitution when read to him. In addition to literacy, the amendment requires a new applicant to satisfy the county registrar as to his knowledge of citizenship under a constitutional form of government and to state why he feels he should be given the right to vote and what it means to him. Applicants are to write their own statements without aid.

Virginia

Unless physically unable, the prospective voter must apply to the registrar in his own handwriting, without aid, in the presence of the registrar, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the 1 year next preceding and whether he has voted previously and, if so, the State, county, and precinct in which he voted last. Also, he must answer on oath any questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the registrar; questions and his answers must be reduced to writing, certified by the said officer and preserved as part of his official records.

South Carolina

A registrant must be able to "read and write" any section of the State constitution. An alternative is ownership and payment of taxes for the previous year on property in the State assessed at $300 or more.

Arkansas

Except for the usual requirements of age and residence, the one dollar, noncumulative poll tax is the only requirement for voting. Members of the Armed Forces are exempt. Certain adults are required by law to possess a poll tax receipt: those receiving wages, salaries, or other compensation paid from public funds (this includes white and Negro teachers) and those who apply for a license or permit from the State.

Louisiana

A prospective voter must be able to read and write and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship "under a republican form of government." Also, he must be able to read any clause in the State or United States Constitution and give interpretation satisfactory to the registrar. If he is unable to read or write, the applicant is entitled to register if he is a person of good character and reputation, attached to the principles of the Louisiana and United States Constitutions and if he is able to interpret any section of either. If an applicant is unable to read or write due to a physical disability, then the foregoing requirements may be waived. However, such an applicant must be accompanied by two witnesses who are registered voters from the applicant's precinct. No person may be a witness for more than two applicants.

North Carolina

Prospective voters must be able to read and write any section of the Constitution to the satisfaction of the registrar, who may have the applicant copy indicated sections of the State constitution or may dictate any section he chooses.

With such broad discretion left to registrars it is easy to see why Negroes may find it almost impossible to qualify in one county and comparatively easy in the next. In the last analysis, a Negro's ability to vote in a State with a literacy law still often depends on an individual registrar's sense of justice—or prejudice.

Socioeconomic factors also operate in determining the number of Negroes who vote. Racial, economic, and social patterns of any southern community exert a powerful influence on Negro registration.

Statistics on education, urbanization, farm tenancy, income, and racial composition help paint a fairly accurate picture of why Negro registration is above or below average.

Relatively few Negroes are likely to be registered in counties where they make up a large proportion of the population, in counties where education and income medians are low, and in counties that are predominantly agricultural and have a high rate of farm tenancy.

At the same time, in counties where Negroes comprise a large part of the population, white registration tends to be above normal.

Negroes are more likely to be registered in counties where they represent a small percentage of the total population, where they are better educated, are less dependent on the whims of white landlords and employers and are in a sounder economic position generally.

There are exceptions to these generalizations, of course; but Georgia presents a fairly typical picture.

In Georgia's 157 counties with Negro population of voting age, the median percentage of eligible Negroes registered is 25. However, the range of the registration figures is wide.

In only five Georgia counties does the number of Negro registrants exceed the number of white registrants, although there are more Negroes than whites of voting age in 27 counties.

The population ratio and its effect on voting is strikingly shown in Georgia figures. In counties where the percentage of Negroes in the population is below the State average, 69 percent show Negro registration above the State median; 68 percent of the counties above the State average in Negro population are below the median in Negro registration. The association is even more marked in counties with a population over half Negro—80 percent of these fall below the median in Negro registration.

The relationship between education and political participation also turned up in the Georgia survey. In counties where Negroes rank above the State median in the number of school years completed, 89 percent also are high in Negro registration. By contrast, only 37 percent of the counties below the median in Negro educational attainment have high registration figures.

As to the significance of economic factors, it is found that of the Georgia counties having median family income above the State figure of $1,130, 61 percent have high Negro registration. In counties below the median income level, only 35 percent are high in the number of Negroes qualified to vote. In short, Negro registration tends to increase along with overall income.

Also, there is a tendency in Georgia for predominantly industrial counties to rank higher in Negro registration than those primarily agricultural. Among counties in which farm income exceeds manufacturing income, 37 percent are high in Negro registration, as contrasted with 58 percent in counties where manufacturing exceeds agricultural income.

The agricultural counties in Georgia deriving more farm income from livestock, dairying, and poultry are somewhat higher in the percentage of Negroes registered than those in which the income stems largely from row crops. Also, there is a definite relationship between tenancy and registration. Among the Georgia agricultural counties which exceed the State average in the number of farms operated by tenants, only 34 percent have high registration figures, but among the counties below the State average in tenancy, 63 percent rank high in Negro registration.

Social and economic factors which influence Negro registration in Georgia apply in large measure over much of the South.

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

The Civil Rights Act of 1958—Both National and International Developments Give A New Urgency to Need For this Legislation

SPEECH AND EXHIBITS

BY

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 10, 1958

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator from Minnesota [Mr. HUMPHREY], the senior Senator from New York [Mr. IVES], the senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. HENNINGS], the junior Senator from New Jersey [Mr. CASE], the senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], the senior Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLOTT], the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. NEUBERGER], the junior Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIRKSEN], the junior Senator from Michigan [Mr. MCNAMARA], the junior Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], the junior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLARK], the junior Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PASTORE], the junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. BEALL], the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. CARROLL], the junior Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], and myself, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill entitled "Civil Rights Act of 1958," and I ask that it may be printed in the body of the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the RECORD, as requested by the Senator from Illinois.

(See exhibit No. 1.)

The bill (S. 3257) to effectuate and enforce the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. DOUGLAS (for himself and other Senators), was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed at the conclusion of the printing of the bill an article from the Christian Century for February 5, 1958, entitled "Protestantism Speaks on Justice and Integration."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

(See exhibit No. 2.)

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, the measure which a group of my colleagues and I have just introduced is a bill to give effect to the constitutional guaranties, under the 14th amendment, of equal protection of the laws.

We should never forget that the 14th amendment provided that all persons who were either born or naturalized in the United States were citizens both of the United States and of the State in which they live. No differentiation was provided between these citizens—all were presumed to be of equal value and to possess equal rights. No categories of first- and second-class citizenship were set up.

This amendment also went on to declare that no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. These provisions are an organic part of the fundamental law of the land.

The Supreme Court is the body which under the Constitution is charged with the interpretation of that document. It has done so in the case of the 14th amendment.

While I shall not question the good faith of anyone, I had always thought that citizens should seek to obey the Constitution and laws as thus interpreted, even as they might seek to change them. If individuals can assume the right to decide for themselves which laws they will obey and which they will disobey, utter chaos is introduced into our lives. Sections and groups will feel justified in disregarding laws which clash with their interests, and the Union as we know it will break up.

Most of us do not want to see this happen. With charity toward all and malice toward none, should we not push on to put substance behind this amendment and not permit it to be nullified or violated?

That is the purpose of this proposed legislation, to extend full first-class citizenship and equality of opportunity to all of our Negro and Spanish-speaking citizens.

Twice in the past 2 years the House of Representatives by large majorities has adopted provisions to protect these basic rights under the 14th amendment. Forty-one Members of the Senate in 1957 voted or announced their position against stripping that section from the civil rights bill. Other Senators expressed their deep interest in the rights involved, though opposing the specific provisions to protect them in part III of that bill. Clearly this is a major item in the unfinished business of the country and the Congress.

The sponsors of this legislation believe they have greatly improved and clarified the proposed methods for giving effect to these rights. We offer the bill now in order that Congress and the executive branch may take their rightful places alongside the Supreme Court to help end the denials of equal justice on account of race, color, religion, or national origin.

A CONSTRUCTIVE NEW APPROACH TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

In the area of public education, where the rights of Negro citizens, and in the Southwest of Spanish-speaking citizens, are being most stoutly contested today, this measure embodies a new approach to the safeguarding of their constitutional rights.

It provides for technical assistance—at a cost of $2.5 million a year for 5 years—

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financial grants—in the amount of $40 million a year for 5 years—and administrative procedures to help local governments to put into successful operation plans for desegregation.

Thus, it would foster compliance with the Constitution and the historic decisions of the Supreme Court by offering the best available technical information, conciliation, encouragement, financial aid, and desegregation planning, with due regard for the court's orders concerning deliberate speed.

It recognizes the responsibility of the Federal Government for the impact which the Court's decisions have on local educational policies which were based on a different concept of the law. It would hold out the helping hand of the National Government, therefore, to those communities in all sections of the country which are trying or will try to end racial segregation in their public school systems.

We believe this is a constructive approach to one of our most basic and complex national issues. By enacting it, we believe the Congress can help to broaden the emphasis from a succession of hotly contested legal battles—essential as they are—to a new succession of cooperative and effective community efforts to remove the barriers to equal treatment in our public schools.

It is there in the communities in the last analysis that these problems must be worked out. If we can thus help to bring the finest educational, social and moral—as well as legal—insights to bear upon the issue in one locality after another, it should immeasurably strengthen the Nation's foundation of law and order, respect for human dignity, and active good will.

ENLARGED PREVENTIVE REMEDIES

At the same time this bill provides authority for the Attorney General to bring preventive actions in equal protection cases generally, as well as in public-school cases. The legal remedies against violations of important constitutional rights would thus be enlarged, as was attempted in part III which was stricken from last year's civil rights bill, only by provisions this time which are much clearer.

The mounting difficulties under some State laws for private individuals to receive the required help as they seek legal protection for their rights, we believe, make this Government assistance essential. Our system of law and justice requires that the door to the courts shall not be barred against the redress of unlawful grievances and the settlement of controversies over constitutional rights.

If anyone be in doubt as to the laws I am referring to, these remarks are pointed at the so-called antibarratry laws of a growing group of States in the South, which tend to make it a penal offense for anyone to offer money or legal assistance for court actions to the interested parties, such as the parent of a child whose constitutional rights, in the opinion of the parent, are being violated.

Here again it should be emphasized that the primary aim of these provisions in the proposed legislation is preventive, not punitive.

COMPLIANCE WITH THE CONSTITUTION AND THE DESEGREGATION DECISONS

The preambles to the bill include, among their important findings, that the antisegregation decisions of the Supreme Court express the moral ideals of the Nation and point the way to a Nation enhanced in strength and dignity at home and enhanced in honor and prestige throughout the world.

We stand firmly behind the Supreme Court, and we believe that the attempts to disparage the Court because of its decisions in this and certain other matters are not founded upon a full understanding of American principles. We believe it is proper for Congress and for the public opinion of the Nation to stand behind the Supreme Court in these matters.

The findings likewise point out the importance of our recognizing more generally that "the Constitution, as declared by the antisegregation decisions, is the supreme law of the land."

Upon these clear principles and the express power given to Congress in the 5th section of the 14th amendment, the positive provisions of the bill to foster compliance with the Constitution and the Court's desegregation decisions are based.

THE SPIRIT IN WHICH WE HOPE THIS MEASURE MAY BE CONSIDERED AND APPROVED

In a notable speech to the patent bar in New York last year, Chief Judge John J. Parker of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, a native of North Carolina and a distinguished southerner, expressed something of the spirit in which we hope this measure may be considered and approved. He said, in part:

> What is it that really makes America great—greater than any other nation that has ever existed? It is not the strength of the Army or Navy or Air Force. It is not the wealth of field or forest or mine or factory. It is not the splendor of her cities or the culture of her colleges and universities. It is that in her heart of hearts she believes in the sovereignty of the individual soul and the open door of opportunity for every man without regard to race or creed or color or any other circumstance. * * *
>
> At the head of the judicial system stands the Supreme Court of the United States, and the decisions of that Court must be accepted as to the meaning of the Constitution. You can't have even a baseball game without an umpire to interpret and apply the rules, and you can't have constitutional government without the authority somewhere to interpret and apply the Constitution. Final authority to do this is vested in the Supreme Court, whose duty it is to apply the great general principles of government which the Constitution embodies to the changing conditions of the times, with power on its part to overrule even its own prior decisions, when in the light of better understanding or changed conditions they are deemed by it to be erroneous.
>
> If liberty is to continue to live in America, these constitutional principles must be preserved. * * *
>
> And no man must be prejudiced by reason of race or color or creed in his standing before the law or in his enjoyment of benefits conferred by the State.

I think it was 28 years ago that Judge Parker was nominated for membership on the Supreme Court of the United States. The confirmation of his appointment was defeated by the so-called liberal bloc in the Senate. Had I been a member of that liberal bloc then, I probably would have voted as they did. But with the passage of time, I think it has now become apparent that the defeat of Judge Parker was a great mistake, and that Judge Parker has gone on to a distinguished career in the 4th Circuit, which entitles him to the respect and admiration of the people everywhere.

I think that is a caution, probably, to those of us who may be tempted upon occasion to reject nominations, to reflect that the passage of time reveals qualities of which we may not be fully aware at the moment.

THE URGENT NEED FOR POSITIVE ACTION

Both national and international developments give a new urgency to the need for this legislation.

It is over 3½ years since the Supreme Court decided that segregation in public schools is a denial of equal opportunity and violates the 14th amendment. It is over 2½ years since the final order of the Court was entered in those cases, providing that the principles be applied

with practical flexibility, but with all deliberate speed. And earlier decisions ordering the admission of Negroes to State universities had foreshadowed these decisions of 1954 and 1955 for a number of years.

Substantial progress toward compliance has been made since then in a number of border States. Token progress has been made in the elementary and high schools of some other States and in universities and colleges of most States.

But strong resistance is still effective in a group of at least seven so-called hard-core Southern States.

The Southern School News estimated in January that there is desegregation in only 762 out of 3,008 biracial districts in the 17 Southern and border States.

That publication also noted that more than 140 State legislative measures have been enacted since 1954 in an effort to preserve segregation. Outright nullification statutes, pupil placement schemes, provisions to close or withdraw all State funds from any school which is desegregated, support for a "private school" system if necessary, criminal penalties for spending tax moneys on desegregated schools, loss of retirement benefits for failure by State officials to enforce State laws requiring segregation, power to suspend compulsory attendance laws, and interposition statutes are some of the devices adopted.

Such restrictive statutes have not been confined to the field of education. They have also been passed to preserve racial segregation in transportation and recreational facilities, to restrict Negro registration and voting, to harass the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations active in this field. And new proposals are reported frequently in the daily press.

Mr. J. Francis Polhaus, formerly on the staff of the Department of Justice, and now counsel for the Washington bureau of the NAACP, has compiled from responsible southern sources a brief summary and comment on more than 100 of the laws, resolutions, ordinances, and State administrative policies being used to thwart the Court's decisions. To demonstrate the nature and seriousness of this problem, I ask unanimous consent that the compilation be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks. These State actions should be carefully studied, for I believe they indicate the necessity for affirmative action.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit No. 3.)

PROBLEM IS NATIONAL, NOT SECTIONAL

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, it is not the Southern and border States alone that have desegregation problems. We in the North must frankly concede, as I have previously in the Senate, that while our education laws are rather uniformly in accord with the Constitution, some communities in our States also err. De facto segregation based on school districting and discrimination against Negro teachers are reported in many northern areas; and the transition to desegregation is not always orderly or peaceful there, either.

The problem is truly national in scope, although it is most severe in the South, where the Negro population is a greater proportion of the total and where old educational patterns are more deeply set. The Court has spoken to all sections of our Nation, including the States we represent.

REASONED, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WILL FOSTER COMPLIANCE AND LAW AND ORDER

The rate of the extension of desegregation has now perceptibly slowed. Although this is understandable as the areas of easier adjustment to the law complete their action, an embittered resistance can lead—and, indeed, already has led—to tragic outbreaks and lawlessness, unless wise, reasonable, and affirmative leadership is offered.

With the filing of new school suits to end racial segregation in Georgia, the New York Times southern correspondent, John N. Popham, reported 3 weeks ago:

> The immediate short-run impact is certain to be one of turbulence, new tensions, oratory, and proposals for new and more stringent resistance legislation.

The United States District Court which recently knocked out three laws aimed at the NAACP, referred to "the situation in Virginia, where the attitude of the public authorities openly encourages opposition to the law of the land, which may easily find expression in disturbances of public peace."

Those who have a deep regard for human justice, for law and order, and for our national strength therefore cannot remain passive in the face of these active threats to orderly government and to America's prestige abroad. While the forces of resistance are heating up, and also are seeking to stifle all opposition, it is no time for those who would maintain law and order to lapse into the inertia of a cooling off period.

There is surely a better way to approach the problems of desegregation than the way used last fall in Arkansas. A sensitive report of that situation, made by a Little Rock pastor, Rev. Robert S. Cartwright, as published in the Christian Century of October 9, 1957, points to some of the helpful lessons to be learned from their regrettable experience, as contrasted with the orderly transition in Louisville, where the community marshaled its resources with great care and foresight. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Christian Century for October 9, 1957]

LESSON FROM LITTLE ROCK

(By Colbert S. Cartwright)

(NOTE CONCERNING AUTHOR.—Colbert S. Cartwright has been pastor of the Pulaski Heights Christian Church in Little Rock, Ark., since 1954. Before that he served a 4-year pastorate in Lynchburg, Va. A son of Editor Lin D. Cartwright of the Christian Evangelist, he grew up in the South, graduated from Washington University and Yale University divinity school. Mr. Cartwright is president of the Arkansas council on human relations, a member of the board of the Southern Regional Council, and chairman of the social education and action committee of the Arkansas Christian Missionary Society.)

On the day that Arkansas National Guardsmen first formed a cordon around Little Rock's Central High School to block the entry of nine Negro students, a Lutheran pastor had occasion to make a sick call at a house across from the school. As he walked past a rocket launcher partially blocking the street, he asked one of the guardsmen if he thought such heavy weapons were necessary.

"If you'll pardon the expression, sir," was the reply, "I feel like a damned fool—protecting 2,000 white high-school students from 9 colored students."

There are many aspects of the Little Rock school crisis which can only be termed foolish—regardless of one's choice of theological modifiers. However, behind Gov. Orval E. Faubus' action lie facets of the Little Rock school problem which are in danger of being overlooked. It will be tragic if the Nation sees nothing more at Little Rock than a picture of Faubus' folly.

Others Share Responsibility

The Little Rock school board and Superintendent Virgil Blossom must share responsibility for the Little Rock debacle. Their whole approach to the task of making a transition from a dual to an integrated school system unwittingly invited the drastic action which Governor Faubus took on September 2 when he called out the National Guard.

It has been Faubus' contention that the Little Rock community "is not in the condition to have integration at the moment." This is a judgment impossible to prove or disprove. Many observers are convinced that the transition would have been made with a minimum of trouble if the Governor had not interfered. There are other persons of both races who have watched with growing alarm the school board's development of an approach to the problem which disregarded everything experience has taught about human nature.

The Arkansas Gazette summarized that approach accurately: "(1) The Little Rock plan of integration was voluntarily evolved by the Little Rock School Board over a period of 3 years. It was a legal design intended to accomplish the minimum integration over the longest period of time permissible under the Supreme Court ruling. (2) The plan was presented to the people of Little Rock in these terms and fully explained. School Superintendent Virgil Blossom himself made an estimated 200 speeches in this 3-year period setting forth the plan in detail to interested white and colored parent groups."

The general attitude of Dr. Blossom in explaining the plans for integration to white groups was that the prospect was as distasteful to him and the school board as to anyone else. His argument rested solely on the fact that the school board knew no way to get around the Supreme Court decision. He emphasized the wisdom of the school board's designing its own deliberate program to avoid having to take a faster route if a Federal district court should delineate a plan. The superintendent explained the plan to anyone who would listen. He asked help from no one.

The Louisville Approach

This approach to preparing the community for the mingling of the races in public schools revealed no awareness of the lessons taught by troublesome Clinton, Tenn., or peaceful Louisville, Ky. Superintendent Omer Carmichael, of Louisville, has said that one thing was plain to him from the beginning: Preparation for so radical a change has little hope of success unless it is a communitywide program. In the Louisville story he explains the manner in which he sought to involve the whole community in a discussion of desegregation. He solicited help from parent-teacher associations, the Kentucky Council on Human Relations, churches and church-related groups, women's clubs, civic groups, and other organizations. He secured the cooperation of radio stations and disseminated literature on race relations. As the whole Louisville community became involved in thinking about race relations, the problem was seen not only from the legal but from the moral, social, and psychological points of view.

It is significant that the hindsight of the people of Clinton points to the wisdom of the Louisville approach. Looking backward, Mayor W. E. Lewallen said: "We thought we had done enough when we set up a sort of committee and talked the situation over with some of the civic clubs and leaders. We were wrong." He observed that events have scuttled the old southern maxim that the less said about race relations the better.

No Consultation on the Proposal

In relationship to the community, the Little Rock School Board has consistently taken an autocratic approach. Carefully avoiding consultation with either Negro or white patrons, the board on May 24, 1955, announced to the public a plan of gradual integration under which high-school-level grades would be desegregated probably in September 1957. If all went well, integration would follow in the other grades over a period of approximately 6 years. Since no one had been consulted, many persons questioned the plan. Many Negroes wanted a faster plan; many white persons wanted no plan at all. Interested citizens, both Negro and white, went to Dr. Blossom with questions. When any point of the plan was questioned there was only one reaction—a defensive bristling.

Five months after the plan was announced the Arkansas Council on Human Relations convened a meeting at Little Rock at which Dr. Blossom explained his plan. Irene Osborne, who had been working in Washington, D. C., to marshal community support for the school desegregation program there, spoke on the importance of community relations in making the transition. Dr. Blossom exhibited open hostility toward the approach she suggested.

Ministers' Help Not Sought

In December 1955, the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Greater Little Rock, composed of Negro ministers, asked the school board to appoint an advisory committee, which would include Negroes, to work in the direction of racial integration in the schools. The board not only declined, but refused to suggest any alternate way in which the Little Rock community might help in paving the way to a smoother transition. At about the same time, Dr. Blossom presented the plan of gradual integration to the Greater Little Rock Ministerial Alliance, composed of white ministers. The plan was received with general enthusiasm. But when the alliance suggested that it endorse the plan officially and publicly, Dr. Blossom urged it not to do so. To the present time he has not sought the help of ministers of either race in preparing the community for the board's plan of integration.

During the 1955-56 school year professional educators in Little Rock became concerned because no preparation was being given high-school teachers for the new problems they would face when integration came. They suggested to Dr. Blossom that informal meetings of teachers be arranged to discuss such problems. He did not think well of the suggestion, and at no time has he sought to help teachers face their own prejudices or to provide them with guidance in dealing with problems of group dynamics.

At a luncheon meeting on October 12, 1956, Robert Snyder, for 3 years chairman of the St. Louis Council on Human Relations, explained to a number of Little Rock civic leaders the way in which 85 organizations in his city worked to help the schools meet the problem of school desegregation. Dr. Blossom was present, but indicated no interest in gaining such support from Little Rock agencies. On March 11, 1957, he explained the school board's plan to the community council, a group made up of representatives from all metropolitan area organizations and agencies concerned for civil betterment. Although he did not emphasize the need for preparing the community for school integration, he did state for the first time publicly that he would call on the various groups to help prepare the community. He did not say when. To date their help has not been requested.

Increasing Uneasiness

During the past summer the Negro community grew uneasy as it saw the Little Rock School Board doing all within its power to discourage Negro pupils from entering the previously all-white high school. A group of concerned Negroes went to Dr. Blossom with a complaint. He admitted that screening had been taking place, but defended it as being in the best interests of all. The Negroes suggested that it might be well if some channel of communication could be established between him and the Negro community. He readily agreed that it would be a good idea to have a committee which could help interpret to the Negro community what the school board was trying to do, and said he would call on the group the next week to work out details. But he never called. Throughout the summer months persons of both races, deeply concerned for the problems of human relations, became increasingly disturbed as they realized that the social forces of Little Rock were not being marshaled to aid in a smooth transition to integration. No one knew what might happen. There might be trouble, for which no one was ready.

Had the school board developed adequate plans with law enforcement officials for every eventuality? Several prominent Little Rock citizens investigated the possibility of bringing to the city a law-enforcement official nationally known as an expert in the field of police-community relations to counsel quietly with local officials. When Dr. Blossom was approached on the possibility, he replied that he had adequately studied the problem and needed no outside help.

The Governor To the Rescue

Governor Faubus' decision on September 2 to call out the troops and to block integration was the natural outcome of every step the Little Rock School Board had taken. It had insisted all along that the only reason the schools were being integrated was that the Federal Government was forcing it to do so. It had consistently refused to seek the

help of the community in gaining moral support for its reluctant step. Then the Governor in shining armor came to the rescue. He said the school board did not need to integrate, that since the community was not prepared for integration there would be violence. He would call out the militia as the "preservator of the peace."

Dr. Blossom, the school board and Little Rock's leading citizens were stunned by Faubus' unprecedented actions. They did not want the Governor to interfere. Knowing that some racial mixing in the public schools is inevitable, they would prefer to have it come about peacefully and on their own terms. What they failed to consider was that their whole approach had played directly into the hands of the members of white citizens councils. Having sought to prepare the community solely upon a legalistic basis, they had no defense when the Governor, prompted by rabid segregationists in Little Rock, insisted he had found the needed loophole.

Three days after the Governor ordered his troops to prevent integration in the name of States rights, the school board found itself in the position of being on the Governor's side. It went to Federal court and petitioned the judge to suspend temporarily the plan of integration. This was exactly what the Governor and his white citizens council cohorts were pleading for. The school board's house of cards had fully collapsed. Citizens who had agreed to compliance if there was no other way out now took fresh hope in the Governor's action and the school board's acquiescence. Little Rock became sharply divided.

Arguments among Little Rock citizens will continue for years as to whether Governor Faubus got a square deal in Federal court. Few will question why the problem arose in the first place. Fewer still will be aware of the responsibility the school board must share for the ridiculous situation which arose.

The experiences of Washington, Louisville, and Clinton all point to the fact that transition, difficult at best, can come about only if all the resources of the community are marshaled to help. They have taught that the moral and social psychological aspects of the problem must be adequately considered. Little Rock tried a different path. On September 2 it was confronted with a "dead end" sign. It is still a question whether the school board can read the sign.

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, we know that these outbreaks, whether in Illinois or Arkansas, in Pennsylvania or Alabama, are blazoned around the globe.

We can, perhaps, repair some of the damage done by them to our standing in the free world—and especially in the eyes of the uncommitted colored peoples of other continents—if we now move with wisdom, understanding, and assurance to foster equality of opportunity. That is the aim of this bill, and will be its effect, I believe, if and when it is enacted.

BRIEF SUMMARY OF BILL'S PROVISIONS

A. CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS FOR EQUAL TREATMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Through authority conferred upon the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, the bill will furnish to the officials and private citizens of good will in all parts of the country the tools with which to accelerate in our public schools the growth of equal treatment for all of our citizens, without regard to race.

Title II

This title authorizes the Secretary to assist, through the compilation and distribution of data, the making of surveys, the arrangement of conferences, the appointment of advisory councils, the provision of specialists' services, and the development of community understanding for desegregation programs that are in harmony with the Constitution. Appropriations up to $2.5 million a year for 5 years are authorized for these purposes.

Title III

This title authorizes the Secretary to make grants for school facilities in areas where the chief problem preventing or hindering effective compliance is the lack of adequate buildings or other physical equipment.

It also authorizes grants for employing additional teachers, in-service teacher training, employment of specialists, short-term training courses, and other additional educational measures undertaken to eliminate segregation, while at the same time assuring that existing educational standards will not be lowered.

Funds would also be available to local communities that wish to comply with the Court's decisions, but where, as in Georgia and Virginia, the State threatens to cut off funds or close the schools.

Appropriations of not more than $40 million a year for 5 years are authorized to cover the costs of the grant programs.

Title IV

The bill further provides in title IV that when other methods fail, the executive branch of Government, acting through the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, shall assume responsibility for initiating the development of desegregation plans to accomplish the objectives of the Court's decisions. In the development of both the tentative and approved plans, however, there are express provisions for the fullest possible local consultation and participation.

The responsibility to go forward in a situation in which officials are hostile is now almost entirely in the hands of private individuals and organizations. Experience has shown that this problem will not become any less troublesome if we countenance the resulting delay.

B. FEDERAL ASSISTANCE IN LEGAL REMEDIES, TITLES V AND VI

The bill also provides for Federal assistance in legal remedies under titles V and VI.

In the history of America's advance toward equal justice, court proceedings have been the means of making many of our greatest forward steps. They are still an indispensable part of our protections against racial discriminations.

A growing group of States, however, have passed so-called antibarratry laws which make it much more difficult for civil-rights groups or others to assist persons in bringing or maintaining lawsuits for the vindication of their civil rights. Other forms of pressure—such as organized boycotts, threats, and intimidation—have also been used to deter such legal actions.

Since the persons who are denied their rights to equal protection are more often than not poor persons, unable alone to sustain the heavy costs of litigation, and more subject than others to hostile pressures, these laws and pressures will increasingly padlock out of court the Negroes and also the Spanish-speaking Americans of the Southwest in their efforts to maintain suits to carry out the law of the land.

To meet this situation, the proposed legislation would authorize the Attorney General of the United States to start civil actions for preventive relief against those who deprive persons of their rights to equal protection of the laws, on account of race, color, religion, or national origin.

This authority is much like that provided in part III of last year's bill H. R. 6127, and in the 1956 measure, H. R. 627. As I have said, on two occasions it was overwhelmingly approved by the House. The authority is more explicitly and clearly set forth here, however, in titles V and VI.

Title V confers the power to file compliance actions in school cases in connection with approved desegregation plans, when the Secretary certifies that all efforts to secure compliance by con-

ciliation, assistance, and otherwise have failed.

Title VI first authorizes preventive action against those State and local officials and others acting under color of State law in cases involving denial of equal protection generally, including school cases, by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin; but it provides that the Attorney General may sue only upon a signed complaint, and when, in his judgment, the person aggrieved is unable to seek effective legal protection for himself—section 601.

Suits are also authorized by the Attorney General against those who attempt to prevent local officials from according persons equal protection of the laws, or who act to hinder the execution of court orders for equal protection—section 602. Action to deprive persons of their rights under the 14th amendment because such persons are opposing denial of the rights of others, is also made a basis for legal action by the Attorney General—section 603. In addition, the Attorney General is explicitly authorized to intervene in cases brought by others for relief against the denial of equal protection of the laws, because of race, color, religion, or national origin—section 604.

Thus, in the field of legal remedies, also, this measure would extend a significant helping hand of the National Government to the safeguarding of constitutional rights.

FURTHER LEGISLATION IS ESSENTIAL

Mr. President, in 1957, Congress ended a stalemate of over 80 years, and passed a civil-rights bill primarily designed to protect the right to vote. This is a substantial advance, and can lead to others, as citizens previously barred exercise this basic right to choose their representatives and officials in Government.

Some urge this as a reason for delaying the proposal or consideration of additional legislation now.

But the indignities of racial segregation and discrimination still continue and cannot be ignored. We know that in schools, on buses, in public recreation areas, and in many other places, our Negro and Spanish-speaking citizens find themselves barred from equal opportunity.

We know that these incidents in our schools are not only personal affronts and tragedies for those excluded, checking their full individual development and handicapping them in the race of life. We know that the exclusions also deprive the Nation of their full contribution to society, at a time when we are belatedly discovering that maximum educational effort is essential to national security.

We know too that these failures gravely damage our moral position before the world.

In a situation where such basic human rights are involved and in a world contest in which freedom itself is at stake, we cannot afford the luxury of indifference or inaction. To drift in the uncertain currents of skillfully promoted resistance to the lawful decisions of the highest court in the land, is to run the risk of defeat of all we hold dear.

Without self-righteousness, men of good will in communities across the country and in Congress are called to resume the forward march begun last year. By doing so, we shall add moral authority to material strength. We shall better pass the inspection of our own consciences and of the watching eyes of a world of men determined to have and to enjoy freedom and equality of opportunity. We are mindful of the problems which we face, and no one should underestimate them, but they are less than those created by our failure to act.

These are some of the reasons why the sponsors of this legislation urge that it be given careful study, prompt hearings and early approval by Congress.

The period of time for which appropriations are authorized for the new powers given to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in this bill is 5 years. Within that time will occur the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. If we can set in motion now the procedures that will take this country far along the road to equal justice for all its citizens, that centennial can mark another historic milestone in the progress of freedom.

TEXT OF THE BILL (S. 3257)

The bill (S. 3257) to effectuate and enforce the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. DOUGLAS (for himself and other Senators) is as follows:

EXHIBIT 1

Be it enacted, etc.,

Title I. Short Title and Findings

SECTION 101. This act may be cited as the "Civil Rights Act of 1958".

SEC. 102. (a) The Congress hereby finds that:

(1) recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States holding racial segregation unlawful in public education, public transportation, and public recreational facilities (hereinafter referred to as the antisegregation decisions) as a denial of the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws express the moral ideals of the Nation and the world and point the way to a Nation enhanced in strength and dignity at home and enhanced in honor and prestige throughout the world,

(2) these antisegregation decisions are being resisted in many areas of the Nation most directly affected by them and indirectly evaded in other areas, thereby denying to millions of Americans within our borders the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws,

(3) many States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units have failed to make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the Supreme Court's decisions in the field of public education despite the substantial time which has already elapsed since the promulgation of those decisions in 1954 and 1955,

(4) the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws is being denied to many persons because of race, color, religion, or national origin in fields other than education, transportation, and recreation,

(5) these denials of the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws restrict millions of Americans to second-class citizenship and deprive the Nation of the maximum development and maximum benefits that can be contributed by such persons, and

(6) legislative and executive action (A) is necessary to safeguard and guarantee to all Americans the constitutional right to equal protection of the laws and (B) will aid in expediting universal compliance with the antisegregation decisions of the Supreme Court.

(b) The Congress further finds that the rights protected by the Constitution, as declared by the antisegregation decisions, will be more widely accepted and more fully enjoyed in all areas of the Nation, and particularly in those areas of the Nation most directly affected by the decisions, when it is generally recognized and understood that—

(1) the Constitution, as declared by the antisegregation decisions, is the supreme law of the land,

(2) all Federal and State officials are bound by their oaths or affirmations to support the Constitution, and

(3) the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government are acting and will continue to act, with such Federal authority as is found necessary, to protect the constitutional rights upheld by those decisions of the judicial branch of the Government.

(c) The Congress further finds that:

(1) The present system whereby individual plaintiffs in the Federal courts bear the burden of protecting constitutional rights, as declared by the antisegregation decisions, is neither the exclusive nor the most effective means of protecting those constitutional rights and the public interest in safeguarding those constitutional rights, and has resulted in local restrictive and punitive measures against the individuals and organizations engaging in, and supporting, efforts in the courts to assert those contitutional rights; and

(2) Specific authorization to the executive branch of the Federal Government to act in support of the constitutional rights upheld by the antisegregation decisions (A) will provide a more rational, uniform, just, and effective system of protecting constitutional rights than the present procedure under which the safeguarding of constitutional rights is determined by the varying resources and courage of individuals and organizations

and by the varying State statutory restrictions placed upon them, and (B) will render less effective, and hence tend to reduce, hostile community pressures upon individuals and organizations seeking to safeguard constitutional rights.

(d) The Congress hereby recognizes it to be the initial responsibility of all States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units to safeguard the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws as declared by the antisegregation decisions of the Supreme Court and to administer their systems of public education, public transportation, and public recreational facilities in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, but the Federal Government, to maintain a more perfect union, to extend justice, to promote the common defense, and to secure the blessings of liberty to all persons, has a coordinate responsibility to guarantee the constitutional right to the equal protection of the laws, to prevent denials of the right when State or local authorities cannot or will not do so, and thus to enhance the Nation's internal strength and its position throughout the world.

(e) Recognizing its authority and responsibility under the 5th section of the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States and its obligation to uphold the coordinate authority and responsibility of the judicial branch of the Government, the Congress hereby declares its intention that the right to the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Constitution against deprivation by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin and affirmed by the antisegregation decisions of the Supreme Court, shall be protected by all due and reasonable means, and to that end enacts the following provisions of this act.

Title II. Technical Assistance by Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

SEC. 201. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (hereafter in this act referred to as the "Secretary") is hereby authorized to render technical assistance to States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units to eliminate denials of constitutional rights in the field of public education by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin and to come into compliance with the decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of public education by—

(a) assembling, publishing, and distributing information which, in his judgment, will prove helpful in obtaining public understanding of, and compliance with, the Constitution and decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of public education;

(b) surveying the progress made in eliminating segregation in public education in various parts of the country and making available to public agencies, private organizations, private individuals, and the general public the results of such surveys, including wherever possible successful case histories of desegregation and the ways and means utilized to bring about desegregation in such instances;

(c) planning, calling, and holding local, State, regional, and national conferences attended by State and local officials, representatives of private organizations, and private citizens, to discuss ways and means of eliminating segregation in public education generally or in any particular State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit;

(d) appointing local, State, regional and national advisory councils to assist the Secretary in carrying out his duties under this act and to offer their assistance to any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit to come into compliance with the Constitution and the decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of public education;

(e) reporting to the Congress, at least semiannually, concerning the progress being made in eliminating segregation in public education in various parts of the country; and

(f) assisting, by such other related means as he deems appropriate, States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units to eliminate segregation in public education.

SEC. 202. The Secretary shall recruit, employ, and train specialists in preparing, putting into effect, and carrying out plans for eliminating segregation in public education and shall offer the services of the specialists to States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units. Upon request of any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit, the Secretary shall make available to the requesting governmental unit the services of one or more specialists for such periods of time and in such numbers as the Secretary deems necessary and appropriate in the light of the particular needs of the requesting governmental unit.

SEC. 203. (a) The Secretary is authorized to reimburse any State or local official, representative of a private organization, or private citizen who is invited by him to attend any local, State, regional, or national conference held under the authority of section 201 (c), and any member of an advisory council appointed under the authority of section 201 (d) who is carrying out authorized functions, for travel expenses incurred, and to pay to any such person per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same amounts as authorized by law (5 U. S. C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service serving without compensation.

(b) The Secretary is authorized to reimburse any State or local official who, with the approval of the Secretary, is invited to confer with one or more specialists employed by the Secretary under section 202 for travel expenses incurred in attending such conference, and to pay to any such official per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same amounts as authorized by law (5 U. S. C. 73b-2) for persons in the Government service serving without compensation.

SEC. 204. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1958, and for each of the 4 suceeding fiscal years, such amounts not to exceed $2,500,000 in any fiscal year as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this title.

Title III. Grants to Areas Where Desegregation in Public Education Is Being Carried Out

SEC. 301. (a) The Secretary is authorized to make grants to States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units which maintained racial segregation in their public schools on May 17, 1954, and which make application for such grants, to assist in meeting the costs of additional educational measures undertaken or to be undertaken to further the process of eliminating segregation in the public schools of the applicant State, municipality, school district, or local governmental unit, while at the same time assuring that existing educational standards will not be lowered.

(b) Grants may be made under this section for—

(1) the cost of employing additional schoolteacher;

(2) the cost of giving to teachers and other school personnel inservice training in dealing with problems incident to desegregation;

(3) the cost of employing specialists in problems incident to desegregation and of providing other assistance to develop understanding by parents, schoolchildren, and the general public of plans and efforts for eliminating segregation in the schools in order to reduce the possibility of community hostility or unlawful resistance to such plans and efforts; and

(4) other costs directly related to the process of eliminating segregation in public schools, including the replacement of State payments to a school district or other political subdivision withdrawn because the applicant district or subdivision is eliminating, or is starting to eliminate, segregation.

(c) Grants may also be made under this section for the construction, enlargement, or alteration of school facilities when the Secretary finds that lack or inadequacy of existing facilities makes the carrying out of any reasonable plan for desegregation without lowering existing educational standards impracticable or materially more difficult.

(d) Each application made for a grant under this section shall provide such detailed breakdown of the additional educational measures for which financial assistance is sought as the Secretary may by regulations prescribe.

(e) Each grant under this section shall be made in such amounts and on such terms and conditions as the Secretary shall prescribe, which may include a condition that the applicant expend funds in specified amounts for the purpose for which the grant is made. In determining whether to make a grant, and in fixing the amount thereof and the terms and conditions on which it will be made, the Secretary shall take into consideration—

(1) the amount available for grants under this section and the other applications which are pending before him;

(2) the financial condition of the applicant and the other resources available to it;

(3) the nature, extent, and gravity of its problems incident to desegregation;

(4) whether the additional educational measures undertaken or to be undertaken are reasonably and effectively designed to further the process of eliminating racial segregation, while at the same time assuring that existing educational standards will not be lowered; and

(5) such other factors as he finds relevant.

SEC. 302. The Secretary is further authorized to make grants to public or other nonprofit educational institutions of higher learning to meet or assist in meeting the cost of short-term training courses or institutes, not to exceed 4 weeks in duration, for personnel of public schools or of educational agencies engaged in or about to undertake desegregation, designed to enable such personnel to deal more effectively with problems incident to desegregation. Such grants may also be used by such institutions to establish and maintain fellowships for such training courses or institutes, covering tuition, fees, and such stipends and allowances (including travel and subsistence expenses) as may be determined by the Secretary.

SEC. 303. Payments of grants under sections 301 and 302 may be made in advance or by way of reimbursement, and at such intervals and on such conditions as the Secretary may determine.

SEC. 304. (a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1958, and for each of the 4 suceeding fiscal years, such sums, not exceeding $40 million for any fiscal year, as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

(b) In making grants from funds appropriated for any fiscal year for the purposes specified in section 301 (b), the Secretary may disregard applications received after August 31 in that fiscal year, or may sub-

ordinate such applications to applications received before that date. In the event that he receives, either before or after that date, applications which he considers would materially contribute to carrying out the purposes of this title, but which he cannot grant because of lack or inadequacy of available funds, he shall forthwith report this fact to the Congress and to the President, together with his recommendation with respect to the appropriation of additional funds.

(c) In the event that the Secretary receives applications for grants for the purpose specified in section 301 (c) which he considers would materially contribute to carrying out the purposes of this title, but which he cannot grant because of lack or inadequacy of available funds, he shall forthwith report this fact to the Congress and to the President, together with his recommendation with respect to the appropriation of additional funds.

Title IV. Administrative Action Directed Toward Eliminating Segregation in Public Education

SEC. 401. The Secretary shall make every effort to persuade States, municipalities, school districts, and other local governmental units to make a start toward eliminating segregation in public education and to carry out in full such programs as they may start, and to this end he shall utilize the authority provided in titles II and III.

SEC. 402. Whenever the Secretary shall find that all efforts under titles II and III and under section 401 of this title have failed, and continue to fail, in bringing about a start toward the elimination of segregation in public education in any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit, the Secretary is authorized to prepare a tentative plan for the elimination of segregation in public education in such State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit. In preparing such a tentative plan, the Secretary shall seek the advice and assistance of public officials, private organizations, and private citizens in the area and of any local, State, regional, or national advisory council appointed pursuant to section 201 (d) and he shall carefully consider such advice and assistance wherever available. Tentative plans prepared by the Secretary under the authority of this section shall take into account the need of the particular area for time to make an orderly adjustment and transition from segregated to desegregated schools.

SEC. 403. (a) Whenever the Secretary has prepared a tentative plan for the elimination of segregation in public education in any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit, he shall forward the plan to the governor, mayor, or other appropriate official, as the case may be. If the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit agrees to put into effect the tentative plan as proposed by the Secretary or as modified by the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit with the consent of the Secretary, the Secretary shall utilize the authority granted in titles II and III to assist the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit in putting into effect the tentative plan.

(b) If the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit (1) does not agree to put into effect the tentative plan as proposed by the Secretary or as modified with his consent, or (2) after agreeing to the tentative plan as so proposed or modified, does not, in the judgment of the Secretary, carry out such tentative plan, the Secretary shall hold a public hearing upon the tentative plan. Notice of such hearing shall be given to the local authorities concerned by registered mail and notice shall be given to private organizations and private citizens within the area by publication in one or more newspapers. Local authorities, private organizations, and private citizens shall be permitted to participate in the hearing and present evidence and argument in favor of the tentative plan, in favor of amendments to the tentative plan, or in opposition to the plan or to any plan, but cumulative evidence may be excluded in the discretion of the Secretary. Anyone shall be permitted to file a written statement with the Secretary in addition to, or in lieu of, personal appearance at the public hearing.

(c) After the hearing provided in subsection (b) has been concluded, the Secretary shall prepare and issue an approved plan for eliminating segregation in public education in the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit. He shall publish the approved plan in the Federal Register and in one or more newspapers in the area affected thereby and shall transmit a certified copy thereof to the appropriate official of the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit involved.

(d) In order that the proceedings under this title shall expedite the elimination of segregation in any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit, the Secretary shall handle all proceedings under this title as expeditiously as possible. The Secretary shall complete any proceedings hereunder within 1 year from the time that a tentative plan is forwarded to the governor, mayor, or other appropriate official under section 403 (a), or, in case a State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit agrees to a tentative plan but does not carry it out, within 6 months from the time that the Secretary determines that such State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit is not carrying out such tentative plan.

SEC. 404. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1958, and for each of the 4 succeeding fiscal years, such amounts as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this title.

SEC. 405. The Secretary is authorized to carry out his responsibilities and exercise his authority under this title and under titles II and III through designated personnel in his own office or through any existing bureau, division, or agency of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare or through a new office created by him for the special purpose of exercising the Secretary's responsibilities hereunder, except that the Secretary shall personally review and sign any approved plan issued under section 403 (c).

Title V. Authorization to the Attorney General in the Field of Public Education

SEC. 501. (a) Whenever (1) the Secretary has published in the Federal Register an approved plan for the elimination of segregation in public education in any State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit pursuant to section 403 (c), (2) the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit has rejected the plan or has refused or failed to act in accordance therewith, and (3) the Secretary has certified to the Attorney General that all efforts to secure compliance with the Constitution and the Supreme Court's decisions by conciliation, persuasion, education, and assistance under titles II, III, and IV have failed, the Attorney General of the United States is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction or other order, against the appropriate officials of the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit and any individual or individuals acting in concert with such officials to enforce compliance with the approved plan.

(b) The Attorney General is authorized to move to dismiss or discontinue any action brought under subsection (a), or to propose or to agree to a decree adopting a plan for elimination of segregation in public education which is different from the approved plan, whenever he determines that the State, municipality, school district, or other local governmental unit is making, or is prepared to make, a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with the Constitution and the Supreme Court's decisions in the field of education and to work toward full compliance with all deliberate speed.

(c) Any interested party may, with the leave of the court, intervene in any action brought under subsection (a), and the court shall consider any proposals by the intervenors, as well as by the defendant or defendants, in determining its final decree.

Title VI. Other Authorizations to the Attorney General

SEC. 601. (a) Whenever the Attorney General receives a signed complaint that any person or group of persons is being deprived of, or is being threatened with the loss of, the right to the equal protection of the laws by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin and whenever the Attorney General certifies that, in his judgment, such person or group of persons is unable for any reason to seek effective legal protection for the right to the equal protection of the laws, the Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for an injunction or other order, against any individual or individuals who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory or subdivision or instrumentality thereof, deprives or threatens to deprive such person or group of persons of the right to equal protection of the laws by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin and against any individual or individuals acting in concert with them.

(b) A person or group of persons shall be deemed unable to seek effective legal protection for the right to the equal protection of the laws within the meaning of subsection (a) not only when such person or group of persons is financially unable to bear the expenses of the litigation, but also when there is reason to believe that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the employment or other economic activity of, or might result in physical harm or economic damage to, such person or group of persons or their families.

(c) Nothing contained in titles IV and V shall limit the authority of the Attorney General to institute and maintain an action under subsection (a).

SEC. 602. The Attorney General is authorized to institute for or in the name of the United States a civil action or other proceeding, for preventive relief, including an application for injunction or other order, (1) against any person or persons preventing or hindering, or threatening to prevent or hinder, or conspiring to prevent or hinder, any Federal, State, or local official from according any person or group of persons the right to the equal protection of the laws without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin, or (2) against any person or persons preventing or hindering, or threatening to prevent or hinder, or conspiring to prevent or hinder the execution of any court order protecting the right to the equal pro-

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tection of the laws without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin.

SEC. 603. The Attorney General is authorized, upon receipt of a signed complaint, to institute for or in the name of the United States, a civil action or other proceeding for preventive relief, including an application for injunction or other order, against any individual or individuals who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory or subdivision or instrumentality thereof, deprives or threatens to deprive any person or group of persons or associations of persons of any right guaranteed by the 14th amendment of the Constitution, because such person or group of persons or association of persons has opposed or opposes the denial of the equal protection of the laws to others because of race, color, religion, or national origin.

SEC. 604. Whenever a suit is brought in any district court of the United States seeking relief from the deprivation of the right of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, or national origin, the Attorney General is authorized to intervene in such action with all the rights of a party thereto and to seek compliance with any lawful order issued by such district court.

Title VII. Miscellaneous Provisions

SEC. 701. The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted under sections 501, 601, 602, and 603 of this act and shall exercise the same without regard to whether any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law shall have been exhausted and, in the case of proceedings instituted under sections 601 and 602, without regard to whether any administrative proceeding is pending or contemplated under title IV, it being the purpose of title IV to expedite not delay the elimination of segregation in public education throughout the Nation. In any proceeding hereunder, the United States shall be liable for costs the same as a private person.

SEC. 702. Nothing in this act or in any administrative proceeding hereunder shall be construed to impair any right guaranteed by the Constitution or laws of the United States or any remedies already existing for their protection or enforcement, nor to prevent any private individual or organization from acting to enforce or safeguard any constitutional right in any manner now permitted by law.

SEC. 703. If any provision of this act or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance is held invalid, the remainder of this act or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

EXHIBIT 2

[From the Christian Century of February 5, 1958]

PROTESTANTISM SPEAKS ON JUSTICE AND INTEGRATION

(In anticipation of the churches' observance on February 9 of Race Relations Sunday, we present a compilation made by the National Council of Churches at our request of the latest official statements on racial justice and good will issued by Protestant denominations and responsible organizations. These statements prove that evangelical Christianity in America is deeply cognizant of its obligation to offer to the Nation Christian answers to its major problem in human relations. They show that the churches, working independently, have been led to achieve a remarkable unanimity since the Supreme Court, on May 17, 1954, handed down its historic decision calling for an end to racial segregation in the Nation's public schools.—The Editors.)

[We] commend the Supreme Court for this far-reaching decision, and urge the support and cooperation of our entire constituency in its implementation. (African Methodist Episcopal Connectional Council, June 1954.)

Thanking God for the Supreme Court decision and reaffirming our confidence in the inevitable fulfillment of American democracy under the Constitution; recommending to our farflung constituency * * * active cooperation with local school boards in implementing the program of immediate desegregation and urging our pastors, presiding elders, and people to contribute to the morale-building principles employed to create the climate of public opinion favorable to desegregation in every form of American life * * * we authorize, empower, and urge our secondary schools and junior colleges to amend their charters and/or their rules and regulations, if necessary, so as to provide for integrated faculties and student bodies. (African Methodist Episcopal Zion Board of Christian Education—School and College, August 1954.)

We recognize that during the past 10 years great strides have been made in race relations in America and that it was a logical next step for the Supreme Court to declare * * * that our public schools must be integrated to assure equality of educational opportunity. We fully support the Supreme Court decision and deplore the resistance to this decision in certain states where integration of public education has met organized opposition (American Baptist Convention, 1956).

Wherever and whenever the churches help to foster race or class distinctions between people, and wherever and whenever they support attitudes of superiority or inferiority between persons, groups or classes, they violate God's pattern. * * * Christian churches unfailingly, therefore, must condemn segregation and stratification as the evil fruit of natural man's pride and his arrogant assumption of superiority over those who appear to be different from him. (American Lutheran Church, 1954).

We urge our members to use their influence in the securing of full rights of citizenship for all, and in discouraging any activity in their communities which would seek to circumvent orderly judicial procedure in the implementation of the Supreme Court decision on segregation (Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church, June 1956).

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court * * * that racial segregation in public education in our country violates the 14th Amendment to the Constitution marks a new historic milestone in the progress of our Nation toward the goal of full and true democracy (Christian Methodist Episcopal Church, 1955).

We note with appreciation all recent steps made in the direction of elimination of segregation, including the decision of the Supreme Court interpreting the Constitution as opposing segregation in the public schools. We appeal to our brethren to lead out in effecting these social changes in every area of life * * * [and] to consider appearing at local and State hearings on the issue of integrating the public schools and to give testimony in support of the Supreme Court decision (Church of the Brethren, 1954).

We call upon all Americans to undertake timely and tolerant implementation of the Supreme Court decision, and [ask] that our department of race relations and the Council for Social Action carry forward such activities as will develop public support for the Supreme Court decision (Congregational Christian General Council, June 1954).

We urge Christians to practice and seek to spread equality of opportunity for all people; equal pay for equal work; equal protection by law; equality of suffrage; equal recognition of persons as persons without respect to religion, class or race. (Cumberland Presbyterian Church, June 1955).

We approve and commend the decision of the supreme court concerning segregation in the public schools, and * * * call upon our churches, our agencies and our institutions to re-examine themselves in light of the implications of Christ's gospel, and to initiate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive community groups to plan for full compliance with the gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies, (International Convention of Disciples of Christ, 1954).

We must say plainly that to attempt to evade integration in the public schools by actions which would weaken or undermine the public schools is wrong. No doubt, integration in public schools will proceed at different rates. There are situations in which wisdom and discretion are needed as well as situations in which the complacent need to be stirred to effective and constructive action. The decision of the Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in the schools provides the occasion for the members of Christian congregations to bear witness to the truth in love and to the love of truth; to support with their sympathy and prayers those who are devoted to constructive efforts toward a greater degree of justice; and to encourage consultation between white and colored persons in the local community in the interest of common understanding and planning. (Evangelical and Reformed General Synod, 1956).

We express our gratitude for the unanimous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional. We urge our church members to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for implementing the Supreme Court's decision. * * * We call upon our local churches, annual conferences, colleges and theological seminaries, boards and institutions to implement this decision so that men everywhere may be lifted to new levels of social responsibility and new dimensions of human brotherhood, (Evangelical United Brethren Church, November, 1954).

The decisions of the Supreme Court * * * relative to segregation make necessary far-reaching and often difficult readjustments throughout the Nation. We call upon our people to effect these adjustments in all good faith, with brotherliness and patience. In doing this all racial groups must be willing to admit their imperfections and seek to correct them. Let these things, however, be done in love lest the cause of Christ suffer at our hands (Methodist General Conference, 1956).

According to Christ and Paul there can be no question of race relations, because there is only one race, the human race. Man himself has divided the race on the basis of color. If man would only stop worrying about petty differences and concentrate on likenesses, there would be no race problem. The problem is not really race relations, but human relations. Segregation in the Church of God is the ugliest thing in the religious world, and a disgrace to a Christian nation (National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc., 1954).

The assembly commends the principle of the decision and urges all members of our churches to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problem involved. It also urges all our people to lend their assistance to those charged with the duty of implementing the decision, and to remember that appeals to racial prejudice will not help but hinder the accomplishment of this aim (Presbyterian, United States, General Assembly, 1954).

We receive with humility and thanksgiving the recent decision of our Supreme Court * * * with humility because action

by our highest Court was necessary to make effective that for which our church has stood in principle; with thanksgiving because the decision has been rendered with wisdom and unanimity. We urge all Christians to assist in preparing their communities psychologically and spiritually for carrying out the full implications of the Supreme Court decision. We call upon the members of our churches to cooperate with civic organizations, neighborhood clubs, and community councils as effective means for the accomplishment of racial integration in the public school system (Presbyterian, United States of America, General Assembly, 1954).

The 58th General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America now commends to all the clergy and people of this church that they accept and support this ruling of the Supreme Court, and that by opening channels of Christian conference and communication between the races concerned in each diocese and community, they anticipate constructively the local implementation of this ruling as the law of the land (Protestant Episcopal General Convention, 1955).

We recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men. We urge our people and all Christians to conduct themselves in this period of adjustment in the spirit of Christ; we pray that God may guide us in our thinking and our attitudes to the end that we may help and not hinder the progress of justice and brotherly love; [let us] exercise patience and good will in the discussions that must take place, and give a good testimony to the meaning of Christian faith and discipleship. We express our belief in the public school system of our nation as one of the greatest factors in American history for the maintenance of democracy and our common culture, and we express the hope that in the working out of necessary adjustments, its place in our educational program shall not be impaired (Southern Baptist Convention, June 1954).

We believe that Christians have special responsibilities to keep open the channels of communication and understanding among the different groups in this controversy. Our congregations are encouraged to contribute to the solution of the problem by demonstrating in their own corporate lives the possibility of integration (United Lutheran Church in America, 1956).

We believe the United Presbyterian Church has always believed in the integration of the races. Therefore, in these days when this issue is astride the conscience of the nation we love, we reaffirm our first principles: That God hath made of one blood all nations for to dwell upon the face of the earth; that He is no respecter of persons; that men are created equal and meant to live together in a love that means equality of opportunity and privilege. In the light of these principles we thank God that the laws of the land have made segregation illegal in education (United Presbyterian Church of North America, June 1956).

Be it resolved, That * * * the Florida Council of Churches go on record as favoring this decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which provides equity and justice to all the citizens of this great Nation regardless of color. Urging the people of this State of Florida to remember their obligations as a people under God and to act in charity, tolerance, and wisdom in bringing this State into conformity with the will of the conscience of the Nation as expressed through the supreme judicial body of the United States. Calling all the people represented by the member bodies of this council of churches to prayer and prayerful study of the problem that Christian principles and not worldly prejudices may prevail in the solution of this difficult social problem now confronting the people of the State of Florida (Florida Council of Churches, October 1954).

We approve and commend the decision of the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the public schools, and * * * we call upon our churches, our agencies, and our institutions to reexamine themselves in light of the implications of Christ's gospel and to initiate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive community groups to plan for full compliance with the gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies (Kentucky Council of Churches, April 1955).

We believe that this decision is consistent with the spirit and teachings of Jesus Christ, and we further affirm that this decision is in keeping with what has been through many years the official position of the Christian church, as it has understood the teaching and spirit of Jesus Christ. * * * We call upon the members of our State Legislature to find just ways of implementing in our State the decision of the United States Supreme Court. We ask that in every circumstance they exercise clear and calm judgment and Christian good will in all their attitudes and actions concerning this vital matter in accordance with the ideals of our Christian faith (New Orleans Council of Churches, July 1954).

Now that the Supreme Court has spoken * * * we urge that the churches as represented in the council accept the decision of the Court as the law of the land and endeavor as fully as possible, in the spirit of Christ, to realize an integrated public school system (North Carolina Council of Churches, January 1956).

We call upon the churches of Virginia and their people to face with resolution the enormous task of helping the citizens of this commonwealth to make the necessary adjustments to the Supreme Court's decision which is in accord with Christian principles. We urge all Christians to move with Christian patience and hope upon a course of good faith and wisdom in order that they may not become the victims of despair (Virginia Council of Churches, January 1956).

We firmly believe that the Supreme Court of the United States has acted in keeping with the basic principles of our American democracy and in keeping with the teachings of the Christian church when it declared segregation in the schools unconstitutional (Washington, D. C., Federation of Churches, October 1954).

The unanimous decision of the Supreme Court that segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. The decision will have far-reaching effects in the whole Nation and the world. * * * In the period of transition from one pattern to another (whatever the length of the period to be prescribed by the Court), we know that the churches and individual Christians will continue to exert their influence and leadership to help the authorized agencies in the several communities to bring about a complete compliance with the decision of the Supreme Court. The law of neighborliness is the great guide available to Christians as they deal with this situation in their local communities. "Thou shalt love they neighbor as thyself." The second part of the great commandment contains the potential for lifting men to a new level of social responsibility and for creating new dimensions of human brotherhood (National Council of Churches General Board, May 1954).

EXHIBIT 3

COMPILATION OF RECENT STATE AND LOCAL LAWS, RESOLUTIONS, ORDINANCES, AND ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES

With Comments by Mr. J. Francis Polhaus, Counsel, Washington Bureau, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Alabama

Alabama, in an attempt to evade the Supreme Court's school decisions, has adopted a pupil placement law.

This plan gives local boards of education "full and final authority and responsibility for the assignment, transfer, and continuance of all pupils." It provides that there shall be no reallocation of pupils "according to any rigid rule of proximity of residence." The board of education shall consider, among other factors, "the psychological qualification of the pupil"; "the psychological effect upon the pupil of attendance at a particular school"; "the possibility or threat of friction, or disorder among pupils or others"; the possibility of breaches of the peace or ill-will or economic retaliation within the community" (Act No. 201, regular session, Alabama, 1955: I Race Relations Law Reporter [1] 235).

In this act the legislature is authorizing the local boards to, in effect, surrender their authority to those persons in the community who will promote mob action.

In an attempt to make school officials immune from legal action to enforce constitutional rights, Alabama has amended its constitution to allow the legislature to designate as judicial officers members of State school boards, State boards of education, county school boards, city school boards or commissions, and all superintendents of schools, school officials and employees (Act No. 82, Alabama, first special session, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 417).

In defiance of the Supreme Court, the legislature adopted an interposition resolution declaring the Court's segregation decision "null, void, and of no effect" (Southern School News,[2] vol. II, No. 8, p. 6, Act No. 42, Alabama, first special session, 1956).

Alabama reaffirmed its unconstitutional school policy of segregation by adopting an amendment to its school laws providing for school boards to conduct "separate schools for white and colored children whose parents * * * voluntarily elect that such children attend schools with members of their own race" (Act No. 117, Alabama, second special session, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 717).

In a series of amendments to its constitution, Alabama granted to the legislature authority to close, withdraw State aid from, or even dispose of, public schools threatened with integration, and to donate funds and property to private schools (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 3, page 3; Act No. 82, Alabama, first special session, 1956).

Also authorized is a so-called private school plan whereby a local school board, on petition of a majority of school patrons, may close a school and lease the property for "private, nonprofit, educational purposes" and use public funds to pay pupils' tuition in private schools. Teachers transferred to these private schools would continue to be eligible for State benefits (S. S. N., vol. IV, No. 3, p. 5).

In addition to the above noted legislation of a statewide effect, both the State legislature and local governing bodies have passed

[1] Hereinafter referred to as R. R. L. R.
[2] Hereinafter referred to as S. S. N.

legislation to thwart the enjoyment of civil rights.

The legislature passed two bills, applying to Macon and Marengo Counties, which would allow the county school boards to discharge any teacher "at any time such action is deemed necessary to promote the best interest of the schools" (Acts No. 40 and 41, first special session, Alabama, 1956).

A local act applicable to Wilcox County requires any organization soliciting membership or funds in the county to pay a $200 license fee, a $50 fee for each solicitor and $5 for each member signed up (Act No. 238, regular session, Alabama, 1955).

This act would, of course, apply to organizations other than those advocating integration. Labor unions would, for instance, be similarly affected. It is doubtful, however, that it will be invoked against segregation organizations or other groups seeking to stifle civil rights and civil liberties.

The city of Huntsville, Ala., in an attempt to perpetuate the separate but equal doctrine, has adopted a resolution making the local golf courses available 1 day a week to Negro patrons (I R. R. L. R. 589).

The city of Montgomery has made it a misdemeanor for white and colored to engage in athletic contests together, or for any owner or operator of a public establishment to allow interracial athletic contests (Montgomery Ordinance No. 15-57, March 19, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 714).

On November 13, 1956, the Supreme Court in the case of *Gayle* v. *Browder* (77 Sup. Ct. 165), affirmed a district court decision that enforcement of State and city laws requiring segregation on public carriers was unconstitutional. Nevertheless, on March 12, 1957, the Birmingham City Commission reaffirmed its policy of segregation on public buses, adopting an ordinance which reaffirmed, reenacted, and continued in full force and effect its existing law requiring segregation in the transit system (Ordinance No. 1342-F, II R. R. L. R. 457).

Because of the growing importance of the vote of colored citizens in the town of Tuskegee, the State legislature enacted a statute redefining the city limits of the town, removing from the municipality almost all colored voters (Act No. 140, Alabama, 1957 sess.; II R. R. L. R. 856).

Not content with this attempt to deny Negro citizens a voice in their government, the legislature went a step beyond and passed an amendment to the State constitution authorizing the legislature to abolish Macon County, the county in which Tuskegee is located. The purpose of this is to dilute the potential high percentage of colored voters (Macon County's colored population is 85 percent) by dividing these voters among neighboring counties. This amendment was approved on December 17, 1957 (Washington Post, December 18, 1957, p. 1).

The background of this amazing perversion of the democratic process is set out in a press conference of officers of the Tuskegee Civic Association, participated in by Senator DOUGLAS and other Senators, on July 30, 1957. A transcript of the testimony of this conference appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of August 8, 1957.

Arkansas

On November 6, 1956, the voters of Arkansas voted on and approved three measures designed to maintain segregation in the public-school system. All three measures were to become effective on December 6, 1957.

The first of these measures was an amendment to the constitution of Arkansas designed to nullify the United States Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases. This amendment directed the general assembly to "take appropriate action and pass laws opposing in every constitutional manner the unconstitutional desegregation decisions of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, of the United States Supreme Court, including interposing the sovereignty of the State of Arkansas to the end of nullification of these" (amendment No. 47, Arkansas constitution; I. R. R. L. R., 1117).

An initiated petition of interposition was also approved which reads, in part:

"The people of Arkansas assert that the power to operate public schools in the State on a racially separate but substantially equal basis was granted by the people of Arkansas; any and all decisions of the Federal courts or any other department of the Federal Government to the contrary notwithstanding" (I. R. R. L. R. 591).

The third of the measures adopted at this time was a school assignment plan, intended to evade the Supreme Court's decisions on school segregation. The chief means to be used in this evasion is apparently a provision that one of the factors to be considered is the "possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others" (I. R. R. L. R. 579); Arkansas Stat., 80-1519 et seq.).

This provision is obviously an invitation to mob action of the Little Rock type.

State Commissioner of Education Ford said the law would help districts which want to keep their segregated schools (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 6, p. 8).

Arkansas' compulsory school attendance law has been amended so that students are relieved of the necessity of attending school if classes are racially mixed (Act No. 84, Arkansas Legislature, 1957 session, II R. R. L. R. 453).

The legislature has created a State agency to assist in preserving segregation. This State Sovereignty Commission has been granted the right to examine "all records, books, documents, and other papers touching upon or concerning the matters and things about which the commission is authorized to conduct an investigation." Subpena power is granted to the commission with punishment for refusal to obey or a fine up to $1,000 and 6 months' imprisonment (Act No. 83, Arkansas Legislature, 1957 session, II R. R. L. R. 491).

In an attempt to intimidate those seeking to promote desegregation, Arkansas has enacted legislation requiring "persons and organizations promoting school desegregation by legislation or litigation" to register and submit reports to the State Sovereignty Commission (Act No. 85, Arkansas Legislature, 1957 session, II R. R. L. R. 495).

Upon the recommendation of State Attorney General Bruce Bennett, Little Rock and 11 other communities in the State have adopted local ordinances requiring any organization, upon request of local authorities, to file specified information about finances, officers, and members within a city. These ordinances are under legal attack by the NAACP (S. S. N., vol. IV, No. 6, p. 3).

In the meantime, these statutes are being used to harass the NAACP. Mrs. Daisy Bates, State president of the NAACP, and Rev. J. B. Crenshaw, president of the Little Rock branch, have been arrested and fined for failing to reveal the membership list of the Little Rock branch.

Florida

Florida has also enacted a pupil placement bill. Its author, Senator Johne, says of it: "Counties that want to keep segregated schools can do so under this bill" (S. S. N., vol. II, No. 1, p. 5).

This act sets up the county board of education as the authority to assign children to the school "as shall be determined by the board to be best adapted or qualified to serve the best interests of the child and of the public school system." The authority of the board is "full and complete and its decision as to the enrollment of any pupil in any such school shall be final" (ch. 29746, Laws, Florida, 1955; I R. R. L. R. 237).

Further legislation on the assignment of pupils established vague criteria for assignment, such as the "psychological, moral, ethical, and cultural backgrounds of the pupil." The board is directed to take into account "sociological, psychological, and like intangible social scientific factors as will prevent, as nearly as practicable, any condition of socioeconomic class consciousness among pupils attending any given school." There is no provision requiring members of the boards to have any specific training in any of the social sciences (ch. 31380 Laws, Florida, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 924).

At the same time, school authorities were authorized to ignore continuing contracts and tenure in assigning teachers. Chapter 31391, Laws, Florida 1956. "This is designed to permit the dropping of Negro teachers, regardless of their qualifications." (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 2, p. 10). It would, of course, also subject white teachers to lack of job security and make them subject to pressures from local boards.

Florida, as other States refusing to comply with the Supreme Court's decision, has passed a resolution of nullification and interposition denouncing "the usurpation of power by the Supreme Court of the United States" (Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 17-XX, 1956 special session; I R. R. L. R. 948).

The Governor of the State has been granted what amounts to dictatorial powers under the guise of emergency authority to quell violence. The statute granted such authority reads in part:

"In all such cases when the Governor of the State of Florida shall issue his proclamation (of emergency) as herein provided he shall be and is hereby further authorized and empowered, to cope with said threats and danger, to order and direct any individual person, corporation, association or group of persons to do any act which would in his opinion prevent danger to life, limb or property, prevent a breach of peace or * * * to refrain from doing any act or thing * * * and shall have full power by appropriate means to enforce such order or proclamation" (ch. 31390, Laws, Florida, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 955).

The only limitation on the Governor's use of this grant of power is that is shall be used "when, in his opinion, the facts warrant."

In an effort to harass those supporting the Federal Constitution, the legislature set up a committee to investigate the NAACP. The committee was granted a $50,000 appropriation and given broad subpena powers (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 3, p. 13).

In addition to State action, the battle against integration has been carried on on a local level.

The legislature passed a bill for Jefferson County, forbidding teachers of one race to instruct pupils of another, and forbidding pupils to engage in or attend athletic contests or use school cafeterias with children of another race (S. S. N., vol. IV, No. 3, p. 2).

Not only the school-segregation cases, but decisions of the Federal court relating to public beaches have been the objects of defiance by local authorities.

The city of Delray Beach has passed an ordinance providing: "No member of the Negro race shall go upon the Delray Beach Municipal Beach or the Delray Beach municipal pool" (Emergency Ordinance No. 236, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 733).

The city of Sarasota has likewise attempted by statute to deny colored citizens the right to use the public beaches. It adopted an ordinance requiring the clearing of public beaches whenever persons of different races shall enter on the beach at the same time (Ordinance No. 913, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 945).

Of recent enactment by the State legislature is a bill (H. B. 794, 1957) calling for "automatic closing and suspension of operation of any public school in this State upon the employ of Federal troops in the vicinity of said school for certain purposes." The Governor signed this into law in October 1957.

Georgia

Georgia has reacted strongly to the Supreme Court's decisions protecting the rights of minority citizens. The legislative reaction has taken various forms, among them a resolution of interposition and nullification, a call for impeachment of Supreme Court Justices, a memorial to declare the 14th and 15th amendments invalid, and a statute requiring State officers, under penalty of loss of pension rights, to continue enforcing unconstitutional State laws.

The nullification resolution declares:

"That said decisions and orders of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to separation of the races in the public institutions of a State as announced and promulgated by said Court on May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, are null, void, and of no force or effect" (H. Res. 185, 1956 sess.; I R. R. L. R. 438).

The legislature adopted a resolution on February 27, 1957, calling on the United States Representatives from Georgia to introduce a resolution of impeachment against Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas, Reed, Frankfurter, and Clark because of certain decisions in which they participated (H. Res. 174, 1957 sess.; II R. R. L. R. 485).

As yet, no Georgia Congressman has introduced such a resolution.

On March 8, 1957, the legislature passed a resolution memorializing the United States Congress to declare the 14th and 15th amendments "null and void and of no effect" (S. Res. 39, 1957 sess.; II R. R. L. R. 483).

The statute relating to enforcement of segregation laws provides:

"Any peace officer * * * who knowingly refuses or fails to attempt to enforce any law of this State requiring segregation or separation of the white and colored races in any manner or activity * * * shall forfeit all retirement benefits, all disability benefits, and all death benefits" (Act No. 197, Georgia Laws, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 450).

Even before the Supreme Court's decision in the school cases, Georgia had begun its plan to avoid the possible consequences of such a decision.

In 1954, a constitutional amendment was ratified to allow the legislature to provide for grants of public funds to citizens for educational purposes (art. VIII, sec. XIII, Georgia Constitution).

Following the Court's ruling in the segregation cases, the State adopted a battery of laws intended to evade compliance with the Constitution as applied by the Court.

A group of laws approved February 6, 1956, laid the groundwork for the closing of public schools and the operation of a State-sponsored private school system.

The first of these provides for the closing of public schools by the Governor whenever a school becomes ineligible for State funds (i. e., when integrated). The students of such a closed school become eligible for an "education grant" from public funds (Act No. 11, Georgia Laws, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 418).

Acts No. 13 and 14 of the 1956 session of the legislature authorize the State and local boards of education to lease and sublease public school property for "private school purposes" (I R. R. L. R. 420).

Supplementing the above acts is a law to bring within the State teachers' retirement system teachers who would teach in these "private" schools (Act No. 15, Georgia Laws, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 424).

The Governor has been granted authority to suspend the compulsory school laws throughout the State or in any part of the State (Act No. 139, Georgia Laws, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 453).

In order to insure conformity by the teachers of the State, the State Board of Education has adopted a resolution to revoke "forever" the license of any teacher who "supports, encourages, condones, or agrees to teach mixed classes" (S. S. N., vol. II, No. 2, p. 4).[3]

In a further effort to block any possible integration, the legislature has dried up any funds to support a possibly integrated school.

It has been made a felony, punishable by 2 years' imprisonment, for any school official of the State or municipal or county system to spend tax money for public schools in which the races are mixed (Act No. 82, Georgia Laws, 1955).

The appropriations act of 1957 contains a provision that prohibits funds to be used for any public educational facility in which white and Negro races are not separated (House Resolution 243, Georgia, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 421).

Following an attack on the segregated system of the University of Georgia, School of Law (*Ward* v. *Regents* (II R. R. L. R. 369, 599)) the State board of regents announced it would enforce admission requirements that would make it a practical impossibility for a colored person to apply, because of the social and political pressures on those sponsoring him.

These requirements would be: (1) Signature of two alumni that the applicant is of good character, (2) a testimonial from the ordinary or clerk of superior court of the applicant's county that he "bears a good reputation in the community," (3) a recommendation that he is a "fit and suitable person" for admission from the judge of the superior court in his county of residence (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 11, p. 6).

In areas other than public-school segregation, Georgia has also acted to render ineffective decisions of the Federal courts.

In the field of public transportation, the State has adopted a law requiring segregation of intrastate passengers in waiting rooms of public carriers. Any carrier failing to comply is subject to penalty for a misdemeanor for each day it so fails (Act No. 413, Georgia Laws, 1956; I. R. R. L. R. 428).

Also passengers who fail to use the waiting rooms designated for their race under the above noted statute are subject to criminal prosecution; officers who enforce this law are exempted from suit for false arrest, false imprisonment or other legal action (Act No. 405, Georgia Laws, 1956).

To avoid allowing colored citizens to exercise their constitutional right to use public parks and other places of public recreation, Georgia has authorized the State or its political subdivisions to sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of such property (Act No. 20, Georgia Laws, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 427).

Pursuant to this authority nine State parks were leased to private operators. Average rental of these leases was $2,000 for 12 months. Most of the parks were leased to former park superintendents (S. S. N., vol. II, No. 11, p. 9).

Under the guise of emergency powers, and in a bill practically identical with Florida's on the same subject, the Governor is granted the same absolute power referred to in the above discussion of Florida's emergency statute. This includes the authority to order anyone "to do any act" or "refrain from doing any act" (Act No. 60, Georgia Laws, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 505).

Also, the State Patrol and Bureau of Investigation has been charged with the duty of entering any county or municipality "for the purpose of making arrests and otherwise enforcing any law of this State requiring segregation or separation of the white and colored races in any manner or activity" Act No. 384, Georgia Laws, 1956).

Louisiana

Shortly after the Supreme Court's decision in the school segregation cases, Louisiana amended its constitution to continue segregation under its police power. The amendment provided:

"All public elementary and secondary schools in the State of Louisiana shall be operated separately for white and colored children. This provision is made in the exercise of the State police power" (Act No. 752, Louisiana, 1954, I R. R. L. R. 239).

Supplementing this amendment, the legislature passed a law providing: (1) segregation in all elementary and secondary public schools; (2) withdrawal of State certification for any noncomplying school; (3) withdrawal of State support, including funds for free books and school lunch program from any noncomplying school; (4) criminal penalties ($500 to $1,000 fine or 90 days to 6 months imprisonment) for any violating the provisions of the law (Act No. 555, Louisiana, 1954, I R. R. L. R. 239).

It also enacted a pupil placement plan which gave each parish superintendent of schools authority to assign students. No criteria were provided for making such assignments (Act No. 556, Louisiana, 1954).

As soon as these legislative provisions were legally attacked, they were declared unconstitutional. *Bush* v. *Orleans Parish School Board* (138 F. Supp. 336 (1956).

In the field of higher education, Louisiana had for several years admitted colored students to its State supported colleges. This was done pursuant to court cases predating the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954.

Following the decision of May 17, the State not only attempted to thwart that decision, but to reverse its policy with respect to higher education as well.

It did this by adopting a law requiring all students and applicants at tax supported colleges to have a certificate of good character signed by their high school principals and district superintendents (Act No. 15, Louisiana, 1956).

At the same time it passed an act making it a grounds for dismissal from employment for any teacher to perform "any act toward bringing about the integration of the races within the public school system or any public institution of higher learning" (Act No. 249, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 941).

Taken together, these laws made it impossible for colored students to obtain the required certification. It was so recognized by the Federal Court and the scheme was declared unconstitutional. *Ludley* v. *Board of Supervisors of L. S. U.* (150 F. Supp 900).

Act 249, referred to above, also provided for dismissal of teachers for advocating racial integration or for belonging to or contributing to an organization enjoined from operating in Louisiana. At the time, the NAACP was under injunction prohibiting it from doing business in that State.

Similar restrictive legislation was applied to public school bus operators, teachers and employees of the Orleans parish public school system (Acts 248, 250 and 252, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 943, et seq.).

An act affecting the city of New Orleans provides "Those public schools being utilized in the education of children of the Negro race through the twelfth grade of school shall * * * be utilized solely and exclusively in the education of children of the Negro race

[3] Later rescinded on the advice of the State attorney general as unnecessary. The teachers' oath to uphold the laws of the State was sufficient to prevent membership in the NAACP, he added.

unless otherwise classified by the legislature."

A similar provision was made with respect to "white" schools and a provision was likewise made that all new schools would be designated "white" or "Negro."

The law also requires that white and colored students will be taught only by teachers of their own race.

It further attempts to deny legal attack on the law by providing that the act may be contested only with the consent of the legislature (Act No. 319, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 927).

The State has suspended its compulsory school attendance laws in any school system which is ordered integrated (Act No. 28, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 728. This has been interpreted as applying to the parochial school system (S. S. N., vol. II, No. 12, p. 3).

In attempting to prevent lawsuits from being brought against segregation in the school and park systems, Louisiana has amended its constitution and designated the governing boards of these institutions special agencies of the State. It has withdrawn permission for suits to be brought against special agencies except with the consent of the legislature (Act No. 613, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 776).

Louisiana has, of course, adopted a resolution of interposition. Therein it declares the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court and any similar decision to be in violation of the United States Constitution "insofar as such decisions may affect or apply to the sovereign State of Louisiana" (House Concurrent Resolution No. 10, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 753).

The attack on desegregation has not been confined to the public-school system.

A particular retreat into reaction was taken when the State outlawed interracial athletic events and established forced segregated seating at all athletic events (Act No. 579, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 953).

Prior to the enactment of this legislation, colored athletes had been participating before unsegregated audiences for several years. Shreveport was represented in baseball in the Texas League, where colored players were active. The United States Naval Academy and the University of Pittsburgh had participated in the Sugar Bowl football game on an unsegregated basis. Because of this reversal of State policy, the United States Military Academy was forced to transfer its 1957 football game with Tulane, scheduled for New Orleans, to West Point, in order to comply with the policy of the National Government. Again in defiance of a Supreme Court ruling, Louisiana has enacted a law requiring racially segregated waiting rooms for intrastate passengers of public carriers, with criminal penalties of $100 to $300 fine and 30 days to 6 months imprisonment for any violation (Act No. 27, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 741).

Employers are required, under criminal penalty, to provide separate sanitary facilities, eating places and drinking facilities Act 395, Louisiana, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 947).

This last requirement appears to contravene Executive Order No. 10479 which prohibits discrimination by employers holding Government contracts. Logically, it would bar the issuance of Government contracts to any Louisiana industry.

Mississippi

In Mississippi, the State has thrown its full power into the effort to render null and void the school segregation decisions of the Supreme Court.

In a resolution of interposition and nullification, Mississippi's legislature has declared:

"the decisions and order of the Supreme Court of the United States of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, to be a usurpation of power reserved to the several States and do declare, as a matter of right, that said decisions are in violation of the Constitutions of the United States and the State of Mississippi, and therefore, are considered unconstitutional, invalid and of no effect within the confines of the State of Mississippi." (Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 125, Mississippi, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 442).

Implementing this resolution is an act which directs all officers of the executive branch of the State government to prohibit "the implementation of or the compliance with, the Integration Decisions of the United States Supreme Court," and to prohibit the "mixing or integration of the white and Negro races in public schools, public parks, public waiting rooms, public places of amusement, recreation or assembly."

Any law officers acting in compliance with this act is granted "a full and complete defense to any suit" brought against him by "any person * * * or by the Federal Government of the United States" (ch. 254, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956; II R. R. L. R. 480).

As a further means of resisting the 14th amendment to the Constitution, the State set up a "legal educational advisory committee." This committee was granted authority to command the appearance of witnesses. The testimony of such witness "would be used in support of the State using its police power to maintain segregation for 'peace and order'" (S. S. N., vol. I, No. 6, p. 9).

At about the same time the Governor appointed 1,100 lawyers as special assistant attorneys general to act in defense of school officials against whom suits might be brought (S. S. N., vol. I, No. 6, p. 9).

Later the State created a "State sovereignty commission" with the duty "to do and perform any and all acts necessary and proper to protect the sovereignty of the State of Mississippi, and her sister States, from encroachment thereon by the Federal Government."

The commission was granted subpena power to require examination of witnesses and production of books, records, etc. Failure to respond to the subpena of the commission was made punishable by "fine or imprisonment in the discretion of the commission" (ch. 365, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 592).

The legislature appropriated $250,000 to finance the activities of the Sovereignty Commission. Out of these funds, the commission decided to employ secret investigators and informants (S. S. N., vol. II, No. 12, p. 5).

In the field of public school education, Mississippi acted early to attempt to frustrate the Supreme Court's decisions

In December 1954, it adopted an amendment to its constitution which would authorize the legislature to abolish public schools through the State and allow the legislature to authorize counties or separate school districts to abolish their schools (ch. 132, General Laws of Mississippi, 1955).

Also there was enacted a statute prohibiting "persons of the white or Caucasian race from attending schools of high school level and lower, wholly or partially supported with State funds, which are also attended by a member or members of the colored or Negro race." Violations of this law are made punishable by a fine up to $25 or 6 months imprisonment (ch. 43, General Laws of Mississippi, 1955).

The State has also abolished its compulsory school attendance law in order to avoid possible integration (ch. 288, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 422).

In a series of bills to preserve segregated travel, Mississippi requires public carriers to provide and designate racially separate waiting rooms and toilet facilities for intrastate travelers. Failure to use such facilities as designated is made punishable by penalties up to $1,000 in fine and 1 year imprisonment (chs. 258, 259, and 260, General Laws of Mississippi, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 430 et seq.).

As a means of insuring these and all other of its illegal and unconstitutional laws are obeyed, Mississippi has made it a criminal offense to conspire to violate the State's segregation laws by force, violence, threats, intimidation or "otherwise" (ch. 20, General Laws of Mississippi, 1954).

Realizing that the structure of enforced segregation is built on the denial of the franchise, Mississippi amended its constitution in order to further restrict the voting rights of its colored citizens. By this means, colored voters were reduced from 22,000 in 1954 to 7,000 in 1955, according to testimony given by Governor Coleman to the House Judiciary Committee. This 7,000 voters is out of a colored population in the State of 900,000 (House hearings, H. R. 140 et al., 85th Congress, 1st sess., p. 730).

North Carolina

North Carolina is another State which has constructed an elaborate scheme to deny colored children their right to attend public schools without racial discrimination.

One measure in this scheme is the transfer of authority from enrollment and assignment of pupils from the State Board of Education to local city and county boards (ch. 1372, session Laws of North Carolina, 1955).

The purpose of this transfer, as explained by its segregationist proponents, was to require that each of the 172 school administrative units must be sued in any complete legal attack on segregation on a statewide basis (S. S. N., vol. I, No. 9, p. 10).

Another, and perhaps the principal, measure devised to block integration is a school-placement plan. This plan, as amended and in effect, grants to each local board of education "full and complete" authority to assign and reassign students to the public schools. In making assignments, the boards are "to provide for the orderly and efficient administration of the public schools, and provide for the effective instruction, health, safety, and general welfare of the pupils." Each board of education is authorized to adopt "reasonable rules and regulations as in the opinion of the board are necessary in the administration of this article" (ch. 7, extra session Laws, North Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 939).

Other parts of this scheme of evasion are:

An amendment to the State constitution to authorize expenditure of public funds for tuition grants "for the private education of any child for whom no public school is available or for the private education of a child who is assigned against the wishes of his parent * * * to a public school attended by a child of another race." This amendment also authorizes the legislature to provide "local option" whereby local educational units may be allowed to close their public schools (ch. 1, extra session Laws, North Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 928).

An act, adopted pursuant to the authority granted in the amendment noted above, which provides tuition grants as authorized in the amendment, for use for education in private, nonsectarian schools, (ch. 3, extra session Laws, North Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 930).

An act, adopted pursuant to the authority granted in the amendment note above, authorizing each local education unit "to suspend the operation of one or more or all of the public schools under its jurisdiction." It provides the machinery for such suspension and for the reopening of any closed school (ch. 4, extra session Laws, North Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 934).

An act providing for the suspension of the compulsory school attendance law where

public schools are integrated and it is "not practicable for such child to attend a private nonsectarian school" (ch. 5, extra session Laws, North Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 938).

South Carolina

South Carolina began its drive to avoid the effects of the Supreme Court school decision before the decision was handed down by the Court.

It repealed that provision of its constitution requiring the State to provide a system of free public schools (Act (47) 2223, South Carolina, 1952, and Act (48) 1695, 1954). Later it provided that State funds shall cease "for any school from which, and for any school to which, any pupil may transfer pursuant to, or in consequence of, an order of any court" (Act (49) 329, South Carolina, 1955; I R. R. L. R. 241).

Another series of laws was enacted to avoid integration, if necessary by the elimination of the public school system. Among these were the repeal of the compulsory school attendance law (Act (49) 85, South Carolina, 1955); increased administrative grants of authority, including assignment of students, to local school authorities and the granting of authority to local school boards to operate or close public schools (Code, title 21, section 230); authorization for the sale or lease of public school property (Code, title 21, section 238).

School officials have been granted the authority to have children removed from a school and transferred to another by the sheriff or other law-enforcement officer where the enrollment of such children may threaten to result in riot, civil commotion or may in any way disturb the peace of the citizens of the community (Act No. 712, South Carolina, 1956).

Higher education has likewise come under attack in South Carolina. In its general appropriations act of 1956, the State provided that all appropriations for colleges and institutions of higher learning were made on the basis of racial segregation. The colleges given State aid are to be closed upon any pupil being ordered admitted immediately to it by the order of any court. In such an event, the South Carolina State College shall be closed also (Act No. 813, South Carolina, 1956). South Carolina State College is the institution serving colored college students in the State.

A similar appropriation bill provision granted funds for racially separate schools and parks and directed school authorities to close any institution to which a student is ordered admitted by court order (Act No. 49 (329) South Carolina, 1955).

South Carolina has joined those States voicing defiance of the Supreme Court by resolutions of nullification and interposition. Its resolution reads in part:

"The State of South Carolina * * * will exercise the powers reserved to it under the Constitution to judge for itself of the infractions and to take such other legal measures as it may deem appropriate to protect its sovereignty and the rights of its people" (Act No. 914, South Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 443).

South Carolina, realizing the importance of the NAACP in the fight against its unlawful and unconstitutional legislation, has attempted to coerce the association by legislation aimed specifically at it.

It set up a special committee to investigate the activiites of the NAACP at South Carolina State College to "determine what individuals at the college are members and sympathizers with" the association and to "further determine the extent of participation of the faculty and students in the activities of the association" (Act No. 920, South Carolina, 1956).

In order to further embarrass the NAACP, South Carolina enacted legislation prohibiting public employment of members of the association. It was made "unlawful for any member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to be employed by the State, school district, county, or any municipality thereof."

The authorities of any school were authorized to demand an oath of "any teacher or other employee * * * who is suspected of being a member" of the association. Any person who refused to submit to such interrogation would be "summarily dismissed" (Act No. 741, South Carolina, 1956).

This act was repealed when it was attacked in the courts (*Bryan* v. *Austin* (354 U. S. 933)), in order to avoid a ruling on its constitutionality. It was replaced by a law requiring all applicants for employment with State or local governmental bodies to give "information as to active or honorary membership in or application with all membership associations and organizations" (Act No. 223, South Carolina, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 852).

South Carolina also used the "avoidance" method of having its law declared unconstitutional in connection with the operation of State recreational facilities.

While a suit was pending in Federal court involving racial exclusion at Edisto Beach State Park, the State closed the park under a legislative mandate (Act No. 917, South Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 590).

In order to continue racial segregation in other State parks, the "State commission of forestry is vested with the authority to operate and supervise only racially separate parks and to admit to the facilities of the State parks only persons having the express permission of the State to use such facilities." Permission was granted in the law to "citizens of the State to use the facilities at the parks for their own race." Persons not complying could be found guilty of trespass and sentenced to $5,000 fine or 2 years imprisonment (Act No. 813, South Carolina, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 738).

South Carolina has enacted an "emergency" law, almost identical in language with those of Florida and Georgia. The language of these bills compels a conclusion that they had a common origin. The Governor, as he is in Florida and Georgia, is granted authority to "order and direct any person to do any act which would in his opinion prevent or minimize danger" or "to refrain from doing any act" (Act No. 349, South Carolina, 1957; I R. R. L. R. 855).

The laws noted above are those enacted since May 17, 1954. South Carolina, of course, continues to enforce its segregation laws enacted previous to that date. Among these is section 1272 of the labor laws of South Carolina, which prohibits laborers of different races from working together in the same room in any textile shop.

This State-imposed policy of discrimination, if complied with by textile manufacturers, violates Executive Order No. 10479. Accordingly, Government agencies, if they abide by the Executive order, would not contract for textiles manufactured in South Carolina.

Tennessee

Tennessee's house of representatives, not content with 1 resolution of defiance of the Supreme Court, has passed 2 such resolutions, denouncing the Court's "tyrannical usurpation of power" and "illegal encroachments upon the powers reserved to the State of Tennessee" (House Resolutions 1 and 9, Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 228 and 481).

In order to implement its defiance of the Court, Tennessee has enacted a series of laws relating to its public-school system.

It has authorized boards of education to provide separate schools for white and Negro children whose parents or guardians voluntarily elect that such children attend school with children of their own race (ch. 11, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 215).

It has given local boards of education authority to assign students on the basis of a long list of intangible and unascertainable factors. Some of these are: "the effect of the enrollment on the welfare and best interests of such pupil and all other pupils"; "the psychological effect upon the pupil attendance at a particular school"; "the sociological, psychological, and like intangible social scientific factors as will prevent, as nearly as possible, a condition of socio-economic class consciousness among the pupils"; "the possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others," etc. (ch. 13, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 215).

In order to avoid the possible effects of integration, transfer of students between school systems of different counties, cities, and school districts has been authorized (ch. 9, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 220).

Also authorized is the establishment and operation of joint schools by two or more boards of education (ch. 12, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 220). The law granting this authority is to permit "two counties, neither of which has a large enough Negro student population to make it economically feasible to maintain a separate Negro school, to operate a school or schools for students of both counties" (S. S. N., vol. III, No. 10, p. 12).

In order to impede the legal attack on segregation by the NAACP and other civil-rights organizations, Tennessee seeks to prohibit any person or organization from soliciting funds to "commence or prosecute further any litigation or other legal proceeding" unless the solicitor is a party or has a pecuniary right in the litigation. It also prohibits the expenditure of funds "from whatever source received" by one not a party until it (if a corporation) files a copy of its charter, bylaws, etc.; a list of members, directors, officers, etc.; a statement of its sources of membership fees, contributions, and other sources of revenue; a statement of all its financial transactions, etc. (ch. 152, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957).

The State seeks also to coerce organizations working in the field of interracial relations. In order "to promote interracial harmony and tranquility," it demands the registration of all persons and organizations "engaged in promoting or opposing legislation in behalf of or in opposition to a race or color" or those engaging "in raising or expending funds for the employment of counsel or payment of costs in connection with litigation in behalf of any race or color." It also requires the listing of membership, financial sources, etc., as does the previously mentioned statute on litigation (ch. No. 151, Public Acts of Tennessee, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 498).

Texas

Texas, in adopting a pupil placement law, has, as some other States seeking to avoid integration, encouraged coercion of local school boards by providing that among the criteria the boards shall use in assigning students shall be included "the possibility or threat of friction or disorder among pupils or others; the possibility of breaches of the peace or ill-will or economic retaliation within the community."

Its placement law allows parents to withdraw students from racially integrated schools (ch. 287, Texas Session Laws, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 693).

Texas seeks to prevent further integration by requiring that no school district shall abolish its dual (segregated) school system unless the voters of the school district have voted to do so. It seeks to abolish integrated systems now existing by allowing the voters of a school district to vote to return to a

segregated system (ch. 283, Texas Session Laws, 1957; II R. R. L. R. 695).

The State has provided for the closing of schools where "violence or the danger thereof cannot be prevented except by resort to military force (Senate bill 1, Texas, special session, 1957; S. S. N., vol. IV, No. 6, p. 5).

Texas has joined those States adopting statutes labeled "anti-NAACP" laws. In an act allegedly aimed at the association, it requires "any organization that seeks to hinder or interfere with the operation of a public school to make public its roster of members on order of the county judge" (New York Times, December 8, 1957).

Virginia

Virginia's program of massive resistance to the implementation of the 14th amendment began with the adoption of a resolution of interposition directed against the Supreme Court's decision in the school cases. It pledged the State "to resist this illegal encroachment on our sovereign powers" (Senate Joint Resolution 3, Virginia, 1956; I R. R. L. R. 445).

In special session the legislature in 1956 adopted a series of laws designed to alter the operation of Virginia public schools in such a way that the State could continue to operate under its unconstitutional segregation policy. These laws, approved on September 29, extend from chapter 56 through chapter 71 of the acts of the 1956 extra session of the General Assembly (I R. R. L. R. 1091 et seq.).

The first of these laws would make available State funds to governmental subdivisions of the State to replace the funds which will be withheld if schools are integrated. These funds will be available "for grants to pupils attending nonsectarian private schools" (ch. 56).

Another statute authorizes local governments to levy a property tax to raise money for such "private" school grants (ch. 57).

Other parts of this legislative plan authorize local school boards to make grants for "private" education out of school funds (ch. 62); provide administrative procedures for the expenditure of such funds (ch. 58); amend the budget laws to provide for such grants (ch. 67); and allow teachers in "private" schools to be included in the teacher retirement system (ch. 64).

The compulsory school attendance law was amended to provide that "no child shall be required to enroll in or attend any school wherein both white and colored children are enrolled" (ch. 59).

It is declared the public policy of the State that the efficient administration of the schools requires the segregation of white and colored students. Where such "efficient" school system cannot be maintained, local authorities are divested of control of the school and the school is closed. The Governor is given the authority and duty to take over the school and administer it in such a way as to prevent integration (ch. 68).

Where local authorities cannot operate an efficient public-school system, the State is authorized to take over and administer, through the governor, such efficient system. In such case the State shall operate its system in the unused school buildings and related facilities now or hereafter owned, constructed, and maintained by the school boards of the several counties, cities, and towns (ch. 69).

The keystone of the whole plan was the pupil placement plan which vested all power of enrollment or placement of pupils in a pupil-placement board. The board was to administer the law, taking into account in assigning students various factors, including the efficiency of the operation of the school. Inasmuch as an efficient school by definition is a segregated one, the board had no authority to place any student in an integrated situation (ch. 70).

The placement law has been declared unconstitutional on its face (*Adkins* v. *School Board of Newport News* (148 F. Supp. 430)).

On September 29, 1956, the legislature also passed a series of laws which have come to be known as the anti-NAACP laws. The purpose of this legislation is to close the courts to legal attacks on the constitutionality of Virginia's segregation policy. They attempt to impede the activities of the NAACP and other civil-rights organizations in the following manner:

Prohibiting the solicitation of funds for legal proceedings except by a party to a suit and requiring the filing of membership lists, financial statements, sources of dues, and contributions, etc., by any organization contributing funds for legal proceedings (ch. 31, Virginia Extra Session, 1956).

Requiring the registration of any person or organization "who or which engages as one of its principal functions or activities in the promoting or opposing in any manner the passage of legislation by the general assembly in behalf of any race or color, or who or which has as one of its principal functions or activities the advocating of racial integration or segregation * * * or who or which * * * engages in raising or expanding funds for the employment of counsel * * * in behalf of any race or color." In addition to registering an organization is required to list its members, contributors, financial information, etc. Such information shall be public records (ch. 32, Virginia extra session, 1956).

By making criminal the giving, receiving, solicitation, etc., of funds for any legal action against the State, its political subdivisions, or officials thereof, except by a party to such suit or one having a direct interest therein. Also made illegal is the advising or intigating of such suit (ch. 36, extra session, Virginia, 1956).

At the same time that the above legislation was enacted, the legislature created two legislative investigating committees, the Committee on Offenses Against the Administration of Justice and a committee to investigate organizations promoting "litigation relating to racial activities" (chs. 34 and 37, extra session, Virginia, 1956).

These committees have spent most of their time in harassing litigants and attorneys in civil-rights suits and other proponents of constitutional rights.

They have, in secret sessions, inquired into the political and religious beliefs of witnesses and have conducted their investigations in the style of the secret police.

On the local level in Virginia, the county of Halifax has taken upon itself the regulation of solicitation of memberships by organizations, unions, or societies. No such solicitation shall be allowed without a permit. In passing on the permit, the board of supervisors shall consider "the character of the applicant, the nature of the business of the organization * * * and its effect upon the general welfare of citizens of said county" (I R. R. L. R. 958).

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
UNITED STATES EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
WASHINGTON 25

FEB 20 1947

In reply
refer to HPSM

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Director, Veterans' Service Division
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter of January 28 and the enclosed pamphlet, "Vocational Schools for Veterans." This interesting article has been passed on to the staff of the Minority Groups Section for their information and review.

In reference to your query about the Veterans Laboring Services, we regret that no information is available in our files regarding this organization. There is the possibility that you are referring to the Veterans Employment Service of the United States Employment Service which carries on specified activities in accordance with provisions of Title IV in the SR Act (P.L. 346). We are requesting the Veterans Employment Service to mail you printed matter indicating program objectives and functions of that Service. If these materials do not answer your purpose, please feel free to write us again.

Sincerely,

Robert C. Goodwin

Robert C. Goodwin
Director

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

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Southern Regional Council

INFORMATION MEMORANDUM NO. 3 April 4, 1947

To : Officers of National Organizations

From : Division of Public Liaison, Department of State

Subject: CURRENT REPORTS ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, ITS COMMISSIONS, AND INTERNATIONAL SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

In this Information Memorandum, the third in the series compiled by the Division of Public Liaison of the Department of State, attention is focused on reports of the work of the Commissions and Specialized Agencies of the Economic and Social Council. The Council itself has been in session since February 28; its deliberations will be reported in a subsequent Information Memorandum.

It is the purpose of this series of Information Memoranda to bring to executives and to policy and program officers of organizations brief and concise reports of current plans and activities of the Economic and Social Council, its Commissions and agencies. To serve this purpose as effectively as may be possible, materials to be included in the Information Memoranda are selected for their comprehensiveness and brevity. The amount of current activity in these fields has made this document more voluminous than will usually be the case.

To assist those who wish to follow in greater detail developments in any of the fields reported here, there is appended to most of the documents included a brief bibliography of pertinent references published by the United States Government and official international agencies.

This Information Memorandum covers reports for the period February 25 to March 22, which fall under three general headings: Calendar of coming conferences; organization and activities of Commissions; and organization and activities of Specialized Agencies. Received too late for binding with this document, but included in this mailing, is a reprint of an article from the United Nations Bulletin on the International Civil Aviation Organization.

THIS REPORT CONTAINS THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION:

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Compiled by
Division of Public Liaison
Office of Public Affairs
Department of State

IMCC3-ECOSOC

UNITED NATIONS WEEKLY BULLETIN

International Civil Aviation Organization

Transition from Temporary to Permanent Status

By April, 1947, a new permanent international agency, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), is scheduled to come into existence, and in May its Assembly will hold its first sessions. ICAO will supersede an interim body, known as the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization (PICAO).

The transition from PICAO to ICAO will involve both the dropping of the word "Provisional" and certain constitutional changes. But the new permanent organization will maintain the basic objectives which PICAO has effectively served during its 19 months of existence.

These basic objectives of ICAO will be to insure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world by the development of international air navigation and international air transport. As part of its aims, the new permanent agency will encourage the arts of aircraft design and operation for peaceful purposes; encourage the development of airways, airports, and air navigation facilities for international civil aviation; assist in meeting the needs of the peoples of the world for safe, regular, efficient and economical air transport; and help to prevent economic waste caused by unreasonable competition. ICAO will be concerned with promoting generally the development of all aspects of international civil aeronautics.

Necessity for international organization

According to the Convention on International Civil Aviation, which was drawn up at the International Civil Aviation Conference in November, 1944, "the future development of international civil aviation can greatly help to create and preserve friendship and understanding among the nations and peoples of the world, yet its abuse can become a threat to the general security."

The phenomenal development of aviation in recent years and the scope of air-travel make international understanding on this subject essential. No other means of transportation has maintained so high a relative rate of growth over the last quarter of a century. Air operations in the United States alone show an increase between 1935 and 1945 of 1200 per cent in passenger traffic, 1800 per cent in express, and 1500 per cent in mail. This phenomenal growth of air operations arises from certain unique characteristics of the airplane; its speed, its ability to go from one point to another without having to deviate to avoid unfavorable terrain, and its value as an instrument of long-haul transportation.

As a result, the airplane has a larger ratio of international to domestic traffic than has any other form of transport. According to estimates, about 40 per cent of the world's air travel in 1939 was international in character. But the continued growth of international air operations depends on certain technical and political factors. The transfer of facilities along strategic international routes from military to civilian authorities requires the establishment of uniform procedures and practices on a worldwide basis. Similarly, agreements among nations are required to permit the right of passage through their skies, the exchange of commercial rights and the avoidance of restrictive and discriminatory practices.

It was to consider the challenging problems facing international aviation that 46 nations met in Chicago from November 1 to December 7, 1944—while the war was still in progress—to participate in an International Civil Aviation Conference. As a result of that Conference, there was created the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization (PICAO).

Previous international agreements

Prior to the Chicago Conference there had been two International Conventions on Air Navigation, both primarily regional in character. The first of these—the Paris Convention of 1919—established the International Commission for Air Navigation, which entered into full effect in 1922. Thirty-three nations adhered to the Convention, and prior to World War II it constituted the public law of the air for most of Europe. The Paris Convention which set up permanent administrative machinery had eight technical annexes. These established standards on such matters as rules of the air, systems of signalling between the air and the ground, the qualifications of pilots and other personnel, and the collection and exchange of meteorological information. Various technical sub-commissions met frequently to consider amendments to the annexes to keep them up to date.

As the Paris Convention was largely confined to European nations, the need for a similar agreement

was felt by the countries of the New World. Accordingly, in 1928, a Pan-American Convention on Air Navigation was drawn up at Havana, and was ratified by the United States and nine other American Republics. Members undertook to adhere to certain principles in their dealings with one another, and, in particular, mutually to allow freedom of passage in the air. No attempt was made, however, at Havana to develop, as in the Paris Convention, uniform technical standards, or to provide for periodic metings to discuss common problems.

Although the Paris and Havana Conventions had served a useful purpose, they were no longer considered adequate to meet the changed situation in the air resulting from the phenomenal development of global aviation during the second world war. For example, the experience of the war showed that uniform standards were needed for air navigation, and uniform practices for air transport facilities. Rules for the conduct of civil aviation had to be evolved and enforced by common consent. Lack of international understanding on these matters might lead to economic and political strife.

The Chicago Conference

To avoid these dangers, and to consider the speedy establishment of regulations which would incorporate the benefits of wartime development, the United States Government issued invitations to 55 allied and neutral states to meet in Chicago on November 1, 1944.

The representatives of 52 nations met for over a month, and, as a result of their deliberations, the International Civil Aviation Conference drew up four important international agreements. These were the Convention on International Civil Aviation, the International Air Services Transit (Two Freedoms) Agreement, the International Air Transport (Five Freedoms) Agrement, and the Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation.

The Convention on International Civil Aviation provides for the establishment of a permanent international civil aviation organization. The document establishes the privileges and restrictions of all contracting states on a non-discriminatory basis; sets up codes of operations for aircraft and personnel; provides health and safety rules for aviation; recommends duty, customs and immigration methods and navigation facilities for member states; and arranges for a twelve-member Air Navigation Commission of technical experts. The Convention also defines the structure of the permanent aviation organization, its financing and functions, which are advisory and technical, and provides that the new organization shall carry out the functions placed upon it by the International Air Services Transit Agreement and the International Air Transport Agreement. When the Convention comes into force, it will take the place of the Paris and Havana Conventions as between contracting states which are parties to those conventions.

It was provided that the Convention would come into force when ratified by 26 nations. At present 13 nations have ratified it, and more than 26 ratifications are expected by March 1, 1947.

The International Air Services Transit Agreement, the second of the Chicago agreements, grants two reciprocal privileges to signatory states:

(*a*) That of flying across the territory of a given state without landing; and

(*b*) That of landing for non-traffic purposes

The International Air Transport Agreement includes the two above "freedoms of the air" and adds:

(*c*) The right to disembark in a foreign country traffic originating in the state of orgin of the aircraft;

(*d*) The right to pick up in a foreign country traffic destined for the state of origin of the aircraft; and

(*e*) The right to carry traffic between two foreign countries.

The Interim Agreement on International Civil Aviation provides for the establishment of a temporary organization to operate until the permanent organization comes into being. The provisional organization closely resembles the permanent orgainization in structure; it has technical and advisory functions, and is located in Montreal, Canada. It is known as the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization (PICAO), and came into existence on June 6, 1945, when the Interim Agreement was signed by 26 states.

PICAO's structure

The governing bodies of PICAO are the Interim Assembly and the Interim Council. The Interim Assembly is composed of representatives from member states, each state present being entitled to one vote. Unless provided otherwise, decisions are taken by a simple majority of those present and voting. The Assembly meets annually, though extraordinary meetings may be called at any time by the Council or at the request of any ten members of the Organization. The Assembly elects the President and other officers, and the member states to be represented on the Council. It examines and takes appropriate action upon the reports of the Council. At its discretion it may refer to the Council any specific matter for its consideration. It is responsible for the annual budget and determines the financial arrangements of the Organization. It deals with any matter within the sphere of action of the Organization not specifically assigned to the Council.

The Interim Council consists of 21 members elected by the Assembly for a period of two years. In electing members, the Assembly must give adequate representation to (1) those member states of major importance in air transport; (2) those member states not other-

wise included which make the the largest contribution to the provision of facilities for international civil air navigation; and (3) those member states not otherwise included whose election will ensure that all major geographical areas of the world are represented. Member states not represented on the Council may participate in its deliberations without the right to vote when decisions which specifically concern them are to be taken. Similarly, non-member states, representatives of public international organizations, and public or private bodies or authorities may be invited to attend.

Among other duties, the Council is charged with providing for the establishment of any subsidiary working groups which may be desirable, among which are the following functioning committees: Air Transport, covering the economic aspects of international civil aviation; Air Navigation, covering its technical aspect, and International Convention on Civil Avation, to consider modifications and amendments to the international convention.

The Council supervises and co-ordinates the work of these three principal committees, considers their reports and transmits them to member states, and makes recommendations to member states on technical matters. It also receives, registers, and holds open for inspection by member states all existing contracts and agreements relating to routes, services, landing rights, airport facilities, or other international air matters to which any member states or any airline of a member state is a party. It submits an annual report of its activities to the Assembly, and when expressly required, it may act as an arbitral body on any differences arising among member states relating to international civil aviation matters.

The Council elects the two principal officers of the Organization: the President of the Council and the Secretary-General. The functions of the President of the Council are to convene and preside at meetings of the Council, and to act as the Council's permanent representative. The Secretary-General is the chief executive and administrative officer of the Organization. He is responsible to the Council for carrying out duties assigned to him by that body. He selects and appoints the staff of the Secretariat, whose activities he supervises and directs.

At its first session, the Interim Council elected as its President, Dr. Edward Warner, while Dr. Albert Roper was elected Secretary-General.

PICAO's activities

Although PICAO was established only as an interim organization until the International Civil Aviation Organization came into force by March 31, 1947, it has already dealt with many important problems of civil aviation.

The Interim Council began its activities on August 15, 1945. Since then, it has brought about the concerted action of member states in converting international air navigation facilities and services from military to civilian operation. Likewise, the Council has initiated studies in the economic, statistical and legal phases of air transport.

The Interim Council has been especially active in the creation and maintenance of ground organizations along international air routes. The pattern of meteorological services, traffic control, communications, radio beacons and search and rescue arrangements, and the other facilities required for safe international flight is being evolved through the co-operative action of member states.

An example of the type of assistance being rendered by PICAO is its work for air navigation facilities in the North Atlantic region. With some eight airlines already operating on this route, the safety and regularity of these expanding services becomes of paramount importance to all concerned airlines and governments. A regional conference was held in London in September, 1946. As a result of this conference, nine states agreed to co-operate in the establishment and maintenance of a network of North Atlantic Ocean weather stations. These stations, which would be located at points selected by PICAO technical personnel, would afford the best meteorological services for international air operations over the North Atlantic. The benefits to be derived from their operation include increased regularity, economy and safety of operation, as well as substantial increases in payload capacity resulting from the decrease of fuel reserves permitted by a more exact foreknowledge of the velocity and direction of the wind at flying altitudes. These stations would also improve the chances of rescue.

The system is expected to be in full operation by midsummer of 1947. These stations will be operated by the following states: United States, 7; United Kingdom, 2; United States and Canada jointly, 1; Belgium and France jointly, 1; France, 1; Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom jointly, 1. The Government of Eire, although not actively participating in the operation of the stations, will contribute £5,000 annually toward their upkeep.

Another field of international co-operation which PICAO has been sponsoring is the exchange of information on development and research work. Typical of this function are the demonstrations which Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States held late in 1946 to display the most modern electronic devices available for air navigation. For example, the Australian Government demonstrated a multiple track radar range, a system capable of providing up to 60 tracks in and out of an air terminal.

These demonstrations gave representatives of Euro-

pean nations, whose research was stopped by the war, an opportunity to familiarize themselves with the latest developments of military and civil air navigational research, so that they might apply these results to further the reliability and safety of air transport in their own countries. They also gave the technicians of the countries an opportunity to see equipment in action so that they might determine its merits. With this information, the PICAO representatives then met to decide what equipment should be adopted as standard on the air routes of the world.

The PICAO standards are drawn up by committees of specialists from member states and by observers interested in international civil aviation, such as the International Air Transport Association. The presence of these observers ensures that the standards are practicable. The full range of air navigation standards has now been completed by the Air Navigation Committee's technical divisions: on Rules of the Air and Air Traffic Control, Communications, Meteorology, Search and Rescue, Maps and Charts, Aerodromes, Air Routes and Ground Aids, Operations, Airworthiness, Accidents Investigation and Personnel Licensing. These standards have been sent to the 46 member states, to operators, and all other interested bodies, and are coming into force throughout the world.

PICAO has held regional air navigation meetings (such as the North Atlantic Regional Meeting which recommended the adoption of a network of ocean weather observation stations). In addition to the North Atlantic region, meetings have been held for the European-Mediterranean, Caribbean, and Middle East regions, while other meetings are scheduled for the South Pacific, South American, South Atlantic, Southeast Asia, North Pacific and African-Indian Ocean regions during the next year and a half. The work of the regional air navigation meetings is done largely through technical committees. They report to a general committee, and the conclusions of the latter are submitted to PICAO headquarters in the form of recommendations to the Interim Council.

As the result of regional meetings, PICAO has undertaken the compilation of regional route manuals, and recommends measures to correct deficiencies in air navigation facilities and services.

The collection of economic, statistical and legal information on air transport, another objective of the Organization, will become an increasingly important aspect of its work. All factors relating to competition in international air services are being studied; analyses and studies are being made on the general problems of air transport to the end that international aviation will not become a source of distrust and friction among nations.

A major concern of PICAO has been the development of standards, practices and procedures for entering and leaving national territories. The Facilitation Division of the Air Transport Committee has recommended to member states measures aimed at freeing international air travel from the administrative annoyances and delays that air travellers encounter. The recommendations are designed to simplify and minimize national procedures concerning passports, visas, customs and public health.

Relationship with United Nations

The Economic and Social Council authorized negotiations in June 1946 to bring PICAO into relationship with the United Nations. Accordingly, a draft agreement was drawn up by the Committee on Negotiations with Intergovernmental Agencies and the Negotiating Delegation of PICAO. This agreement was drawn up between the United Nations and the permanent organization, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), which will also have to approve it.

The draft agreement covers such questions as: the submission to the General Assembly of the United Nations of applications for membership by states other than those mentioned in the Convention on Civil Aviation, reciprocal representation, proposal of agenda items, recommendations made by the United Nations with a view to co-ordinating the activities of the specialized agencies, exchange of information and documents, financial and administrative arrangements, and assistance by ICAO to the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council.

When the International Civil Aviation Conference was held in 1944, Spain was represented by a delegation. Spain was also one of the signatories of the Convention on International Civil Aviation. However, it has not ratified this Convention. In its resolution condemning the Franco regime, the General Assembly recommended, among other matters, "that the Franco Government of Spain be debarred from membership in international agencies established by or brought into relationship with the United Nations." And in adopting a resolution relating to agreements with specialized agencies, the General Assembly agreed to approve the agreement entered into between the Economic and Social Council and ICAO, provided that "that Organization complies with any decision of the General Assembly regarding Franco Spain."

CALENDAR OF CONFERENCES IN 1947

(United Nations Document E/280-25 February 1947)

HEADQUARTERS	GENEVA	
	10 Apr. - 30 Aug.	Preparatory Committee of Trade and Employment Conference*
	14 Apr. - 26 Apr.	Passport and Frontier Formalities (Government Experts
14 Apr. - 26 Apr.		Sub-Commission on Statistical Sampling
21 Apr. - 5 May		Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities
	4 Apr. - 19 Apr.	Permanent Central Opium Board
28 Apr. - 5 Oct.		Fiscal Commission
5 May - 17 May		Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information
25 May - 7 June		Social Commission
9 June - 21 June		Preparatory Conference of Experts on Telecommunications

* It is expected that the Preparatory Committee will be in full session from (approximately) 12 May to 14 June, and from 11 to 30 August; and that between 14 June and 11 August the Delegations will be engaged in tariff negotiations between themselves.

Headquarters	GENEVA	
9 June - 21 June		Economic and Employment Commission
16 June - 28 June		Commission on Human Rights
1 July - 26 July		ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL (including meetings of the Standing Committees
4 Aug. - 16 Aug.		Sub-Commission on Development*
11 Aug. - 23 Aug.		Population Commission
	25 Aug. - 30 Aug.	Permanent Central Opium Board
25 Aug. - 6 Sept.		Statistical Commission
25 Aug. - 6 Sept.		Sub-Commission on Employment and Stability*
1 Sept. - 13 Sept.		Passport and Frontier Formalities Conference (Plenary)
	1 Sept. - 13 Sept.	Narcotics Commission
9 Sept. - 11 Nov.		GENERAL ASSEMBLY
To be held after General Assembly		(Trade and Employment Conference (Plenary) (Information Conference
	6 Oct. - 11 Oct.	Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body

* If established by the Economic and Employment Commission at its Second Session.

HEADQUARTERS	GENEVA	
17 Nov. - 29 Nov. (or elsewhere)		International Maritime Conference
	11 Nov. - 29 Nov.	Transport and Communications Commission
17 Nov. - 29 Nov.		Commission on the Status of Women
	17 Nov. - 22 Nov.	Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body
	24 Nov. - 29 Nov.	Permanent Central Opium Board

If the Council decides at its Fourth Session to arrange meetings in connection with an Economic Commission for Europe, they could be held in Geneva at the end of April and again in June.

Meetings of the International Emergency Childrens' Fund and of the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization will be required to be added to the above list.

ROUND-UP

Commission on the Status of Women
1st Session (10 - 24 February 1947)

(Press Release SOC/105, United Nations, 25 February 1947)

In the course of discussions lasting two weeks the Commission on the Status of Women in its first session reached decisions regarding the cooperation of the Commission with non-governmental agencies, specialized agencies, the Trusteeship Council, other United Nations commissions, contents of the questionnaire on the Legal Status and Treatment of Women to be sent to member Governments and guiding principles and aims for its future work.

POLITICAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN

One of the foremost decisions reached by the Commission is its recommendation to the Economic and Social Council that the Secretary-General of the United Nations be requested to urge each member Government to complete and transmit to him by July 1st or before the next session of the Commission the sections of the questionnaire on the Legal Status and Treatment of Women dealing with the franchise and eligibility to hold public office. The Secretary-General was also requested to ask member Governments to indicate any changes in law or practice concerning these matters since the passage of the Assembly resolution.

The Commission also recommended to the Economic and Social Council that the Secretariat be requested to make a preliminary report on the political rights of women based on the replies of member Governments to the above mentioned sections of the questionnaire, for presentation to the Commission at its next session.

The Commission also decided to recommend to the Economic and Social Council that the Secretariat be insturcted to act as a clearing-house for the collection and dissemination of information and publications on the use of the franchise which might be helpful to women who have recently acquired the right to vote. Furthermore the Commission recommended that the Secretary-General of the United Nations be requested to expedite preparation of a questionnaire on the economic rights of women

and urged the Economic and Social Council to recommend that where there is no adult suffrage, the General Assembly should consider means of securing complete adult suffrage in such countires in the shortest possible time.

RELATIONS WITH NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Commission expressed its desire that the Economic and Social Council recommend that each member state set up a co-ordinating agency of non-governmental organizations to which any organization concerned with political, economic, social, educational and other problems related to the status of women would be entitled to belong. The Commission recommended that when such co-ordination agencies are formed and apply to the Economic and Social Council for consultative status, their requests should be considered.

The Commission decided that all requests from women's organizations for consultative status should be referred to the N.G.O. Committee of the Economic and Social Council.

The Commission heard statements of the representatives of the following international women's organizations:

The Women's International Democratic Federation;
The Associated Countrywomen of the World;
The International Alliance of Women;
The International Co-Operative Women's Guild;
The International Federation of University Women;
The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom;
The International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues;
The World Young Women Christian Association;
The International Federation of Business and Professional Women;
The International Council of Women;
The Pan-Pacific Women's Association and
The World Women's Party.

The Commission indicated particular interest in collaboration with the W.F.T.U. The A.F. of L. and the International Cooperative Alliance.

RELATIONS WITH SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

The Commission took note of the agreements made between the United Nations and the Speicalized Agencies.

Regarding

Regarding the International Labor Office the Commission requested the Economic and Social Council to request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to send all appropriate literature to all members of the Commission to enable them to study the work done by the ILO in relation to the principles of the Commission.

Regarding the UNESCO the Commission took note of the program adopted by UNESCO in the field of basic education. It recommended to the Economic and Social Council that the Secretary-General consult with UNESCO on plans for developing the program of basic education without distinction as to sex, race or creed and that it be suggested to UNESCO that particular attention be given to those regions where women have as yet no voice in political affairs or to those regions where women have been granted the franchise but have not been granted full political rights. It was recommended further that UNESCO take steps to promote an effective program of basic education for women and communicate with the Commission periodically on the progress of such a program.

COORDINATION WITH OTHER COMMISSTIONS

Commission on Human Rights:- The Commission decided to request the Economic and Social Council to arrange that the Commission on the Status of Women be represented by its officers at the session of the Commission on Human Rights when the Draft International Bill of Rights is being considered, and that copies of the draft be circulated to the Commission's members at the same time as to the members of the Commission on Human Rights.

Social Commission:- The Commission decided to support the resolution of the Social Commission regarding town planning and housing. If the Economic and Social Council arranges for the establishment of a Service of Housing and Urbanism, the Council will be asked to arrange for effective collaboration between the Service and the Commission on the Status of Women, and to make known to the Social Commission that the Commission on the Status of Women desire that provision be made for community Centers and facilities for the care of children and the equipment of homes with labor saving devices to enable the housewife to participate actively in public and civil affairs.

Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities:- The Commission decided to recommend that the Economic and Social Council calls the attention of the Sub-Commission to the importance this Commission attaches to its work and suggested effective participation of

a representative

a representative of the Commission on the Status of Women in the work of the Sub-Commission.

RELATIONS WITH THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Commission decided to request that the Economic and Social Council, once the Trusteeship Council is established, arrange some means for consultation and collaboration between the Trusteeship Council and the Commission.

COOPERATION WITH THE INTER-AMERICAN WOMEN'S COMMISSION

The Commission decided to cooperate and to coordinate its work with the Inter-American Women's Commission in order to profit by the experience and the valuable studies made by that regional Intergovernmental organization in regard to the status of women in the Americas.

FUTURE WORK

The Commission adopted a set of principles and aims of its future work including that woman has a definite role to play in the building of a free, healthy prospercos and moral society and that she can fulfill this obligation only as a free and responsible member of it. The Commissions aims are full political civil equality with men and also-equality regarding women's legal capacity, domicile and inheritance. They must have a full share in social life (prevention of discrimination against women in public life, abolishment of prostitution) and education.

The Commission proposed in this regard that world public opinion be stimulated in favor of raising the status of women and expects the full cooperation and support of the Member Governments to raise the status of women throughout the world.

Having considered Parts I and II of the Report of the Nuclear Sub-Commission on the Status of Women, the Commission decided to express its satisfaction with the Report and, in agreement with its leading principles, to use it as a basis for its future work.

URGENT MATTERS AND OTHER ITEMS

EQUAL RIGHTS TO BE ENFORCED BY LAW: The Commission agreed to express the wish that the Economic and Social Council recommend to the General Assembly that the laws of all countries be modified, enforcing equal rights for all citizens.

Visits

Visits of Commission members to Member States: The Commission recommended that, in order to make it known and to intensify interest in the work of the Commission the Secretariat be instructed to arrange with Member States for one or more members of the Commission to visit Member States.

Regional Conferences: The Commission recommended a tentative program of regional conferences, and that the Secretariat be requested to present detailed alternatives as to place, program, budgets, leadership and potential attendance to be considered at its next session.

The Commission also recommended that as soon as possible a qualified woman be appointed as head of the Status of Women Section of the Division of Human Rights of the United Nations Secretariat.

COMMUNICATIONS

With regard to communications the Commission decided to request the Secretary-General to compile a confidential list of communications received before each session of the Commission concerning the Status of Women, and to request the Secretary-General to inform the writers of all such communications that these will be brought to the attention of the Commission.

FUNCTIONS

The Commission decided to recommend to the Social and Economic Council, that its Terms of Reference be modified to read as follows:

"FUNCTIONS: The Functions of the Commission shall be to prepare recommendations and reports to the Economic and Social Council on promoting women's rights in political, economic, civil, social and educational fields with the object of implementing the principle that men and women shall have equal rights, and to formulate proposals to give effect to such recommendations.

The Commission shall also make recommendations to the Council on urgent problems requiring immediate attention on the field of women's rights. The Commission may submit proposals to the Council regarding its Terms of Reference".

COUNTRIES REPRESENTED

The following Member States were represented on the Commission: Australia, Byelorussian SSR, China, Costa Rica, Denmark, France, Guatemala, India, Mexico, Syria, USSR, U.K., U.S.A.

U.S.A. and Venezuela. Officers of the Commission were Mrs. Bodil Begrup (Denmark), Chairman; Mrs. Jessie Street (Australia), Vice Chairman and Mrs. E. Uralova (Byelorussian SSR) Rapporteur.

Representatives of ILO, UNESCO, AFL, ICA and WFTU attended the meetings.

NEXT SESSION

The Commission decided to recommend that the next session should be held in Geneva before the next meeting of the Commission on Human Rights, in order to give the members the opportunity to study the draft of the International Bill of Rights.

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

Note by the Secretary-General

(United Nations Document E/333, 12 March 1947)

1. At its sixty-fifth plenary meeting, 14 December 1946, the General Assembly resolved:

"In the spirit of paragraphs 3 and 4 of Article 1 of the Charter, to authorize the holding of a conference of all Members of the United Nations on freedom of information;

"Instructs the Economic and Social Council to undertake, pursuant to Article 60 and Article 62, paragraph 4, of the Charter, the convocation of such a conference in accordance with the following guiding principles:

(a) The purpose of the Conference shall be to formulate its views concerning the rights, obligations, and practices which should be included in the concept of the freedom of information;

(b) Delegations to the Conference shall include in each instance persons actually engaged or experienced in press, radio, motion pictures and other media for the dissemination of information;

(c) The Conference shall be held before the end of 1947, at such place as may be determined by the Economic and Social Coubcil, in order to enable the Council to submit a report on the deliberations and recommendations of the Conference to the following regular session of the General Assembly."

2. Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press

(a) The Council may wish to refer the planning of the Conference to the Sub-Commission on Freedom of Information and of the Press.

(b) This Sub-Commission was established by the Commission on Human Rights at its recent session in accordance with the resolution of the Council of 21 June 1946 (E/259, page 4). Since it did not itself

have

have the time in which to do so, the Commission recommended that the Council choose its members in consultation with the Secretary-General from lists to be submitted by the members of the Commission.

(c) In its report (E/259, page 5) the Commission, after referring to the Conference, recommended, "that the Economic and Social Council authorize the Sub-Commission to submit recommendations regarding the programme of that Conference and to assist in its preparation."

(d) The Commission also recommended that the Council add the following to the definition of the function of the Sub-Commission: "To perform any other functions which may be entrusted to it by the Economic and Social Council or by the Commission on Human Rights."

(e) The attention of the Council is called to the fact that the functions of the Sub-Commission, as now fixed by the Council, are "to examine what rights, obligations, and practices should be included in the concept of freedom of information, and to report to the Commission on Human Rights on any issues that may arise from such examination" (Journal No. 29, page 522), and the purpose of the Conference, as fixed by the General Assembly is "to formulate its views concerning the rights, obligations and practices which should be included in the concept of the freedom of information." (Resolutions of the General Assembly, page 95).

3. Date of the Conference

(a) The Conference could not easily be scheduled to meet before the next session of the General Assembly since this would leave little time for preparation and would conflict with the schedules to which Governments are now committed for July and August.

(b) The Conference should not be held during the General Assembly, which is scheduled to meet 16 September 1947.

(c) If the Conference were to be held between the end of the General Assembly and the end of the year it would clash at least part of the time with the UNESCO Conference which is scheduled to meet in Mexico City, beginning 10 November. UNESCO is, of course, interested in the freedom of information, and has expressed a desire to be represented at the proposed Conference on that subject.

(d) The

(d) The Council may therefore wish to request the General Assembly to change the date of the Conference to one early in 1948, and instruct the Secretary-General to fix the exact date.

4. Place of the Conference

The Council should decide whether the Conference should take place at headquarters, Geneva or elsewhere. The Council may wish to instruct the Secretary-General to prepare budgets and recommendations concerning alternative locations for presentation to the Council at its Fifth Session.

5. Delegates

The resolution of the General Assembly includes the instruction that delegates include in each instance persons actually engaged or experienced in press, radio, motion pictures and other media for the dissemination of information. In order to comply with this instruction and yet to keep the delegations form being too large, the Secretary-General recommends that the Council fix the maximum number of official delegates from each Member State at five.

6. Budget

The Fifth Committee of the General Assembly in its report (A/261) stated "The Fifth Committee examined estimates prepared by the Secretary-General regarding the additional cost of such a conference if held at the headquarters of the United Nations, if held at Geneva, and if held elsewhere (document A/C.5/116). The Committee approved without dissent the inclusion of $28,000 (U.S.) in the estimates for 1947 to cover the additional costs of such a conference if held at headquarters. The Committee noted that, should another location be selected by the Economic and Social Council, the additional cost would, if necessary, be covered by the utilization of such unforeseen expenses provision as may be made by the General Assembly under the Working Capital Fund."

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SUB-COMMISSION ON ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION
OF DEVASTATED AREAS

(Press Release EC/87, United Nations, 13 February 1947)

BACKGROUND ON THE WORKING GROUP
FOR
ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

(The Working Group for Asia and the Far East will hold its first meeting Friday, 14 February 1947 at Lake Success. The following notes are issued as background guidance to correspondents.)

1. The Temporary Sub-Commission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas was set up by a Resolution of the Economic and Social Council on 21 June 1946 on the recommendation of the NUCLEAR ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION.

The first meeting of the Temporary Sub-Commission was convened in London on 29 July 1946. As provided by the Council, two working groups were set up, one for Europe and Africa and another for Asia and the Far East. The Working Group for Asia and the Far East was composed of representatives of Australia, Canada, China, France, India, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, Philippine Republic, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

In view of the amount of work before the Sub-Commission in connection with Europe, it was decided that the Working Group for Asia and the Far East should confine itself at this stage to preliminary discussion of the manner in which its enquiries could best be conducted.

II. The ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL during its third session adopted a resolution on 3 October 1946, regarding the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas in Asia and the Far East (Doc. A/126). The Resolution:

1. Requests the Secretary-General of the United Nations to prepare background material on war devastation and reconstruction needs of the Asiatic and Far Eastern countries;

2. Requests the Secretary-General to arrange a preliminary field survey of the Territories concerned to be undertaken by the Working Group or

certain

certain Members thereof;

3. Requests the Working Group for Asia and the Far East to reconvene in Nanking at a time designated by the Secretary-General, to study the material prepared by the Secretariat, and information received from the preliminary field survey and from Governments, and to prepare a preliminary report for submission to the Economic and Social Council at its first session in 1947.

However, owing to the heavy burden of work placed upon the Secretariat in connection with the General Assembly after consultation with certain representatives of the relevant countries on the Economic and Social Council, it was decided on 27 November to hold the next meeting of the Working Group in New York on 14 February. It was decided not to send a field party to Asia and the Far East.

III. At its meeting of 11 December 1946 the GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the United Nations adopted a Resolution which included the following points:

1) The General Resolution of the Economic and Social Council, and the Resolution on Survey of the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas in Asia and the Far East were approved.

2) It was recommended that the Economic and Social Council at its next session should give prompt and favorable consideration to the establishment of an Economic Commission for Europe and another for Asia and the Far East.

IV. At its first session which lasted from 20 January to 5 February 1947, the ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT COMMISSION in its report included the following recommendations relating to the reconstruction of devastated areas (Doc. E/255):

a) The Commission suggested that the Economic Commission for Europe and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East should be considered separately in veiw of the possible differences in the problems to be faced by the two Commissions, and the fact that although the Council has already had an opportunity to consider in detail the report of the Temporary Sub Commission on Europe, the report on Asia and the Far East is still in the process of preparation.

b) If the Council decides to establish the proposed Economic Commission for Europe, the Economic

and

and Employment Commission suggests that when the Council considers the formulation of the terms of reference of the Economic Commission for Europe it take into consideration amongst other guiding principles that the Council should consider measures to ensure that the necessary liaison is maintained between the Economic Commission for Europe and other organs of the United Nations, in particular the Economic and Employment Commission and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

c) The Commission recommends that the Economic and Social Council consider the establishment of an Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East after the Temporary Sub Commission on Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas has submitted its report on reconstruction needs of these areas.

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The task of the Working Group for Asia and the Far East will be to prepare a Preliminary Report for submission to the Economic and Social Council at its fourth session, on 28 February next. In this connection, considerable preparatory work has already been accomplished, and when the Working Group meets on 14 February, it will be presented with a voluminous Draft Report prepared by the Secretariat on the basis of data collected from the Governments of countries concern d, from certain International Organizations and from various other sources.

This Report comprises two main parts:

The first part analyzes the general situation in the entire war devastated areas of Asia and the Far East, in terms of living conditions, manpower, food and agriculture, industry, mining, housing, transport, communications, finance, foreign trade, balance of payments, etc., and makes certain suggestions.

The second part of the report is composed of separate studies covering each of the war scarred territories, and gives a picture of the devastation suffered as well as of their immeidate needs and reconstruction plans.

The Working Group will utilize this Draft Report as the basis of its own Report to the Economic and Social Council.

The Working Group will meet in open session and the following Specialized Agencies will be represented: ILO, WHO, UNRRA, FAO, International Bank, Monetary Fund, UNESCO, IEFC.

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TEMPORARY SUB-COMMISSION ON THE

ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF DEVASTATED AREAS

(United Nations Press Release No. EC/117 - 7 March 1947)

*Working Group for Asia
and the Far East

The Working Group this afternoon convened in open meeting formally to approve its Report to the Economic and Social Council, and thus bring its whole task to an end.

The Report contains a factual survey of war devastation and reconstruction, as well as an analysis of reconstruction problems and methods of organizing international aid.

The Report recommends the establishment of an Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East composed of representatives nominated by the governments of the countries concerned, and outlines certain principles which, in the opinion of the Working Group, should guide the activity of the contemplated Economic Commission, namely:

(A) to make or sponsor investigations and studies of economic and technological problems and developments;

(B) to furnish information relating to restoration and reconstruction;

(C) to make recommendations regarding the provision of technical assistance relating to reconstruction;

(D) to initiate and promote measures for facilitating concerted action for economic reconstruction;

(E) to give prior consideration to measures for facilitating the economic reconstruction of devasted countries which are members of the United Nations;

(F) to make recommendations on any matter within the competence of the Commission;

(G) to

(G) to submit to each session of the Economic and Social Council a full report;

(H) to establish such subsidiary machinery as the Commission deems appropriate for facilitating the carrying out of its responsibilities;

(I) to establish liaison between the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, and other organs of the United Nations.

The Report was approved for immediate transmission to the Economic and Social Council.

Reference:

*Temporary Sub-Commission on Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas. Report of the Working Group for Asia and the Far East. United Nations Document E/307/Rev. 1, March 4, 1947.

NEEDS OF DEVASTATED EUROPE

Secretary-General's Interim Report to Council

More than ten billion dollars will be required in 1947 for relief and reconstruction of a group of twelve devastated European and African countries whose plight has been under consideration by the Economic and Social Council's Temporary Sub-Commission on the Economic Reconstruction of Devastated Areas. This estimate is made in a special study undertaken by the Secretariat at the request of the Council.

It is estimated that about sixty per cent of the means necessary to meet such needs can possibly be derived from the countries' own financial resources. An Interim Report made by the Secretary-General emphasizes that until action is taken by private organizations, governments, or international agencies to augment the existing loanable resources, the import needs of these war-devastated countries cannot be financed in full.

The Interim Report presents the countries' needs, and reviews the existing means of meeting them in the cases of Belgium-Luxembourg (treated as a unit because of their Economic Union), Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Netherlands, Poland, Yugoslavia, Austria, Finland, Hungary and Italy. The last four countries, which are not Members of the United Nations, were included in the study in view of the fact that the United Nations Special Technical Commitee on Relief Needs after Termination of UNRRA, whose work complements that of the Sub-Commission, had included them within the scope of its study. Some, though not all, of the countries treated in the report have been receiving UNRRA assistance.

Though the Council had requested the Secretary-General to undertake a study only of reconstruction requirements, it was found necessary to treat both reconstruction and relief needs jointly.

The needs are presented on the evidence of information submitted to the Secretary-General chiefly in response to a questionnaire sent to the Member governments. Governments to whom the questionnaire was sent were Australia (for New Guinea), Belgium, China, Denmark, Ethiopia, France, Greece, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Philippine Republic, Siam, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (for Northern Korea), United Kingdom, United States (for Southern Korea), and Yugoslavia.

The

The situation of Asiatic and Far Eastern countries was not examined, as this falls within the scope of the Sub-Commission's Working Group for Asia and the Far East.

The Secretary-General was specifically requested by the Economic and Social Council to:

(1) undertake special studies of the needs of devastated United Nations countries for long and short-term financing of their urgent reconstruction requirements, including raw materials needed for import:

(2) review the existing means of meeting such needs, including inter-governmental loans and credits, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and private and commercial credits; and

(3) draw to the Council's attention any cases where the existing means of financing urgent reconstruction requirements seem to be insufficient.

The total figure for relief-reconstruction needs in the twelve countries during 1947 is $10,844,900,000, of which it is estimated $6,840,300,000 can probably be met by foreign-exchange and other resources of the countries concerned. The report, in examining resources available to meet the total deficit of $3,487,100,000, points out that there are certain important limitations to an exclusive reliance on loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. One of these limitations arises from the fact that Austria, Finland, Hungary and Italy are not members of the Bank. The report points out that the existing means - including the Bank - at the disposal of all the countries will be insufficient to finance their import requirements for relief and reconstruction.

At the time of the preparation of the interim report, little definite action had been taken to provide free relief grants in 1947. It is considered likely, however, that the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries which contributed generously to UNRRA will make additional relief grants during the year. Even if the relief needs of the devastated countries under consideration are fully met by such means, however, there will still be a deficit of $2,800,000,000 for 1947 needs other than relief.

Relief will be assisted to a limited degree by the activity of the International Children's Emergency Fund, which was established by a resolution of the General Assembly in December. the Fund will be financed by contributions from governments, non-governmental agencies, and private individuals. It will be used to provide for the needs of children generally, particularly in countries which were victims of aggression.

It is not possible to estimate probably reparations deliveries in 1947 since, in the case of German reparations, neither the total amount nor the rate of delivery has been definitely established. The future of this question rests with the governments signatory to the Potsdam Agreement, and with the Allied Control Authority in Berlin. Akin to the matter of reparations is the distribution of German external assets and the return of looted monetary gold. If, as is possible, the major distribution of looted bullion is made in 1947, it would prove of substantial assistance to certain countries in meeting their external deficits. Gold available for distribution under these arrangements might amount to several hundred million dollars. Steps have been taken by the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency to collect German assets located in neutral and satellite countries, and distribute them among countries claiming reparations. Although the amount ultimately recoverable might amount to several hundred million dollars, there is no certainty that these assets could be converted in 1947 for import purchases, and the amount cannot be counted as a definite offset against deficits in 1947.

The third source of external financing and the source considered most promising, according to the report, is that of international loans and credits. Since the end of the war, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Sweden, Switzerland, Argentina, and Brazil have been major sources of funds for such loans and credits. Further funds may be made available during the present year by governments, private banks and syndicates, and such international lending agencies as the U. S. Export Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Of those sources of funds, the major potential one is the International Bank.

The chief difficulty in the case of the Bank as a loan source, however, is that its loanable funds (as of May, 1947) will be limited to approximately three-quarters of a billion dollars, in contrast to the deficit - representing only the countries treated in the subject report - of about three and a half billion dollars. Furthermore, not all governments concerned in the relief-reconstruction study are Bank members. The whole of the Bank's loanable resources may not be made available entirely for reconstruction, and even other governments members of the Bank, whose requirements were not considered in the report, may apply for loans. This means that the Bank, though the likeliest loan source of any, would be unable on present indications to assume more than a fraction of the burden. It is pointed out that it is only through action by private organizations, governments, or international agencies to augment existing loanable resources that the import programs of devastated countries could be financed in full.

The Secretary-General's Interim Report, which was submitted to the members of the Economic and Social Council for their

consideration

consideration at the beginning of the present session, provided useful evidence concerning the extent and urgency of the needs of devastated Europe. The Council took note of the Report on March 3, and on the same day it agreed unanimously to establish an Economic Commission for Europe.

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References:

Report of the Secretary-General on Activities Under the Resolution on Relief Needs After the Termination of UNRRA - United Nations Doc. E/269, February 21, 1947.

Needs of the Devastated Countries of the United Nations for Long-Term and Short-Term Financing of Urgent Reconstruction Requirements and Review of the Existing Means of Meeting Such Needs. Interim Report by the Secretary-General - United Nations Doc. E/288, February 26, 1947.

Source: United Nations Weekly Bulletin.
March 18, 1947.

DRAFTING SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE

(United Nations Document E/AC.17/2, 19 March 1947)

Draft Terms of Reference for the Economic Commission for Europe

The following is the text of the draft terms of reference for the Economic Commission for Europe submitted by the Drafting Sub-Committee to the Committee on the Economic Commission for Europe. (Members for France, United Kingdom, United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics comprised the Sub-Committee.)

On points on which agreement was not reached in the Drafting Sub-Committee, the alternatives proposed by members are shown by brackets and footnotes; brackets only being used where the question is the inclusion or the ommission of a passage.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL, having considered the Resolution adopted at the Fifty-Fifth Plenary Session of the General Assembly on 11 December 1946, namely, that the General Assembly" recomends that, in order to give effective aid to the countries devastated by war, the Economic and Social Council, at its next session, give prompt and favorable consideration to the establishment of an Economic Commission for Europe...",

(A) ESTABLISHES AN ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE, with terms of reference as follows:

1. The Economic Commission for Europe, acting within the framework of the policies of the United Nations (and subject to the continuing review of the Council)[1] shall, provided that the Commission takes no action under (a), (b) or (c) below in respect to any country without the agreement of the government of that country (and in agreement with the Governments concerned)[2]:

(a) initiate

1 Some delegations regarded paragraph 6 below as an alternative.

2 This passage in brackets is an alternative to the passage "(and subject to the continuing review.....without the agreement of the government of that country:"

(a) initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Europe, for raising the level of European economic activity, and for maintaining and strengthening the economic relations of the European countries both among themselves and with other countries of the world;

(b) make or sponsor such investigations and studies of economic and technological problems and developments (in Europe and)[3] within member countries of the Commission (and within Europe generally)[4] as the Commission deems appropriate; (in European states and the United States of America)[5].

(c) undertake or sponsor the collection, evaluation and dissemination of such economic technological and statistical information as the Commission deems appropriate.

2. The Commission shall give prior consideration, during its initial stages, to measures to facilitate the economic reconstruction of devastated countries of Europe which are Members of the United Nations.

3. Immediately upon its establishment, the Commission shall consult with the member governments of the Emergency Economic Committee for Europe, the European Coal Organization and the European Central Inland Transport Organization with a view to the prompt termination of the first, the absorption or termination of the activities of the second and third, while ensuring that the essential work performed by each of the three is fully maintained. (The Commission shall also, after consultation with its member governments, other European governments, and appropriate inter-governmental organizations in the field of European inland transport, preferably by convening a meeting of transport experts, report to the Council at its Fifth Session, if possible, on the functions and organizational arrangements within the framework of the Commission

required

3 These phrases in brackets are alternatives.

4 These phrases in brackets are alternatives.

5 This passage in brackets is an alternative to the passage "(in Europe and).....deems appropriate."

required to deal with European inland transport problems in general)[6].

4. The Commission is empowered to make recommendations on any matter within its competence directly to its member governments, governments admitted in a consultative capacity, (Allied Control Authorities of occupied territories admitted in a consultative capacity) and the specialized agencies concerned (as well as to the Council). The Commission shall submit for the Council's prior consideration any of its proposals for activities that would have important effects on the economy of the world as a whole.

5. The Commission may, with the approval of the Council (and after discussion with any specialized agency functioning in the same general field), establish such subsidiary bodies as it deems appropriate for facilitating the carrying out of its responsibilities.

6. (In order to facilitate the Council's review of the work of the Commission) the Commission shall submit a full report on its activities (and plans), including those of any subsidiary bodies, once a year and shall make interim reports at each regular session of the Council.

7. The Members of the Commission are the European members of the United Nations and the United States of America.

8. The Commission (may) (shall) admit in a consultative capacity European nations not Members of the United Nations (on matters of particular concern to them) and shall determine the conditions in which they may participate in its work.

9. (1) (The Commission shall admit in a consultative capacity representatives of the Allied Control Authorities of occupied territories on matters of particular concern to them)

- or -

(2) (The

6 Might be omitted if Section B, below, is accepted.

(2) (The Commission may consult with the representatives of the Allied Control Authorities of the occupied territories, and be consulted by them, for the purpose of mutual information and advice on matters concerning the economies of these territories in relation to the rest of the European economy, bearing in mind the particular importance of the German economy to the European economy as a whole.)

10. The Commission shall invite any Member of the United Nations not a member of the Commission to participat in a consultative capacity in its consideration of any matter of particular concern to that non-Member.

The Commission (shall) (may) invite representatives of any inter-governmental organizations qualified to become specialized agencies under Article 57 of the Charter (specialized agencies or inter-governmental organizations)[7] to participate in a consultative capacity in its consideration of any matter of particular concern to that agency. (In determining its relations with the specialized agencies and inter-governmental organizations the Commission shall follow the practice of the Economic and Social Council.)

11. The Commission shall take measures to ensure that the necessary liaison (and working relationships) is (are) maintained with other organs of the United Nations (and with the specialized agencies.)

12. The Commission shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its Chairman.

13. The administrative budget of the Commission shall be financed from the funds of the United Nations.

14. (1) The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall arrange for the Secretariat of the Commission.

- or -

(2) (The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall appoint the staff of the Commission, which shall form part of the Secretariat of the United Nations.)

15. The

7 Drafting amendment consequential to the words in brackets at end of paragraph.

15. The headquarters of the Commission shall be located at the seat of the European Office of the United Nations.

16. The first session of the Commission shall be called by the Secretary-General of the United Nations as soon as practicable after the Commission has been created by the Economic and Social Council.

17. Not later than 1951 the Council shall make a special review of the work of the Commission with a view to determining whether the Commission should be terminated or continued, and if continued what modification if any should be made in its terms of reference.

(B) DRAWS THE ATTENTION of the Economic Commission for Europe to the parts of the first report of the Transport and Communications Commission relating to European inland transport, and, in order that the Commission may give the earliest possible consideration to the functions and organizational arrangements within its framework required to maintain the essential work performed by the European Central Inland Transport Organization and to deal with European inland transport problems in general,

REQUESTS:

(1) The Secretary-General, when convening the First Session of the Economic Commission for Europe, to invite member governments to include transport experts in their delegations and to invite other European governments and appropriate European inter-governmental transport organizations to send transport experts to participate in a consultative capacity.

- or -

(2) The Economic Commission for Europe to convene at the earliest possible date a meeting of transport experts drawn from its member governments, European governments admitted in a consultative capacity and appropriate European inter-governmental transport organizations to make recommendations to it with respect to the above-mentioned problems.

(3) (RECOMMENDS that member governments of the Economic Commission for Europe appoint permanent national delegates to that body, with such subordinate staff as may be necessary to ensure adequate national representation on the subsidiary bodies of the commission as well as on the commission itself.)[8]

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8 Section B was added on the basis of discussion of the Transport and Communications Commission Report. (1) and (2) above are alternatives. (3) is a proposed addition to either (1) or (2).

ROUND-UP OF DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND EMPLOYMENT

(Press Release EC/115, United Nations, 3 March 1947)

I. At its First Session, held in London in February 1946, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, on the motion of the representative of the United States, called for an International Conference on Trade and Employment and constituted a Preparatory Committee entrusted with the task of elaborating an annotated draft agenda, including a draft convention for consideration by the Conference.

II. The First Session of the Preparatory Committee met in London on 15 October 1946 and concluded on the 26 November 1946. Nineteen countries were selected by the Economic and Social Council to form part of the Committee; only the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was unable to attend the London Meeting.

The nineteen countries chosen were: Australia, Belgium, Luxembourg, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Lebanon, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Union of South Africa, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom and the United States.

Colombia, Denmark, Poland, Peru, Mexico and Syria, who are members of the United Nations, but not of the Preparatory Committee, sent observers to the First Session in London.

The representatives of certain inter-governmental organizations (Food and Agriculture Organization, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Labor Office and the International Monetary Fund) attended the First Session and participated in the proceedings.

Some non-governmental organizations (International Chamber of Commerce, International Cooperative Alliance, World Federation of Trade Unions, and the American Federation of Labor) also sent representatives.

The Report of the First Session of the Preparatory Committee was published in December, 1946. The basic document in London was a Suggested Charter for an International Trade Organization submitted by the United States, together with other documents including a draft charter submitted by

Brazil

Brazil, a detailed commentary on the United States proposals by India, a memorandum on employment policy by the United Kingdom and other documents.

Several Committees were set up in London to discuss various sections of a draft charter on which there ensued extensive discussions of the viewpoints of different delegations and an attempt was made to arrive at a statement of the points on which a general identity of view could be reached.

III. As it was felt that further drafting should be done on the basis of the work carried out at London, the Preparatory Committee appointed a Drafting Committee consisting of the members of the Preparatory Committee to meet in New York beginning 20 January 1947.

The function of the Drafting Committee was to prepare a Draft Charter or Articles of Agreement for an International Trade Organization and to edit for clarity and consitency the portions of the text on which the Preparatory Committee had come to a substantial identity of views, preparing alternative texts of those portions on which there remained a division of general views, and to prepare suggested drafts covering such uncompleted portions as were referred to it.

The Drafting Committee completed its task on Tuesday, 25 February 1947. The report of the Drafting Committee will be forwarded to Governments and to the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee which meets in Geneva 10 April 1947, for approval and further consideration.

The Drafting Committee studied the Charter as a whole in plenary session, and set up three main sub-committees to deal with specific points:

(a) The Technical Sub-Committee corresponded to the committee of the same name at the First Session and dealt with the preparation of draft texts of certain articles of a fairly technical nature (anti-dumping and countervailing duties, tariff valuation, customs formalities, marks of origin, boycotts, etc.) which are contained in the general commercial policy chapter of the Charter. A very substantial measure of progress was achieved in this connection.

(b) The Tariff Sub-Committee completed and redrafted the text of the general agreement on tariffs and trade which was contained in the Report of the First Session. This is the Agreement which will be signed at Geneva by negotiating countries once they have carried out successful tariff negotiations at the Second Session

(c)

(c) The Administrative Sub-Committee took up the study of certain organizational provisions of the Charter, such as membership of the Executive Board and voting procedures within the proposed ITO. This sub-committee's report on the above points is being transmitted in its entirety to the Second Session for purposes of information. The sub-committee also drafted the articl relating to the functions of the three commissions of the ITO (commissions on commodities, general commercial policy and restrictive business practices).

As the Drafting Committee, meeting as a whole, progressed in its work it found it useful to establish small ad hoc committees of three or four members to deal with specific points which required particular attention.

A Legal Drafting Sub-Committee was set up to edit for clarity and consistency all provisions of the draft Charter as they were approved in other sub-committees and the full Committee.

The work of the Drafting Committee has been successful. It has considerably clarified and improved from a stylistical point of view the text of the Charter. In addition, texts have been drafted on articles on which such texts did not exist at the close of the First Session; and, finally, it has narrowed the area on which there did not exist general agreement very considerably on a number of points.

The report of the Drafting Committee will allow the Preparatory Committee, meeting at its Second Session in Geneva, to approach its task more rapidly and successfully.

IV. At the Second Session of the Preparatory Committee in Geneva, the Committee will re-examine the Draft Charter for the International Trade Organization in view of the drafting changes and recommendations made in New York by the Drafting Committee and will then report to the Economic and Social Council.

V. The full International Conference on Trade and Employment will take place sometime this fall at a place not yet decided upon.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

MARCH 11, 1947
NO. 180

CONVENTION ON INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION

The Department of State announces that there have been deposited the requisite number of instruments of ratification of the Convention on International Civil Aviation in order, under the terms of the Convention, to bring it into force on April 4, 1947. This occasion will mark an important milestone in the history of international civil aviation. In November, 1944, the representatives of 54 nations gathered at Chicago to attempt a blueprint for world civil aviation. This blueprint has now matured into an accepted and operating piece of international machinery. Upon it the future worldwide development of civil aviation will largely be based.

Under the terms of the convention there will now come into being a permanent International Civil Aviation Organization, which will be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the Charter of the Latter and form a part of the general pattern of international cooperation. This organization has as its aim the establishment of principles and techniques of international air navigation and the fostering of the development of international air transport to the end that it will:

(a) Insure the safe and orderly growth of international civil aviation throughout the world;

(b) Encourage the arts of aircraft design and operation for peaceful purposes;

(c) Encourage the development of airways, airports and air navigation facilities for international civil aviation;

(d) Meet the needs of the peoples of the world for safe, regular, efficient and economical air transport;

(e) Prevent economic waste caused by unreasonable competition;

(f) Insure that the rights of contracting States are fully respected and that every contracting State has a fair opportunity to operate international airlines;

(g) Avoid

(g) Avoid discrimination between contracting States;

(h) Promote safety of flight in international air navigation;

(i) Promote generally the development of all aspects of international civil aeronautics.

In the past two years the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization (PICAO), established on June 6, 1945, by the entry into force of the Interim Agreement on international civil aviation, has vigorously pursued these aims with tangible results. That provisional organization has established, for example, standards and procedures which have contributed greatly to the safety and regularity of international air operations and has provided a public forum for free and open discussions of mutual problems. The remarkable energy and spirit of cooperation with which the provisional organization has attacked and solved many problems serves as an outstanding example in the field of international accord. This sucess has been in no small part due to the wisdom and vision of the President of the Interim Council, Dr. Edward Warner, and to the high caliber of the representatives of the 21 governments who compose the Interim Council.

Now that the convention will shortly come into force, the peoples of the world interested in international cooperation may take pride in the past accomplishments of the provisional organization and entertain real hope for the future successes of the International Civil Aviation Organization. This organization will provide a permanent base for the establishment of sound principles in the entire field of international civil aviation, thereby contributing in no small part to the elimination of world misunderstanding and thus to an era of lasting peace among the nations of the earth.

The following countries have deposited instruments of ratification or adherences:

The United States	Denmark
Argentina	Dominican Republic
Brazil	Ethiopia
Canada	India
Chile	Ireland
China	Liberia
Czechoslovakia	Mexico
	New Zealand

New Zealand	Spain
Nicaragua	Sweden
Paraguay	Switzerland
Peru	Turkey
Philippines	Union of South Africa
Poland	United Kingdom
Portugal	

In addition to the above named countries, it is understood that the Governments of Afganistan, Bolivia, Iceland, Egypt and the Netherlands have completed ratification procedures and that their instruments of ratification are in the process of transmittal to the United States.

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What is PICAO? Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization. Montreal, April 1946.

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ACHIEVEMENTS OF I. L. O. GOVERNING BODY MEETING

(United Nations Press Release No. 1Lo/76, 14 March 1947)

A Tripartite Technical Conference on Safety provisions for Factories is scheduled to meet early in 1948 as a result of a decision taken by the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization at its 101st session at Geneva. The conference to be attended by safety experts representing governments, management, and labor will formulate a model code for factories. The code, to be submitted directly to governments, is expected to be especially valuable in the rebuilding of factories destroyed by the war. The experts will also draft a Convention on Safety provisions for factories which will probably be submitted to an early session of the International Labor Conference.

The March Session of the Governing Body Also:

1) Set the Agenda for the 1948 session of the International Labor Conference. The items include the Director General's Report: Vocational Guidance; wages including fair wages clauses in public contracts and protection of wages; financial and budgetary questions; and reports on the application of conventions.

2) Gave preliminary approval to a budget for 1948 of $4,313,888. Final decision will be taken at the 30th session of the International Labor Conference to be held in June in Geneva.

3) Accepted the Invitation of the Belgian, South African and United Kingdom Governments to send an ILO commission to study migratory labor in the Belgian Congo, Rhodesia and South Africa.

4) Decided at the invitation of the Egyptian Government to hold the Second Session of the Industrial Committee on Textiles at Cairo.

5) Approved plans to bring the wages, hours of work, etc. of the ILO Staff into line with other official International organizations.

6) Appointed committee to make proposals for the setting up an advisory committee on salaried and professional workers to replace prewar committees

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which dealt with these subjects separately. Membership on the advisory committee is to include China, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Italy, Poland, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay, plus an additional Latin American country; and UNESCO will also be asked to attend its sessions.

7) Approved the following schedule of ILO industrial committee meetings: Coal, Mining, Geneva, April 22; Iron and Steel, Stockholm, August 19; Metal Trades, Stockholm, September 3.

8) Appointed Wilhelm Bjorck, Paymaster General, Sweden, as the Chairman of the Iron and Steel Committee, and Mr. Henry Altman, Director in the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, Poland, as Chairman of the Metal Trades Committee.

9) Appointed Mr. Leon Jounaux, General Secretary of the French General Confederation of Labor, to represent labor interests on the advisory council of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

10) Approved the ILO-FAO Agreement on Cooperation.

11) Instructed the International Conference of Labor Statisticians scheduled to meet in Montreal in August to transmit its recommendations to the United Nations World Statistical Conference to be held in Washington and New York in September this year.

12) Deferred proposals to create new industrial committees until the June meeting of the Governing Body.

The decisions of the United States and French Governments to increase voluntarily their financial support of the ILO in 1948 was announced at the meeting. The United States is accepting an additional 42 units and France 20 units. The total number of units of assessment has been raised from 623 to 752. Chairman of Allocation Committee, Sir Samuel Runganadhan, said negotiations concerning increased assessments for next year would be carried on with Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Greece, Italy, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

Sir Joseph Hallsworth, General Secretary National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers United Kingdom, and Chairman of the Workers Group announced the selection of Paul C. Finet, Secretary of the Belgian General Federation of Labor, as member of the Governing Body, replacing the late Gunnar Andersson of Sweden. The Governing Body whose Chairman is Sir Guildhaume Myrddin Evans, Deputy Secretary, British Ministry of Labor and

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National Service is composed of 32 members, 16 representing governments and 8 of management and 8 of labor.

Jef Rens, Assistant Director of ILO, summed up the results of the first cycle of industrial committee conferences on coal mining, production, textiles, iron and steel, building, civil engineering and public works, metal trades and inland transport. He noted that the resolutions adopted, totalling more than 80, dealt with such questions as full employment, conditions of work, wage conditions, social security, hygiene and safety.

Edward Phelan, Director General of the ILO, re-affirmed the hope that all countries would enter the organization. He said the ILO was developing new activities, adding that it was making a special effort to collect information on new trends of industrial and social conditions and legislation.

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Report of the Conference Delegation on Constitutional Questions. International Labour Office, Montreal, 1946.

REPORT OF THE FAO MISSION FOR GREECE

(United Nations Press Release No. FAO/35, 14 March 1947)

The Report of the Mission for Greece was published today by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. It represents the first International Technical Service of its kind completed for any nation by any of the new specialized agencies of the United Nations. The 188-page report gives a detailed analysis of the Agricultural problems of Greece, including the broader aspects of the national economy involved, the steps the Greeks can take themselves in dealing with them, and of help they need from outside the country to back up their own efforts. A preliminary summary of the Mission's recommendations was issued last September in connection with the FAO Conference in Copenhagen.

The Mission appointed by Sir John Boyd Orr, FAO Director-General, at the request of the Greek Government, was composed of experts in crops, livestock, reclamation, nutrition and agricultural economics. It was headed by Franklin S. Harris, President of the Utah Agricultural College with Dr. Panos D. Caldis of the California Packing Corporation, as Vice-Chairman. Other members of the Mission were: Dr. Norman C. Wright, of the Hannah Dairy Research Institute, Glascow, Scotland; Henri Roy, Directeur Des Services Agricoles, Nice, France; Mordecai Ezekiel of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, and Afif I. Tannous, of the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Both of the US Department of Agriculture. In addition, three staff members of the UNRRA Greece Mission, G. H. K. Hewison, Fisheries Expert, Louise A. Bryant, Home Economist and A. G. Plakidas, Agriculturist, served as Mission members.

The Mission was directed to make a reconniaissance study of major Greek agricultural problems and to develop a program for the reconnaissanice study of major Greek agricultural problems and to develop a program for the rehabilitation and future development of the agriculture, land and water potentialities and related industries of Greece. The Mission worked in Greece from May through July last summer, and studied Greek agriculture first hand in every part of the country. Following its investigation, the mission drew up a comprehensive plan covering the immediate and long-range problems which was discussed with officials of the Greek Government at Athens before the report was written.

The report makes recommendations for action by Greek Government, various United Nations Organizations, and member nations of

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the United Nations. Copies are going forward for their information and possible action to the Greek Government - which has already indicated its approval of the major lines of the recommendations, with certain minor reservations -- to the United Nations and Economic and Social Council, to the various interested specialized International agencies, and to all the member nations of the FAO. In addition to the English edition released today, editions in French, Spanish, and Greek are being prepared.

Immediate problems, the report says, are aggravated by war devastation which despite strenuous efforts by the farmers and the people of Greece has been only partly repaired, Special attention is called to the current food shortage; the need for outside financial aid for Greece to maintain essential imports after UNRRA'S withdrawal, the continuation of special feeding programs for children and underprivileged groups; and poor transportation facilities which are hindering the efforts of reconstruction; and to the necessity of checking inflation and restoring the flow of exports.

While the report makes it clear the the main efforts of reconstruction will have to come from the Greek people themselves; it recommends an initial International Bank of Reconstruction and Development loan of $100,000,000 for 1947-48. This loan would be available for rehabilitation and development of transportation facilities, water and hydroelectric projects, farms and marketing, and private industries, in accordance with the program recommended to develop and modernize Greek agriculture and industry.

A fundamental of the proposed long-range program is full development of the country's water potentialities. Repair and completion of existing projects, the construction of the most readily available new smaller projects, and the preparation of detailed engineering plans for the larger projects would occupy the early years of reconstruction. Completion of the undeveloped water resources in the next 25 years, the report says, would mean that one fifth of all Greek crop-land could be irrigated and that as much hydroelectric power could be generated as from the Boulder Dam project in the United States of America. This would give Greece an area suitable for the production of fruits, vegetables, etc., and make possible a great development of intensive agriculture and industry in Greece for domestic consumption and export sale.

The many recommended technical measures to improve agriculture, forestry and fisheries cover a wide range of activities, and emphasize that traditional methods must give way to modern techniques and equipment. It is pointed out that farmers and others must be educated in these up-to-date techniques, and to achieve this a thorough overhauling of the extension and educational system along with the re-organization of the Ministry of Agriculture is also recommended.

Specific

Specific proposals outline the expansion needed in research facilities in view of the wide varieties in types of soils in Greece, and the Mission recommends that careful research should be conducted on the varieties of plants that will thrive best in each kind of soil. Finally, the improved varieties selected should be planted in large enough units to make their commercial utilization for processing and shipping possible. Research in livestock should be directed toward raising the low level of productivity of the livestock industry, the report says, while improved methods of production and better quality of livestock products for food or as raw material are stressed.

Measures to strengthen technical services of the cooperatives, and to provide increased facilities for them are recommended. These would enable cooperatives to take a larger part in farm and village improvements, in operating tractors, threshers and other community equipment, in marketing and processing farm products, in establishing local industries, and in buying and distributing supplies.

The Report recommends that the financial and technical facilities of the Agricultural Bank of Greece be expanded and strengthened to assist cooperatives. While the Mission opposes compulsory cooperatives, it recommends measures to enable cooperatives to do business on a full par with private industry.

In addition to those who would be occupied in the intensification and modernization of agriculture, it is recommended that the rest of the present under-employment population of Greece be provided useful work by developing industry, and so providing increased opportunities believed to be large for expanind industries, tourist industries, and professional occupations.

Other general proposals cover far-reaching reforms in the present structure to help provide the necessary buying power, and thorough revision of the Civil Service so that it will be staffed by qualified personnel paid at a living wage. The objective would be to create a body of public administrators capable of carrying through the recommended program and to ensure that the knowledge and ability of the country's professionally trained people were fully utilized.

To support the measures recommended to be taken by the Greek Government, the Report recommends the establishment of a United Nations Advisory Mission representing the Economic and Social Council, FAO, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Monetary Fund and other interested international agencies to provide continuing technical advice on the spot.

If

If Greece establishes peace and stability within her own borders, and if international production and international trade between Greece and other countries is expanded by carrying out vigorously the measures recommended, the Report says, then there is no reason why Greece should not be able to double or triple its prewar income within the next two or three decades.

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FAO ESTABLISHES EUROPEAN CENTER IN ROME

(United Nations' Press Release No. FAO/32, 11 March 1947.)

At the conclusion of a three-day meeting in Rome with representatives of 13 European national FAO committees to consider European agricultural problems in relation to the work of the FAO, Sir John Boyd Orr, Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, last night made the following statement:

"All European countries have grave economic problems. These problems must be solved quickly, not only in the interests of the European countries but also in the interests of stability and peace in the world. Fundamental to these economic problems are food, agriculture, timber supplies and fisheries, because they are essential to provide the primary necessities of life to the people of Europe without which economic rehabilitation and development is impossible.

"This first meeting of the representatives of European countries agreed upon a program which will enable the countries of Europe to cooperate with each other in dealing with the problems of common interest. The delegates already speak of this as the European Plan; and they decided that the most urgent long-term problems are those connected with the food standards of the population, seeds, agricultural machinery, protection of plants against diseases and pests, livestock, breeding, dairying and fisheries. Each of these problems will be studied by small expert committees which will make recommendations for joint action by the European countries. However, it will be necessary to hold further conferences on special subjects on which joint action is needed. The first of these special conferences will be on timber requirements and development of European forestry. It will be held in Czechoslovakia in April."

All the valuable service of the International Institute of Agriculture has now been absorbed by FAO and will be continued and further developed within the structure of the United Nations. The buildings of the International Institute of Agriculture which have been put at the disposal of FAO by the Italian Government are now the headquarters of the European FAO Bureau with a staff headed by Mr. Louwes. It will be the center for dealing with food, agriculture, fishery and forestry problems in Europe.

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The conference also decided that a European information service be established at the Rome office and that there should be a periodical devoted entirely to FAO problems in Europe. Mr. Arthur Wauters (Belgium) member of the FAO Executive Committee has undertaken to organize and develop the information service. The Belgium Government generously offered the services of Mr. Waulters for this purpose.

Furthermore the conference approved an agreement between FAO and UNRRA under which the technical services rendered by UNRRA continued at least until the end of 1947 when requested by the Governments concerned.

The most important business before the FAO Executive Committee, which met in Rome at the same time, was consideration of a Report of the Preparatory Commission on World Food Proposals which met recently at Washington under the chairmanship of Viscount Bruce. The Executive Committee agreed with the commission's lucid analysis of long-term food problems which emphasizes the dangers of economic collapse when surpluses arise again. The committee also approved of setting up a World Food Council with representatives of all the Governments adhering to the FAO. The main functions of the council would be to ensure commodity agreements in accordance with the aims and objectives set out in the Preparatory Commission's Report; to ensure that concrete measures be taken to develop world agriculture to the nutrition needs of the population; to stabilize prices in the international market and to build up a world reserve of food.

The annual meeting of the World Food Council will form part of the Annual Conference of FAO. At this meeting there will be a full-scale review of the national programs in relation to food and agriculture and recommendations will be made on action needed at an international level to implement these national programs. A committee of the World Food Council will meet periodically between the annual conferences to ensure that the decision of the Council are being carried out.

In view of the urgency of the world food problem the Executive Committee decided that the annual FAO Conference should be held as early as possible. The date was set for August 26th and it was decided that the Conference should be held in Geneva.

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ROUND UP - IRO PREPARATORY COMMISSION

First Session, Geneva, 11 - 21 February 1947

(Press Release SOC/103 24 February 1947)

Just before winding up its first session in Geneva, the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization received a cable from Secretary-General Trygve Lie promising to make funds, facilities and staff available to the Commission under appropriate conditions.

This cable was sent in instant response to an urgent appeal by the Preparatory Commission stating that it was as yet unable, for practical and consitutional reasons, to raise its own funds from advances by member governments - as provided in its own statutes - and that it would have to abandon its work unless the Secretary-General used his discretion to make advances from the United Nations Working Capital Fund.

Such advances, which the Secretary-General was entitled by the General Assembly to make with due regard to the proposed financial resources of the recipient specialized agency, are repayable within two years.

The members of the Preparatory Commission expressed real satisfaction with the Secretary-General's promise of financial and technical help.

The Commission is planning to hold its next session in Geneva next April. The first session was convened by the Secretary-General under instructions by the General Assembly. It was serviced and provisionally financed by the United Nations. Sir Raphael Cilento, Director of the Division of Refugees and Displaced Persons in the UN Secretariat, acted as its Secretary.

Final discussions in the Commission turned on the problem of steps to be taken to activate signatures and acceptances of the IRO constitution, necessary in view of the fact that the coming into operation of the IRO itself depends on fifteen ratified signatures representing contributions of 75% of the first-year operational budget.

The Secretary-General has indicated his willingness to forward and lend his support to any appeal to governments that may be drafted by the Preparatory Commission and signed by its Chairman, Henri Ponsot of France.

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The Chairman expressed his belief that urgent appeals for signatures and ratification should be addressed not only to those governments who have already signed the constitution subject to approval, and to those who in the General Assembly voted for or abstained from voting on the IRO constitution, but also to those who voted against it. (USSR, Byelorussia, Poland, Ukraine and Yugoslavia).

The chairman also urged addressing a similar appeal to countries not members of the United Nations, but members of the the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, one of the operating agencies whose functions are eventually to be taken over by the IRO. The two countries to which such an appeal would be addressed are Liechtenstein and Italy.

The Iro Constitution provides that peace-loving nations not members of the United Nations may become members of the IRO upon recommendation of the IRO Executive Committee and a two-thirds vote of the General Council of the organization.

IMMEDIATE TASKS FOR COMMISSION SECRETARIAT

The Report approved by the Preparatory Commission contains a number of directives for the immediate activities of its newly appointed Executive Secretary, Arthur J. Altmeyer of the United States.

Under these directives the Preparatory Commission has no operating functions, but the Executive Secretary is asked to make the following specific preparations for the operations of the IRO:

To take over UNRRA's Central Tracing Bureau, whose task it is to trace missing persons - many of whom are believed to be dead - and to make preparations for tracing missing persons by use of radio and press as well as for special child tracing;

Preparations are to be made for a special organization of semi-judicial character, envisaged in the IRO Constitution's Annex on General Principles, where a careful definition is given of persons who should and those who should not become the concern of the IRO;

Draft agreements with military authorities and governments are to be prepared. These are to include governments of ex-enemy countries, where refugees are located, of the countries of origin of the displaced persons to which some will be repatriated and of the countries able and willing to receive immigrants, where some are to be resettled.

Information

Information is to be sought from military authorities as to the exact number of persons who are to become the concern of the IRO;

Detailed planning is to be made for the actual transfer of functions, assets and liabilities of UNRRA and the IGC;

Arrangements are to be made for a continuance of the cooperation of voluntary societies.

All this, as well as more technical functions like preparing financial and staff regulations, will be the task of the new Executive Secretary and of his staff, part of which is expected to be drawn from United Nations staff, under the offer of technical help made by the Secretary-General.

It is also expected that the IRO Preparatory Commission will operate in the United Nations building in Geneva.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

MARCH 1, 1947
NO. 160

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE DEAN ACHESON, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE, BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AT HEARINGS OF THAT COMMITTEE ON THE INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANIZATION, SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1947.

Opening Statement on IRO Constitution

Mr. Chairman:

I appreciate the opportunity which your Committee has given to the representatives of the Department of State to appear before you for the purpose of supporting Senate Joint Resolution 77, to provide for United States membership in the International Refugee Organization.

The provisions of this bill can be simply stated. First, it authorizes the President to accept membership in the International Refugee Organization. Second, it provides that the President shall designate United States representatives and alternates to attend sessions of the International Refugee Organization. Third, it authorizes an appropriation of the sums necessary for the United States to participate in the Organization. Essentially what this bill asks, therefore, is Congressional authorization which will make definitive the action already taken by Senator Austin in signing provisionally the Constitution of the International Refugee Organization.

What is it that this Constitution provides? It establishes an Organization to deal on an integrated basis with the whole problem of refugees and displaced persons. For the purposes of this Organization, a displaced person is someone who had to leave his own country as a result of the actions of the Nazi or Fascist authorities. A refugee is, generally speaking, anyone outside of his own country who was either a victim of Nazi persecution or who now is unwilling to return to his own country as a result of events which took place subsequent to the outbreak of the war. In general, the Organization concerns itself with such people only when certain conditions are fulfilled, i.e., that such persons desire to be repatriated and need help in order to be repatriated or for good reasons refuse to return volutarily to their own countries.

These

These are primarily the people whom the occupying armies found on their hands when they entered Germany, Austria, and Italy. They were people who had been taken against their will to Germany during the war, largely for the purpose of slave labor, or were people who, through fear of persecution or through lack of sympathy with the regimes which have been established in their own countries, fled to Germany, Austria, or Italy for protection. The Organization will also be concerned with similar problems in the Far East, particularly with overseas Chinese displaced by operations of the Japanese armies.

Toward all these people the Organization is intended to carry out certain functions. In the first place, obviously they must be cared for until some permanent disposition can be made of their case. In the second place, then, it is desirable that as many of these people as possible should be repatriated to their own countries since, always provided they are willing to go back, this solution represents the most economical and permanently satisfying way of handling the matter. Finally, those who have valid objections to returning to their own countries must be resettled in another place. Only to a limited extent could they be absorbed into the German economy. For example, in our zone in Germany, as a result of the expulsion of Germans from other countries and areas, there are three million more people than before the war while opportunities for work have been narrowed by the destruction of industrial plants. Nor should these victims of the Germans be forced against their will to become a part of them. It is of the highest importance that they should be brought as speedily as practical to useful living in a community where they are needed and wanted.

There are certain additional limitations upon the classes of people which this Organization will serve. A person, for example, who has unreasonably refused to accept the proposals of the Organization for resettlement will cease to be its concern. Also, the Organization will not assist a person who is making no substantial effort toward earning his own living if it is possible for him to do so. Lastly, the Organization will naturally not concern itself with war criminals, quislings, or traitors, or any other persons who can be shown to have assisted the enemy forces voluntarily in their operations against the United Nations.

Membership in the International Refugee Organization is open to any Member of the United Nations and under certain restrictions to certain non-members. The General Council is the policy-making body of the Organization, in which each member is represented and in which each member has one vote. The Executive Committee is elected by the General Council and is composed of nine countries elected for a two-year term.

The

The chief administrative officer of the International Refugee Organization is the Director General, who will be appointed by the General Council upon the nomination of the Executive Committee and will himself appoint the administrative staff of the Organization. The personnel of the Organization is calculated in the budget as running somewhere between 2000 and 3000 persons, which will represent the number of persons required to carry on the field work and camp administrative functions that are now being performed by UNRRA and the occupying armies.

The financing of the International Refugee Organization will be based upon Article 10 of the Constitution. In the first place, there will be an annual administrative budget which the General Assembly has set at a figure of $4,800,000 for the first financial year of the Organization. Second, the main work of the Organization is derived from the funds expended under the operational budget. It was set by the General Assembly at about $151,000,000 for the first financial year of the Organization. The largest part of this is obviously that devoted to care and maintenance, which is approximately $100,000,000, or two-thirds of the budget. However, it is clear that the more quickly we can get the displaced persons repatriated or resettled in other countries, the more quickly we shall be able to reduce the care and maintenance items in the budget by removing these people from assembly centers and camps. It was therefore important to make adequate provision for the expenses of repatriation and resettlement.

The two parts of the budget just mentioned constitute the obligatory portion of the financing of the International Refugee Organization. In addition to these two parts, there is also set up a sum of $5,000,000 for what is described as a fund for large-scale resettlement, to which contributions are not obligatory upon the members.

The apportionment of the budget among the members was naturally something to which a great deal of thought was given. It had been agreed from the start that the administrative budget should be apportioned on the same scale as the apportionment of the budget of the United Nations. According to this, therefore, the United States emerges with an obligation to pay 39.89 percent of the administrative budget of the International Refugee Organization. The operational budget, it was felt should reflect a little more closely the interest of the different countries in the problem. Certain adjustments were also made in favor of countries which had suffered severe economic and financial damage as a result of the war. The United States' share in the operational budget on a full membership basis is 45.75 percent. The United

States

States has substantially 60 percent of the displaced persons actually on its hands and has been actually making a higher percentage of external contributions to the cost of their care.

It has of course always been recognized that, so far as the United States is concerned, the Congress is the appropriating authority and that any obligation undertaken by the United States to contribute would have to be made annually subject to the appropriating authority of Congress. As to the large-scale resettlement expenditures for which no allocation of percentage is made by the Constitution, the Department of State suggests that the share of the United States in this non-obligatory budget could equitably be fixed at the same percentage as the United States share of the regular operational budget, 45.75 percent.

The International Refugee Organization is to be a temporary organization. Its work should be brought to a close within a few years. There is a large job to be done but the very nature of the problem and the burden of delay both on the United States taxpayer and on the displaced persons themselves makes it imperative that it be rapidly accomplished. Any member may at any time give written notice of its intention to withdraw. The withdrawal then becomes effective one year after the notice has been given.

The International Refugee Organization is a service organization. It is not an organization with governmental powers. Nothing in the Constitution of this Organization would enable it to alter the statutes of any of its members, whether in respect of immigration or any other matter. Furthermore, as I have stated above, the Organization can obtain from the United States only such funds as the Congress may appropriate to the Organization.

The Constitution which has been described is the result of many months of earnest deliberation in the United Nations. Within a few months after the termination of hostilities in August 1945 it became evident that the task to be faced was one which required the unification of functions with regard to the care, repatriation, and resettlement of displaced persons that were being carried on at that time by the Americans, British, and French military governments as well as by UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. The question of refugees and displaced persons was accordingly placed on the agenda of the General Assembly which met in London in January 1946. The question was recognized by the delegates gathered at London as one of the substantive problems of great urgency which the United Nations had to face.

The Assembly itself, faced with the immediate pressure of organizing the United Nations, could not make any

systematic

systematic examination of the matter. It therefore referred the matter to the Economic and Social Council, which, after a long series of deliberations and subreferrals to committees, reported back to the Assembly in October a proposal for an International Refugee Organization. After a considerable debate, the Assembly, on December 15, 1946, adopted the Constitution of the proposed Organization, approved a budget for the first financial year, and approved also an agreement for a Preparatory Commission to undertake necessary planning functions during the interim period before the coming into force of the Constitution. At every point throughout the debate, the urgency and importance of the question was evident. And to this question, I may add, more hours have been devoted in the United Nations than to any other single question exclusive of those concerning security.

The Constitution was opened for signature on December 15, 1946. The Constitution requires two conditions to bring it into force: (1) at least fifteen states must become parties to it; (2) the allocated contributions of the participating states must constitute 75 percent of the total operational budget.

At the present time, eleven states are already signatories to the Constitution. They are: Canada, the United States, France, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Guatemala, the Philippines, Liberia, Netherlands, Norway, and the United Kingdom. The allocated contributions of these states amount to 69.80 percent of the budget. Of these states, only the United Kingdom has as yet signed definitively without reservations similar to that of the United States.

Signature was made on behalf of the United States by Senator Austin "subject to approval". In this context, "approval" is understood to mean approval by the Congress. The joint resolution now before you, will if enacted, authorize the President to accept definitively for the United States membership in the Organization. Favorable action by the United States will of course affect governments which are now looking to us to take the lead.

Since the action by the General Assembly, the Preparatory Commission of the IRO has met in Geneva, Switzerland, where preliminary plans have been made for the program of the IRO as and when it is legally established. The Commission elected as its Executive Secretary Mr. Arthur J. Altmeyer, who is the Commissioner of the United States Social Security Administration. Mr. Altmeyer will thus have the administrative responsibility, as an international civil servant, for the next several months, of initiating the plans for the effectuation of the IRO.

The

The origin of the problem of the displaced persons is, I am sure, familiar to most of you. The great majority of these people were driven from their homes by the circumstances of the war. These were nationals of one or another of the United Nations or were persons who had been persecuted by the enemy. In very large part, they were people who had been carried into Germany as slave labor. When the war ended, they were without the means of repatriating themselves or of providing adequately for their own maintenance. In Germany, Austria, and Italy, the occupying western armies found some eight millions of homeless people sturdy enough to have survived, who became the joint concern of the occupying armies and of UNRRA.

There was then undertaken by the Armies and UNRRA an extraordinarily effective job of identification, care, and repatriation. Seven million people were returned to their homes within a year. This was a rapid job planned and instituted as a joint activity by SHAEF. It was also humanely accomplished. It was from all points of view the most satisfactory method of dealing with the problem. But it fell short of becoming a complete solution. There remained more than a million displaced persons on the hands of the United States, Great Britain, and France, in Germany, Austria, and Italy. The process of repatriation, though still continuing, has slowed up.

It is evident that there are, among the displaced persons, hundreds of thousands who will not voluntarily return to their places of origin. This is due to the changes wrought by the war in prewar governmental boundaries and governmental systems within the areas from which they have come, to the aftermath of the memories of Nazi persecution in those areas during the war, the destruction of their kindred and their former homes and former opportunities for livelihood; to differences in political views and fears of persecution or reprisal because of those differences. We are unwilling, if we were able, forcibly to send these uprooted people back to countries with new borders and new political systems. That has been the cardinal principle in handling these displaced persons in the past. It was approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is firmly embodied in the Constitution of the International Refugee Organization.

It has also been a firm principle in the administration of the displaced persons program, and it will continue to be under the International Refugee Organization, that these victims of German aggression will not against their will be forced to stay in Germany and become Germans. As a matter of fact, there is no place for them in the contracted German economy and in our already over-crowded zone. It has always

been

been the view of the military authorities that the problem of displaced persons was from its very nature one not for troops but for international civilian agencies. They have increasingly used such agencies. Our Army is not now staffed to carry on the task of administration of these hundreds of communities and the negotiation and execution of international arrangements for repatriation and resettlement. The International Refugee Organization provides a unified service for all the present varied services with the present diffused overheads and responsibilities.

The problem, then, is that of the remaining displaced persons, about one million people, of whom some 600,000 are in the United States Zone.

Of these people, almost all come from the countries of eastern Europe. Perhaps a third are registered as Poles, a fifth as Balts, a fourth as Jews, and smaller fractions as Yugoslavs and citizens of the Soviet Union, stateless, and of miscellaneous origin. We are thus dealing with a group of people originating in an area of Europe where political change has been great and where political tension is high. As an occupying power, we have these people on our hands; we are compelled to do something about them in a constructive and statesmanlike manner.

The program which is envisaged for these people is in summary as follows: First, the persons who can be repatriated must be temporarily cared for until their return home can be accomplished. They must receive initial supplies of food to start them on their way. Second, those who are unwilling to return need temporary care until they can be resettled. Third, the task of resettlement requires protracted negotiation with the potential countries of reception and then the making of arrangements for sorting out, training, medical examination, and transportation. Finally, such displaced persons as are unwilling to work to contribute to their own support or who are otherwise exploiting the assistance they are receiving, or have been collaborators with our enemies, or are unwilling to accept opportunities for resettlement, will no longer receive support. This recital of the tasks before the IRO will indicate, I think, the difficult program facing the Organization. This Government has never believed that the job would be easy; but it has always been determined to see it through.

The International Refugee Organization has a substantial contribution to make to the cause of post-war reconstruction and international cooperation. Our participation in it would be a further earnest of our determined effort to make the United Nations work.

* * * * * *

ONE YEAR OF PROGRESS IN WORLD HEALTH

(Press Release H/74, United Nations, 14 February 1947)

Achievements by the World Health Organization, Interim Commission

This report is a brief summary of one year's progress made since the United Nations through its Economic and Social Council directed the Secretary-General to call an International Health Conference. In the belief that the public generally would be interested in the progress toward a World Health Organization, the Interim Commission is issuing this public report.

I

BACKGROUND AND ORIGIN

On February 15, 1946, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations directed the Secretary-General to convene an international health conference no later than June 20, 1946. The Council also named a Technical Preparatory Committee to develop plans and proposals and work out the agenda for that conference.

The International Health Conference convened in New York City June 19 to July 22, 1946, with voting delegates from 51 Nations, observers from 13 others, and observers from the Allied Control Authorities of Germany, Japan, and Korea. The following organizations also sent observers: FAO, ILO, Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization, UNRRA, Office International d'Hygiene Publique of Paris, Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, League of Red Cross Societies, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the World Federation of Trades Unions.

The Following are the principal steps taken by the International Health Conference:

1. The formation of the World Health Organization and the adoption of a Constitution therefor.

2. The

2. The establishment of an Interim Commission to carry on certain continuing international health work and to handle emergency public health activities pending ratification of the Constitution. The Conference in an instrument known as the Arrangement Concluded by the Governments Represented at the International Health Conference outlined the duties of the Interim Commission. These included the transfer of public health functions of the League of Nations Health Section and emergency assistance to national health services, epidemiological intelligence work, and public health scholarship program transferred from UNRRA.

3. A third instrument was concluded, called the Protocol Concerning the Office International d'Hygiene Publique of Paris. This office had been created by the Agreement of 1907, signed at Rome and has been administering more than a dozen international agreements and sanitary conventions. The Protocol signed in New York authorized the WHO or its Interim Commission to discharge the duties of the Office pending ratification by 20 of the States which were signatories to the Rome Agreement.

II

ORGANIZATIONAL PROGRESS

The Interim Commission authorized by the Conference was organized in the closing days of the world meeting and held its first session in New York before the Conference ended. The Interim Commission laid the groundwork for a long-term international health program designed to get under way immediately and to function effectively pending the ratification of the WHO Constitution by 26 States.

Dr. Andrija Stampar, rector of the University of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, was elected permanent chairman of the Interim Commission and Dr. G. B. Chisholm, deputy Minister of Health, Department of National Health and Welfare of the Dominion of Canada, was elected Executive Secretary.

The Interim Commission has established its headquarters in New York City and a technical office in Geneva, Switzerland. Dr. Yves Biraud, identified with epidemiological work of the League of Nations for many years, was named Deputy Executive Secretary and is in charge of the technical office in Geneva. Dr. Frank Calderone, former deputy health commissioner of New York City, was nemed Director of the Headquarters Office. The temporary quarters of the Interim Commission were situated at the New York Academy of Medicine and in December, moved to its permanent location in the Empire State Building.

Progress is being made toward approval of the Constitution with six States becoming parties by February 1, -- China, United Kingdom, Canada, Iran, New Zealand, and Syria. While proceedings are in progress toward ratification in several other countries, these six are the only ones whose proceedings have complied with all the requirements for ratification set forth in the World Health Organization Constitution.

A total of 18 States have approved the Protocol Concerning the Office International d'Hygiene Publique of which nine were States parties to the Agreement of 1907.

A second session of the Interim Commission was held in Geneva, November 1946, and the third one is scheduled for March 31 in Geneva. Sessions are held at least every four months for the purpose of checking on progress of activities and making plans for further developments in the field of international public health.

III

OPERATIONS

Numerous functions of a vital and continuing nature have been entrusted to the World Health Organization Interim Commission. These functions are being carried forward pending their assumption by the World Health Organization as a specialized agency of the United Nations when the Constitution comes into force.

League of Nations Functions

On October 16, 1946 the health functions of the League of Nations Health Organization were transferred to the World Health Organization Interim Commission. These functions were principally of two types: operation of an epidemiological reporting service and administration of work in biological standardization.

The central office of the Service of Epidemiological Intelligence and Public Health Statistics of the League published the WEEKLY EPIDEMIOLOGICAL RECORD. This publication has been taken over and the Interim Commission is continuing publication as did the League in both the French and English Languages.

The League was responsible for the administration of

biological

biological standardization work. Under the system used, which the Interim Commission is continuing, two laboratories by arrangement make the actual preparations and distribution of the biological standards. The laboratories which have been doing this work are the Statens Serum Institut at Copenhagen and the Medical Research Council's Laboratory at Hampstead (London).

UNRRA Functions

A substantial volume of health activities has been transferred to the Interim Commission the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. These functions fall into four groups: duties under Sanitary Conventions; epidemiological intelligence work, emergency assistance to health services to certain countries in which the UNRRA health program has been operating, and a scholarship program in public health and medicine.

On December 1, 1946 UNRRA transferred to the WHO the functions and duties under the 1944 Sanitary Conventions. These include the Conventions and Protocols to prolong the Conventions and the International Sanitary Convention for Aerial Navigation of 1944 and the Protocol to prolong that Convention also. These agreements effect safety and health in relation to both aerial and maritime travel.

On January 1, 1947 the epidemiological activities of the Health Division of UNRRA were transferred to the WHO Interim Commission and consolidated with the work of the Commission in its Geneva office. UNRRA had published for two years the EPIDEMIOLOGICAL INFORMATION BULLETIN.

On January 1, 1947 UNRRA activities in emergency field assistance in public health in certain parts of Europe and Africa were transferred. These included malaria control and tuberculosis programs in Greece, scholarships and fellowships in Europe, and a medical mission in Ethiopia.

UNRRA had made an outstanding contribution through its health world and while many of the activities of this agency are being concluded, certain essential duties are still being continued. The tuberculosis program in Greece is one of the important activities whixh is being assumed by the WHO Interim Commission. Mass X-ray examinations, inspection of hospital facilities, the training of technicians in radiographic units, and other forms of assistance to the national health service are included in the program transferred from UNRRA.

The malaria control program in Greece was nation-wide in scope and was effective in reducing the prevalence of the

disease

disease. Use of 10 specially equiped airplanes applying 20 per cent DDT to inacessible breeding places was highly successful. The use of planes, while the most spectacular, was only one of several control techniques employed in the fight against malaria. The malaria program is being continued in Greece.

The medical Mission in Ethiopia is virtually doing a "pilot project" job. The public health needs of the country are great and the work which must be done is extensive and will require systematic studies and surveys. The mission is working with the health service of the country and it is hoped that, although the mission is small in numbers, it can make substantial progress toward helping Ethiopia set up helath standards and services which will help materially in reducing the incidence of illness, particularly venereal disease.

Scholarship Program

Disruption of medical services and training facilities have left gaps in the educational and informational work on the advances and progress made in recent years in medicine and public health work in many parts of the world, particularly Europe. The World Health Organization Interim Commission is developing a four-part scholarship program. This will include, for 1947:

1. post-graduate fellowships in public health, medicine sanitary engineering, and public health nursing;

2. travel grants for specialists;

3. teaching missions in health;

4. special health field conferences.

Under the 1947 program 30 post-graduate students in public health, medicine, sanitary engineering, and public health nursing will study for one in the United States and Canada.

Ten advanced specialists will be provided travel grants in the fields of medicine and public health. They will travel for three months in the United States and Canada in order to familiarize themselves with advances in their particular fields.

Medical missions and individual lecturers will be brought to various countries in the interest of public health and medicine. For this part of the program the World Health Organization will cooperate with voluntary organizations. The WHO will defray travel and subsistence costs while the staff members or experts of the agencies will be paid their salaries by their own organizations.

Planned

Planned field conferences will be held in countries in special need of medicine and public health attention. Under this program 16 specialists including two from the Far East, will be brought together at a point of special interest in field work. This conference would include lectures, demonstrations, discussions and field trips in the area of the conference.

Expert Committees

Much of the work of the Interim Commission is being developed through committees. These are of two types: internal (composed of members from within the Commission) and external or expert committees (composed of members drawn from sources outside the Commission).

Three internal committees have been set up and are functioning: Epidemiology and Quarantine, Administration and Finance, and Relations.

Six expert comittees are being formed to develop studies and proposals for programs in various areas of public health work. These six committees are:

1. Expert Committee on Revision of International List of Causes of Death and on the Establishment of International List of Causes of Morbidity.

2. Expert Committee on Biological Standardization.

3. Expert Committee on Quarantine.

4. Expert Committee on Narcotic Drugs.

5. Expert Committee on Malaria.

6. Expert Committee on Pilgrimage Clauses of Sanitary Conventions.

It will be noted from the list of expert comittees that the subject matter under study is broad in scope.

Numerous other duties in connection with the convocation of the World Health Assembly, following ratification of the WHO Constitution, are being carried out by the Interim Commission. These include studies in connection with proposals to present to the Assembly, preparation of draft agreements between WHO and the United Nations, and negotiation with intergovernmental organizations on matters of cooperation with WHO.

The

The Interim Commission is also directed to review existing machinery and undertake such preparatory work as may be necessary in connection with the next decennial revision of the International Lists of Causes of Death and the establishment of International Lists of Causes of Morbidity. The expert committee, to carry forward this assignment, has been appointed and is scheduled to meet in Ottawa, Canada on March 10.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

FOR THE PRESS

MARCH 17, 1947
NO. 199

The Department of State announced today that it has been notified that the Thrid Session of the Interim Commission of the World Health Organization is scheduled to convene at Geneva, Switzerland on March 31, 1947, and will probably last about two weeks. The agenda is expected to include: (a) a report of the Executive Secretary on the activities of the Commission since its last session (Geneva, Switzerland, November 4-13, 1946); (b) a report on transfer of certain UNRRA health functions to the Commission; (c) consideration of certain questions arising out of the transfer of the International Office of Public Health to the Commission; (d) administrative and budgetary questions; and (e) professional and technical questions.

The Interim Commission of the World Health Organization, set up at the International Health Conference at New York in June 1946, meets every four months. The purpose of these Commission meetings is to consider any urgent health problems arising in the interim prior to the establishment of the World Health Organization and to formulate plans for setting up the permanent Organization.

The United States representative on the Interim Commission of the WHO is Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service. Dr. H. van Zile Hyde, the alternate United States representative, will attend the Third Session.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
RETRAINING AND REEMPLOYMENT ADMINISTRATION
FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION BUILDING
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

RECEIVED
MAY 26 1947
Southern Regional Council

I enclose a copy of the Report and Recommendations of the Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor, established by this Administration in May 1946. The recommendations of the Committee offer practical suggestions for improving the working and living conditions of migrant workers and are the result of concerted action of a group of agencies thoroughly familiar with the many problems inherent in this type of labor.

The problem of the migrant worker encompasses both Federal and State areas of responsibility and only through group cooperation between Federal and State agencies can the principles enunciated in this report be translated into action.

Copies of this report are being transmitted to State Governors, State Labor Commissioners, State Departments of Education, and others with a prime interest in this field, with the hope that the report will serve as an incentive for each State to recognize the serious and detrimental conditions affecting a large segment of our populace and will thus be an impelling force toward the taking of appropriate action to eradicate such conditions.

Your personal interest and cooperation will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

G. B. ERSKINE
Major General, USMC
Administrator

Enclosure

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

PHILADELPHIA

ADDRESS REPLY TO SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO ATTORNEY GENERAL IN CHARGE IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION AND REFER TO FILE NUMBER

March 24, 1945

The Secretary
Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Our national Citizenship Day is to be observed this year on or about Sunday, May 20. This day has been designated by the President in his Proclamation of March 14 as "I Am An American Day", in accordance with the Joint Resolution of Congress approved in May, 1940. While enclosing copies of this Proclamation for your consideration and transmission to your constituents, may I point out that the President reminds all citizens that this occasion is an opportunity to reaffirm their allegiance to the highest American principles and to honor the sacrifices and constructive efforts of our new citizens on behalf of world security and for the downfall of tyranny.

The spiritual and educational values of such a day of public ceremony and dedication cannot be overlooked. To assist in their realization, this Service has recently published a booklet,"Program Aids for Citizenship Recognition Ceremonies", a revised edition prepared with the aid of the National Education Association. We regret that owing to the limited supply for free distribution we can only send you the single copy accompanying this letter. However, any committee organized to conduct a community celebration may obtain one from our field offices. Others may be purchased from the Government Printing Office.

The enclosed folder, "By Each Generation", issued by the Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association, emphasizes the dynamic leadership of the educational profession in the cause of good citizenship. This Committee, it may be noted, urges the observance of the period of May 14-20 as "American Citizenship Week". We hope that you will desire to cooperate in this plan and will advocate the same to your membership.

Last year the number of communities holding observances increased by sixty per cent, to a total of eight hundred. Such a result was largely due to the interest and support of cooperating groups such as your own. If similar joint efforts occur this year we should be able to have twelve hundred communities taking part in this observance to honor American citizenship through welcoming its new citizens.

Will you please send us a copy of any bulletin that you may issue to your membership in order that we may keep in touch with the cooperative aspects of this movement?

Yours very sincerely,

B. C. Harrington

B. C. Harrington
Specialist in Educational Services

Enclosures

"I AM AN AMERICAN DAY", 1945

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BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS within the last twelve months we have granted citizenship with its many privileges to thousands of foreign-born men and women through naturalization, and have received into full citizenship the great numbers of native-born youth who have come of age; and

WHEREAS these citizens are giving strength to our democracy in its struggle against tyranny and in its striving to make secure through international organization the rights and opportunities of citizens in our own and in other sovereign nations; and

WHEREAS the Congress, by Public Resolution 67, approved May 3, 1940, has recognized the third Sunday in May of each year as "I Am An American Day" and has requested that the President issue a proclamation setting aside that day for the special recognition of those who have been naturalized or have attained their majority during the past year:

NOW, THEREFORE, I, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, President of the United States of America, in order that we may honor those who have recently become members of our body politic and at the same time reaffirm our allegiance to the principles of American citizenship, do hereby proclaim Sunday, May 20, 1945, as "I Am An American Day."

And I call upon Federal, State, and local officials, and patriotic, civic, and education organizations to hold, on or about May 20, exercises designed to impress upon our citizens, both native-born and naturalized, the privileges of their new status in our democracy and their responsibilities for building this Nation's security and advancing its welfare.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

DONE at the City of Washington this fourteenth day of March in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-ninth.

(SEAL)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

By the President:

E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.

Secretary of State

"I AM AN AMERICAN DAY", 1945

- - - - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

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DONE at the City of Washington this fourteenth day of March in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and forty-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and sixty-ninth.

(SEAL)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

By the President:

E. R. STETTINIUS, JR.

Secretary of State

April 25, 1947

Mr. E. S. Morgan
State Director
Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Montgomery 4, Alabama

Dear Ernest:

I have just lately found somebody that I think is right for the job. She now works for the Bureau of Labor Statistics here in Atlanta. She will start with us June 1.

So, I no longer have an actual vacancy, but I may from time to time have room for somebody good and I wish you would remember about it and tell me of anybody you think would fit who may be cut loose for this reason or that.

K.L. was the old Special Skills Division. Why K.L., I never knew.

If you can get hold of Rex's book on Puerto Rico, you will have many quiet and wistful chuckles as you read it. I am only well into it but I have revelled in it - The Stricken Land - Dutton, I think - and it costs $4.50.

The moving of the Georgia office to Atlanta lets me see Vansant, and I have found Davis Slappey and Clark Tate around, although I have not as yet got hold of Tate.

Thank you for being willing to help. Let me know if you are hereabouts. I am going to come to Montgomery sometime before long. I guess it is past the season of a log fire in your fireplace, but I would like to see spring blossoms out there.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

~~FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION~~

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION

Montgomery 4, Alabama

IN REPLY REFER TO

April 23, 1947

RECEIVED
APR 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am in receipt of your letter of April 14, regarding the vacancy you have in your organization and regret that I do not know of anyone I could suggest at the present time.

We are terminating two Administrative Supervisors in Alabama, but it was the desire in each instance to return to a County Office. I will, however, keep this position in mind and should I think of anyone that I think would suit you I will let you know.

Frankly, you put one over on me as to the meaning of "K.L.". Will you please refresh my memory as it might have an important bearing on the qualifications of the person for the job you mentioned.

You have not been by to see me for a good long time. I sincerely hope you have not checked me off your calling list.

Yours sincerely,

Ernest

E. S. Morgan
State Director

May 15, 1947

Mr. J. B. Slack
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Farmers Home Administration
Regional Office
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear J.B.:

Strickland did a good job - and so did all of you in working with him.

Smithfield was as close to Raleigh as I got, but better luck next time!

I do hope you or someone around the office can find an address that will eventually reach Mrs. Faris.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

May 15, 1947
Dictated May 14.

Mrs. Claude Faris
c/o Mr. J. B. Slack
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Farmers Home Administration
Regional Office
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Faris:

Yesterday morning when driving across eastern North Carolina I stopped for a few minutes at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Archie Strickland, a few miles outside of Smithfield.

You may remember that Strickland was the tenant farmer on the old North Carolina Tenant Security Project for whose construction needs Claude worked out a way within the regulations to lend the money instead of spending it for government building. It was not long after Strickland had his building most sensibly underway that Mr. Wallace came to North Carolina and was taken to see Strickland's farm, among others. Mr. Wallace was so impressed with the country commonsense of the loan method that I am satisfied he personally saw to it that that device was given its opportunities for future expansion in the building work done under the Bankhead-Jones Act. Which means that Strickland was a sort of guinea pig for the 50,000-odd tenant purchasers who have followed him. So, I was most pleased to find that in Strickland's case it had all worked out neatly.

He paid over to the Government this spring some $4,400 and on day before yesterday Mrs. Rose came out from the courthouse at Smithfield and gave him his deed. He told me that he had been offered ~~$1,100~~ $1,000 for the place to date and would not think of selling. Mrs. Strickland said that her chicken money had been a major part of their ability to pay for the place. Mr. Strickland also worked each year at the tobacco warehouse for some months and that brought in extra cash. But, the land is good and the buildings, though sound and roomy, did not cost them much.

I know that if Claude were alive he would have followed with interest what happened to Archie Strickland.

Mrs. Mitchell and I and the two children live now in Atlanta, where I work for the Southern Regional Council. We would like to know where you are and about the Faris children.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

May 19, 1947

Mr. John W. Mitchell
Field Agent, Extension Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

It was as kind of you as could be to write me your letter of May 14.

As the years roll on, you and I are getting to be sort o' old hands at this game, are we not?

North Carolina has lately had good news and we in the Council the bad news that Dr. Trigg is going to St. Augustine's College.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
DIRECTOR OF EXTENSION WORK
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia
May 14, 1947

RECEIVED
MAY 16 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

While we regret the going of Dr. Guy B. Johnson, who so ably served for the past three years as Director of SRA, we are happy to know that you have accepted that position. I do not know of anyone so well prepared for the position as yourself. I am sure you and my friend, Dr. Trigg, will accomplish much in the very difficult task that you are performing.

With best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

John W. Mitchell

John W. Mitchell
Field Agent
Extension Service

JWM/p

FOR VICTORY
BUY UNITED STATES WAR BONDS AND STAMPS

Dept. of Justice

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 28, 1947

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

In Mr. Smith's absence I am taking the liberty of answering your letter of July 23, 1947, enclosing a story of the action of the Harris County police in connection with the jailing of the Davidson family and the death of Henry Gilbert.

Mr. Smith is presently on leave in Franklin, North Carolina. I am sure he would want me to advise you promptly that the plight of the Davidson family has already been called to our attention and we are looking into it.

Sincerely yours,

Fred G. Folsom

Fred G. Folsom

Dept. of Justice, U.S.

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

TVQ:FGF:esw

144-19M-27

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 29, 1947

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

This will acknowledge your letter of July 23, 1947, together with the enclosed photostatic copy of an editorial from the Georgia Tribune for June 5, 1947, and a statement of facts concerning the alleged mistreatment of the Davidson family by Harris County, Georgia, jail authorities. You request a speaker be assigned for the proposed Conference on Human Rights and World Order at Southern College, Lakeland, Florida, on August 6, 1946, and you request our consideration of the enclosed material.

Careful consideration has been given to the inflammatory editorial from the Georgia Tribune and while this does not appear to involve any violation of our Federal laws, we appreciate your calling it to the Department's attention.

We have already been advised of the difficulties encountered by the Davidson family in Harris County, Georgia, and the matter is receiving the careful attention of the Civil Rights Section of the Criminal Division.

Your request for a speaker at the August 6 Conference at Lakeland, Florida, is being considered and I will advise you in a day or so whether it will be possible to send one.

Respectfully,

For the Attorney General

T. Vincent Quinn

T. VINCENT QUINN
Assistant Attorney General

Dept. of Ag.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

~~FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION~~

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION
Masonic Temple Building
Jackson, Mississippi
September 8, 1947

IN REPLY REFER TO

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Attached you will find a copy of a letter from our FHA Supervisor, Mr. Gilford F. Dabbs, Jr., Philadelphia, Mississippi, giving information pertaining to the farm of R. B. Wooten, Route 2, Box 139, Philadelphia, Mississippi, which you requested in your letter of August 15.

We trust this information is what you desire.

Sincerely yours,

T. B. Fatherree
State Director

Attachment

U.S. Govt.
Dept. of Agric.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

~~FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION~~

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION

IN REPLY REFER TO

Americus, Georgia
September 30, 1947

RECEIVED
OCT 1 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Counselor
Wesley Memorial Church Bldg.,
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a copy of some background data on the first insured farmownership loan which I trust will suffice for the article you requested.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours

George L. Davis

George L. Davis
Ass't. ~~Information~~
Field Representative

Encls.

BACKGROUND DATA ON FIRST INSURED FARM MORTGAGE LOAN TO BE MADE IN

AMERICUS, GA., FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3rd, 1947

Under an amendment to the Farmer's Home Administration Act of 1946 this agency is authorized to insure farm ownership mortgage loans for not more than 90 per cent of the normal value of the farm and improvements. The amendment, sponsored by the Hon. Stephen Pace, of the Third Congressional District of Georgia, was designed to give private investors an opportunity to utilize the provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act- the soundness of which have been proven over ten years of operation- to expand family type farm ownership and to reduce the prevalence of tenancy. The amendment remained inoperative until last June when the Congress appropriated $1,000,000 for an insurance reserve fund, thereby activating or giving life to this section. The Farmers Home Administration is authorized to insure up to $100,000,000 (one hundred million) in mortgage loans each year.

The loans apply only to family type farms. They are available to veterans, farm tenants, sharecroppers and farm laborers who are able to make a 10 per cent down payment on the normal value of the property, for the purchase of a farm. Loans can also be made to owners of under-sized and under-developed farms to enable them to create adequate farm units. The remaining 90 per cent of the normal value may be obtained from any private source- that is, an individual, bank, insurance or other investment firm. The amount loaned will be insured in its entirety by the Farmers Home Administration and has the same ironclad validity as a Government bond since the full resources of the United States Treasury are pledged as security.

The borrower will pay 3½ per cent interest and the loan may amortized over a maximum period of 40 years. The lender will receive 2½ per cent interest. This is

a net sum for the lender inasmuch as the Farmers Home Administration services the loan- that is makes all collections and transmits them to the lender, does all of the accounting, and provides technical guidance and counsel for the borrower to assist him in his farming operations. The remaining one per cent of the interest charged the borrower, goes to the Farmers Home Administration for the insurance reserve against possible losses for administrative costs.

Provision for the Government to perform all collection and loan servicing activities for the lender is a new wrinkle in farm mortgage financing, but in the light of the amazing success of the farm ownership program in the past, there can be no doubt that it will work. This is an essential difference between the new farm mortgage insurance program and the insured loan program set up about ten years ago and which has operated largely for the benefit of city home owners.

On Friday, October 3, the first insured farm ownership mortgage loan in the United States will be closed in a public ceremony in Americus, Ga. The loan will be made to Robert A. Hale for the purchase of a 150 acre farm about eight miles east of Americus. Charles Crisp, President of the Bank of Commerce of Americus, will deliver the check to Mr. Hale, covering 90 per cent of the normal value of the farm. Administration Dillard B. Lasseter, of the Farmers Home Administration, will deliver to Mr. Crisp the insured mortgage certificate. Speakers will include United States Senator George and Russell, Congressman Pace, Governor Thompson, Mr. Lasseter, H. L. Wingate, President of the Georgia Farm Bureau, R. L. Vansant, State Director, and others.

Mr. Hale is a native of Georgia who was "brought up a poor boy" and never had a chance to receive more than a third grade education. For the greater part of his life he has farmed on shares and rarely ever made more than "enough to break even". For past three years he has served as manager of the farm he is buying, and, in the opinion of the owners and the County Committee of the Farmers HOme Administration,

has well demonstrated his ability to make a success of the venture. He has a wife, one daughter, who is a senior in high school, and a seven year old son. The opportunity to own a farm is the realization of the ambition of a lifetime.

His story is but the counterpart of thousands of Georgians whose applications are now on file with the Farmers Home Administration, and some 5,000 other former tenants and sharecroppers who have attained ownership under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act in Georgia.

These new farm owners received over $18,000,000 in direct loans from the Government for the purchase of their farms, and they have already repaid $8,400,000 in principal and interest, although the program is only ten years old and they have a maximum of 40 years to repay the loans. In short, for every $1 that has come due, $3 have been paid. A total of 500 have paid for their farms in full.

With this new opportunity for farm ownership tenancy has dropped in Georgia and throughout the south. In 1935 nearly two-thirds- 65.6 per cent of all farm families in Georgia were tenants and sharecroppers. In 1940 this percentage had dropped to 60.1 per cent and in 1945 to 53.8 per cent. There were numerous factors such as migration during the war, improved commodity prices and others, influencing this change but it is significant that the Farmers Home Administration today can account for about one of every 13 of all of the full owners of farms in Georgia who attained ownership as a result of their participation in the program of the Farmers Home Administration and that of its predecessor, the Farm Security Administration.

The 1945 census shows there were 96,134 full owners(those who own and operate their farms) in Georgia. Of this number approximately 5,000 became owners through the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act, while an additional 2,800 bought farms from banks, insurance companies and other sources, after they had received training for the responsibilities of ownership in the operating loan program of Farmers Home Administration and Farm Security- making a round total of 7,800 new farm owners for Georgia.

In 1935 Georgia had 250,544 farm families, of which 75,857 were full owners and 164,331 were tenants. The rest were part owners (those who own a part and rent a part of the land they operate) and managers - - 9,340 and 1,016 respectively.

In 1940 Georgia had 216,033 farm families of which 76,103 were full owners and 129,850 were tenants. There were 9,078 part owners and 1,002 managers.

In 1945 there were 225,897 farm families in Georgia of which 96,134 were full owners and 121,538 were tenants, with 7,217 part owners and 1,008 managers.

Direct loans by the Farmers Home Administration under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act are continued upon a reduced basis this year, the Congress having appropriated only $15,000,000 for this purpose. This will be sufficient to make only about 2,000 farm ownership loan in the United States from the more than 80,000 applications on file last June. Since a preference is given veterans virtually all of the direct loan funds will be used for this purpose.

Administrator Lasseter has expressed the hope that the insured mortgage program in which private investors make the loans, will eventually supplant the direct landing activities of the agency.

###

Joyce Kelly
5703 10th Rd. N.
Arlington Va.

U.S. Govt.
Dept. of Agriculture

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

RECEIVED
DEC 1 1947
Southern Regional Council

Wednesday

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have not been very successful in getting the information you requested over the phone the other day. So far as I can find out, BAE had reprints made of Project I and they gave me five copies for you, which I am sending under separate cover.

Dr. Ziegler's office informs me that Leland B. Tate had reprints made of Project IX, and have requested five copies for you.

Projects VII and VIII have not been reprinted, so far as I can learn.

Oris Wells is now Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics. I couldn't, of course, get in to see him but his secretary was helpful in getting the five copies of Project I for me. Perhaps if you wrote him direct, you could obtain additional copies of that project.

I called the printing office (GPO)and was told that no reprints were made except to fill specific orders and that the cost would be quite prohibitive for only 100 copies. If you should want 100 copies of the entire Hearings, it would cost approximately $150. The volume sells for $2.00 and there is a 25% discount on 100 copies. They indicated that the price might be somewhat less (on reprinting) if you had the four projects in which you are interested printed together in one pamphlet.

I have three copies of the Hearings (complete) for you; one from Bill Orr, one from Jesse Gilmer and one from BAE. I thought perhaps you could separate the projects and staple them together.

Please let me know if I can be of further help on this. It was nice talking with you; Mrs. Lacey and I both enjoyed it. And I'm looking forward to seeing you on the 14th. I've sold my house and moved but my telephone number is the same. My office room number and phone number are the same.

Give my love to Alice and the girls.

Sincerely,

Joyce

Usf Corr
Dept of State

February 20, 1948

Mr. Francis H. Russell, Director
Office of Public Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Russell:

I greatly appreciate your invitation to be present at the Conference on March 4 on human rights. The acceptance form is enclosed.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Enclosure

GSM:eb

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
PL

RECEIVED
FEB 17 1948
Southern Regional Council

February 13, 1948

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am writing to invite your organization to designate one or two persons to represent your organization at a Conference on Human Rights and Freedom of Information to be held at the Department of State on Thursday, March 4, 1948. If your organization cannot be represented, you are invited to express your views in writing on the topics listed in the enclosed agenda.

The purpose of this Conference is to afford an opportunity for officers of the Department of State to consult with organization representatives on the Geneva Draft of the International Declaration on Human Rights and the Covenant on Human Rights. Part of the conference sessions will be devoted to freedom of information questions which are of current interest in view of the World Conference on Freedom of Information which is being convened by the United Nations Economic and Social Council at Geneva on March 23.

Those who attend the Mar h 4 sessions will have opportunities to express and explain their views. The record of the Conference will become a part of the working papers of the delegation and advisers representing the United States on these matters.

Your cooperation in completing the enclosed form and returning it to me by February 23 will enable the Department of State to plan adequate meeting facilities for those who attend the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Francis H. Russell

Francis H. Russell
Director
Office of Public Affairs

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, NE,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM OF INFORMATION

Auditorium, New State Department Building
Washington, D.C., March 4, 1948

TENTATIVE AGENDA

8:45 AM Registration - New State Department Auditorium

9:30 AM General Session - New State Department Auditorium

Opening of the Conference by the Chairman, Mr. Francis H. Russell, Director, Office of Public Affairs

9:40 AM "Review of the Geneva Conference on Human Rights" - Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, United States Delegate, United Nations Human Rights Commission

10:00 AM "Human Rights and the Bogota Inter-American Conference" - Mr. William Sanders, Associate Chief, Division of International Organization Affairs

10:15 AM Round Table Discussions

Group I - Geneva Draft of the International Declaration on Human Rights

Group II - Geneva Draft of the Covenant on Human Rights

Group III - Implementation of Human Rights: Geneva Developments

Group IV - American Contributions to International Understanding and Peace

12:15 PM Subscription Luncheon

1:15 PM "Human Rights and the United Nations" - Mr. Dean Rusk, Director, Office of United Nations Affairs

1:45 PM "Freedom of Information" - Mr. Lloyd Free, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of Information and Educational Exchange

2:45 PM Round Table Discussions

Group I - (Continued from morning session)

Group II - (Continued from morning session)

Group III - (Continued from morning session)

Group V - Freedom of Information

4:15 PM General Discussion Session - New State Department Auditorium

Brief Reports from Discussion Leaders
Discussion of Questions from the Floor

5:30 PM Adjournment

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

US Govt

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON 25

July 22, 1948

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is in reply to your inquiry of July 19, 1948.

I am enclosing a copy of the report Crop-Sharing Contracts, 16th Census of the United States, 1940, as requested.

We appreciate your interest in Census statistics and will be glad to help you further if you will let us know your needs.

Very truly yours,

Ray Hurley

Ray Hurley
Chief, Agriculture Division
Bureau of the Census

Enclosures

(Sent Journal at Harvard) Aug 3 48

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

MR:sh

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 22, 1948

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Attn: Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secretary-Treasurer
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Replying to your correspondence regarding the return of one hundred copies of the "Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights". Inasmuch as your original order can not be located, a refund of $75.00 is being made under separate cover, under our MS-0053, for the one hundred publications which you returned.

Very respectfully,

Fred W. Cromwell

FRED W. CROMWELL
Superintendent of Documents

RECEIVED
JUL 26 1948
Southern Regional Council

July 22, 1948

Mr. Fred W. Cromwell
Superintendent of Documents
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cromwell:

I am most appreciative of the refund of $75.00 which has been granted us on the return of 75 copies of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "To Secure These Rights."

May I ask, however, that a check be substituted for the cash coupons herewith returned? Our organization does not normally have a use for these coupons save only in rare instances such as the issuance of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. I shall therefore, be very appreciative if you can exchange these coupons for a check of like value.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Separate cover

MR

REFUND MEMORANDUM

Date 7/8/48

Name: Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Secy.-Treas.

Address: 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Rm. 432
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Invoice

Duplicate
X Adjustment

Refund of $75.00
(Amount)

Explanation: The original order, which you state was not returned to you with shipment, cannot be located, but we are refunding herewith the amount charged for the 100 publications you returned.

Signed Fred A. Cleveland
Superintendent of Documents

June 8, 1948

Mr. Fred W. Cromwell
Superintendent of Documents
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cromwell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 1 in which you again ask for the original order covering 200 copies of the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights which was accompanied by our check in the amount of $200.

The original order in the form of a letter is already in your hands since it accompanied our covering check for the above named reports. Since the original had already been sent you, we had only a copy in our possession and this copy we sent you in response to your first request for the original order so that if you will locate our letter of January 29 requesting 200 copies of the above named publication and signed by Dana Brantley, you will then have the original order.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

ADH:mcj

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 1, 1948

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Attn: Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Sec'y.-Treas.
Room 432-63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Madam:

Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of May 18th, referring to our communication of April 6th.

We did receive a copy of your order of January 29th with your letter of April 13th but as it is necessary for us to have the original order which accompanied your check in the amount of $200.00, we again write to request that you return to this office said order, bearing our certification at the top. Upon receipt of the original order, the amount charged for the 100 copies of the publication entitled "To Secure These Rights" will be refunded.

When replying, kindly mark your letter for attention of the Adjustment Unit.

Very respectfully

Fred W. Cromwell

FRED W. CROMWELL
Superintendent of Documents

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

May 18, 1948

Mr. Fred W. Cromwell
Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

ATT: THE ADJUSTMENT UNIT

Dear Mr. Cromwell:

When I wrote you under date of April 13, replying to your letter of April 6, in which you had advised me of your willingness to allow the return for credit of 100 copies of the report of the President's Committee "To Secure These Rights", I attached to this letter to you the copy of our original order as embodied in a letter written by our Dana Brantley. This was in compliance with your instructions that the order in question must be returned before credit could be allowed.

If you can locate my letter of April 13 therefore, you will find attached to it our copy of the original order which was sent to you with check for $200.00 attached.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

MR

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 11, 1948

RECEIVED
MAY 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Att: M rs. Agnes McKay, Secy.-Treas.
Rm. 432- 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Madam:

We have received the 100 copies of "To Secure These Rights", which you returned. However, in our letter of April 6th, we requested that you also return the original order so that proper adjustment could be made.

The original order was not returned with the books, and we would therefore request you forward same, marking your reply for attention of the Adjustment Unit, so the transaction may be completed.

Very respectfully,

Fred W. Cromwell

FRED W. CROMWELL
Superintendent of Documents

April 13, 1948

Mr. Fred W. Cromwell
Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.

ATT: The Adjustment Unit

Dear Sir:

Thank you most sincerely for your permission to return 100 copies of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "To Secure These Rights."

We are attaching hereto our original order covering 200 copies of this report. You will recall that a $50.00 refund was made us on our check for $200.00 which covered the order representing a 25 per cent discount on orders of 100 copies or more. Since the discount has already been made us for the entire 200 copies, we shall be due $75.00 only on receipt of the 100 copies we are returning.

We are most appreciative of being allowed to return these reports.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosure

MR:hjs

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

DIVISION OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 6, 1948

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Att'n: Mrs. Agnes McKoy, Sec'y.-Treas.
Room 432-63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED
12 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Madam:

Replying to your letter of March 23, we would advise this office is not permitted by law to consign publications and accept their return for credit or exchange, unless an error has been made on our part, but an exception is being made in this case. If you desire to return 100 copies of "To Secure These Rights", this may be done, but it will also be necessary that you return the original order for same before any adjustment can be made.

All correspondence should be marked for the attention of the Adjustment Unit.

Very respectfully,

Fred W. Cromwell

FRED W. CROMWELL
Superintendent of Documents

MR 7/30/48

In compliance with your request, we are refunding your remittance in the form of a check.

Superintendent of Documents

RECEIVED
AUG 2 1948
Southern Regional Council

75.00
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37-U.S. Govt

JUL-28-48 30533 A —NC— 75.00

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

30
26

Mr. Fred W. Cromwell
Superintendent of Documents
Washington, D. C.

$75.00

Postmaster: This parcel may be opened for postal inspection if necessary.
Return Postage Guaranteed.

AUG--2-48 03407 D 30 533A 8- Refund 75.00

HOW WE HANDLED YOUR ORDER

No. _____ Charges for Publications _____
No. _____ Subscriptions _____
Refund 75.00 check
Coupon Refund _____
Postage _____
Credited to Deposit Acct. _____

GPO 16—50507-1

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Southern Regional Council

AUG--2-48 12483 H3— 6X 75.00

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. AGNES McKOY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

July 22, 1948

Mr. Fred W. Cromwell
Superintendent of Documents
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cromwell:

I am most appreciative of the refund of $75.00 which has been granted us on the return of 75 copies of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights, "To Secure These Rights."

May I ask, however, that a check be substituted for the cash coupons herewith returned? Our organization does not normally have a use for these coupons save only in rare instances such as the issuance of the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. I shall therefore, be very appreciative if you can exchange these coupons for a check of like value.

Sincerely yours,

Agnes McKoy

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Separate cover

SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS
RECEIVED
JUL 28 1948
G.P.O.

ahell

US Govt.

July 6, 1950

The Honorable The Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

I am sending several copies of our Council's reprint of your three recent praiseworthy decisions.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

Signed in Dr. Mitchell's absence

May 25, 1951

Miss Flora Y. Hatcher
Director, Group Services
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Miss Hatcher:

Thank you for your letter dated May 16, with reference to our recently published "Manual for the Home Town Self-Survey."

We regret our failure to list accurately the sources of the Housing and Home Finance Agency; in any future editions, we shall take care to suggest that requests be sent directly to Group Services of the Office of the Administrator. Fortunately, we are often in close touch with community self-survey groups using our Manual, and so will be able to give them the correct information.

I am sending you separately two additional copies of the Manual.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR • *Washington 25, D. C.*

MAY 16 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I was very much interested to find in my mail this week the copy of your recently issued bulletin, Your Community Looks at Itself. Of course, we have noted particularly the two chapters on housing with the accompanying questionaires. Community groups will undoubtedly find these guides to surveying housing conditions in their localities quite useful.

However, under the section "Sources of Information" I would like to say that if we had known you were producing this piece of material, we could have been helpful in suggesting a manner in which the sources of the Housing and Home Finance Agency could have been listed more accurately. As it is, only one constituent agency of the HHFA, namely Public Housing Administration , is named with the indication that publications on housing needs, standards and programs were available from this sole source. The same implicatinn applies with respect to the publication The Local Community Job under the Housing Act of 1949.As a matter of fact, the last named publication (as indicated on its title page) is made available through the Office of the Administrator of the HHFA and should be requested directly from Group Services of the Office of the Administrator. The Office of the Administrator, through its Division of Information, makes available pertinent housing informational materials that deal in general, with overall policies and programs in the Federal housing field. In addition, other informational materials are made available from time to time in connection with respective Federal housing programs by appropriate parts of the Agency, including the Federal Housing Administration, the Public Housing Administration, Division of Housing Research, Division of Slum Clearance and Urban Redevelopment, etc.

Recognizing the need for a co-ordinated informational service to public interest groups, Group Services in the Office of the Administrator is a central point for servicing such groups and bringing together upon their request certain selected materials from the various parts of the HHFA. This eliminates the necessity of their having to make separate requests to the different parts of the Agency, and attempts to assure a comprehensive service that more effectively meets their needs. It also enables the

Agency to eliminate duplication, and provide service on a more economical basis.

My fear is that the current listing in your community manual will limit the effectiveness of the service which this Agency is able to give. Perhaps there is no practical way the matter can be corrected now, but it is called to your attention for reference in connection with future publications.

It also occurred to me that a few of the Agency's recent publications would be helpful to you in connection with inquiries that result from your publication. You will note that the selection of Agency publications enclosed is an illustration of the co-ordinated service to which reference is made in this letter.

We could make good use of an extra copy or so of your publication, and would appreciate having them. It is indeed a fine thing to encourage communities to make self-surveys.

Sincerely yours,

Flora Y. Hatcher

Flora Y. Hatcher
Director, Group Services

Enclosures
Fed Govt Hsg Aids
Handbook of Information
What and Why - Low-Rent Public Hsg
S C & U R - What and Why of Title I
Relationship between S C & U R and
Low-Rent Public Housing
A Guide to Cooperative Hsg
Cooperative Hsg Program
Hsg Activities in Fed Govt
Local Community Job
When You Buy A Home
How Big is the Hsg Job?

November 1, 1952

Mr. J. W. Burdette, Head
Education Relations Section
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture
Soil Conservation Service
Spartanburg, S. C.

Dear Mr. Burdette:

I am most grateful for your kindness in sending me the very helpful material, at the request of Mr. Galloway.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

~~Agriculture~~

US Govt

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE
Regional Office
Spartanburg, South Carolina

RECEIVED
OCT 29 1952
Southern Re

October 28, 1952

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

At the request of Mr. T. O. Galloway, Area Conservationist, we are sending to you several publications for use in connection with your talk on October 30, on the subject of "Problems of Rural Planning." We hope these materials will be of interest and assistance to you in discussing this important topic.

If we can be of further assistance to you, please right us.

Yours very truly,

J W Burdette

J. W. Burdette, Head
Education Relations Section

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, MASS., CHAIRMAN
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JOHN C. STENNIS, MISS.
STUART SYMINGTON, MO.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

June 29, 1953

RECEIVED
JUL 6

Geo. S. Mitchell, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Together with thirty-two other Senators, we introduced Sen. Con. Res. 32, a copy of which is enclosed, in the Senate on June 3. It would reaffirm our objective of obtaining agreements by all nations for complete enforceable disarmament, under a system of inspection and control by the United Nations, and it would authorize a program of study to plan for the orderly transfer of the resources and manpower now used for arms to constructive purposes both in this country and abroad.

The chief purpose of the resolution is to bring into focus the necessity of making universal disarmament a part of an overall political settlement of world tensions if such a settlement is to be permanent. Although the United States must remain armed as long as any threat of attack exists, the achievement of world disarmament would result in an end of the fruitless arms race which is now eating up our resources and the money saved would quickly balance the federal budget and reduce the tax burden of the American citizen

Sen. Con. Res. 32 is intended to give legislative expression to proposals advanced by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his foreign policy address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16.

The Gallup Poll of May 26 indicates that sixty-five per cent of the American people approve President Eisenhower's goals of disarmament and world development. It is very much hoped, therefore, that many more individuals and organizations, who share our feeling that this is the vital issue of our time, will give wide support and publicity to this resolution.

This public support must be mobilized behind S. Con. Res. 32 in order to justify hearings on this measure during the current session of Congress. We are sure that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and its members would be interested in hearing of your reaction and suggestions, as would we.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph E. Flanders

Ralph E. Flanders

John Sparkman

John J. Sparkman

83D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. CON. RES. 32

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JUNE 3 (legislative day, MAY 28), 1953

Mr. FLANDERS (for himself, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. BUTLER of Maryland, Mr. BRICKER, Mr. CASE, Mr. COOPER, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. DUFF, Mr. FERGUSON, Mr. GILLETTE, Mr. HILL, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado, Mr. KEFAUVER, Mr. HENDRICKSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LANGER, Mr. LEHMAN, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MARTIN, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. MURRAY, Mr. NEELY, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. PURTELL, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mrs. SMITH of Maine, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. THYE, Mr. TOBEY, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. FULBRIGHT, and Mr. MONRONEY) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

---

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the peoples of the earth are plunged into an accelerating armament race, which imposes crushing burdens on their economic well-being threatens their lives, and impinges on their basic freedoms; and

Whereas the American people and their Congress ardently desire peace and the achievement of a system under which armaments can be rendered unnecessary while at the same time the national security of our own and other nations will be protected; and

Whereas armaments can only be eliminated if all nations, without exception, reach agreements looking toward universal dis-

armament covering all weapons down to those needed for the maintenance of domestic and international order and if these agreements provide for progressive disarmament and enforcement operating under law agreed upon through an international agency; and

Whereas, until such secure international disarmament agreements are reached, both the security of the United States and its ability to espouse the cause of peace depend in good part upon its continued military strength; and

Whereas the Congress has heretofore declared its intention to continue to exert maximum effort to obtain agreements to provide the United Nations with armed forces, as contemplated in the charter, and agreements to achieve universal control of weapons of mass destruction, and universal regulation and reduction of armaments, including armed forces, under adequate safeguards to protect complying nations against violations and evasion: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives*
2 *concurring)*, That is continues to be the declared purpose
3 of the United States to obtain, within the United Nations,
4 agreements by all nations for enforceable universal disarma-
5 ment, down to those arms and forces needed for the main-
6 tenance of domestic order, under a continuing system of
7 United Nations inspection, control, and international police
8 protection, to this end; be it further

9 *Resolved*, That (1) the President continue to search for
10 a practical program for complete enforceable world dis-

1 armament, including efforts to solve the scientific and techni-
2 cal problems involved in the effective control and elimina-
3 tion of atomic and other weapons capable of mass destruc-
4 tion, and also to explore whether or not changes in the
5 United Nations Charter may be required for the achieve-
6 ment and enforcement of world disarmament, and whether
7 existing United Nations agencies such as the Disarmament
8 Commission could be more fully utilized.

9 (2) That the President (a) develop a plan for the
10 transfer of resources and manpower now being used for arms
11 to constructive ends at home and abroad, and (b) recom-
12 mend similar action to the United Nations and member
13 states, such plans to give due consideration to the possibili-
14 ties for vastly increased trade with other nations, and to the
15 vital share which the United States and other nations should
16 undertake in helping to overcome hunger, disease, illiteracy,
17 and despair which have been among the prime causes of
18 past wars; and be it further

19 *Resolved,* That the United States proposals and en-
20 deavors for world disarmament be repeatedly and continu-
21 ously made known to our own people and to the world as
22 evidence of our honest determination to achieve world peace,
23 and as an incentive to the peaceful aspirations of other peo-
24 ples; and be it further

1 *Resolved,* That copies of this resolution be transmitted
2 to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of
3 State, to the Secretary General of the United Nations, and
4 to each United Nations delegate, and that copies be trans-
5 mitted to the presiding officer of every national parliament,
6 congress, and deliberative assembly throughout the world.

83d CONGRESS
1st SESSION

S. CON. RES. 32

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Favoring universal disarmament.

By Mr. FLANDERS, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. BUTLER of Maryland, Mr. BRICKER, Mr. CASE, Mr. COOPER, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. DUFF, Mr. FERGUSON, Mr. GILLETTE, Mr. HILL, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado, Mr. KEFAUVER, Mr. HENDRICKSON, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. LANGER, Mr. LEHMAN, Mr. MANSFIELD, Mr. MARTIN, Mr. MORSE, Mr. MUNDT, Mr. MURRAY, Mr. NEELY, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. PURTELL, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mrs. SMITH of Maine, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. THYE, Mr. TOBEY, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. FULBRIGHT, and Mr. MONRONEY

JUNE 3 (legislative day, MAY 28), 1953
Referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

CHAIRMAN
MILTON G. BAKER

VICE CHAIRMEN
MISS HELEN D. BRAGDON
RALPH W. HARDY
PAUL H. SHEATS

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MAX MCCULLOUGH
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO

Established by Act of Congress July 30, 1946

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OCT 26 1955

October 21, 1955

Dear Sirs:

The United States National Commission for UNESCO will hold its Fifth National Conference in Cincinnati, November 3-5, 1955. During the Conference, on Thursday, November 3, floor space on the Ball Room floor of the Sheraton Gibson Hotel will be devoted to groups who have an interest in UNESCO, the work of the U.S. National Commission, or subjects related to the programs of UNESCO and the National Commission so that they can exhibit their publications, pictoral materials etc., to the delegates.

We are calling the presentation of the various exhibits the "Program Fair," and we should like to think that a good display could be set up for materials on Human Rights and Human Rights Day. We should, therefore, like to ask your organization to send to the address given below a copy or copies of the publications which your organization has developed or has published. Please indicate in your package whether or not we should return the publications to you.

Done HCT

Your Community Looks at Itself.

We shall be glad to make your book order blanks available so that interested delegates could order your publications if they so desired.

Please send these materials directly to the hotel in Cincinnati in which the Fifth National Conference will be held, with this address

UNESCO - Attention Ann Kroger - HOLD FOR ARRIVAL
Sheraton-Gibson Hotel - Cincinnati, Ohio
(Materials for Human Rights Display)

Sincerely yours, Donald E. Herdeck

Donald E. Herdeck
Program Officer
UNESCO Relations Staff

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

US Gov.

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

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A. FERNÓS-ISERN, PUERTO RICA

MRS. MABEL C. DOWNEY, CLERK
GEO. L. REID, JR., ASSISTANT CLERK
JOHN J. HEIMBURGER, COUNSEL

House of Representatives, U. S.
Committee on Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

January 28, 1956

RECEIVED JAN 31 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
61 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter dated January 26, and in compliance with the request made therein, I am pleased to advise that your name is being placed on our mailing list to receive copy of the hearings held by the Family Farm Subcommittee when they are printed and delivered to us.

Sincerely yours,

Mabel C. Downey

Mabel C. Downey
Clerk

MCD:LV

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
WASHINGTON

October 4, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 10 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern RegionalCouncil, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Knowing your keen interest in a constructive anti-Communist program, I am taking the liberty of sending you one of our latest publications - a publication which I hope you will find informative as well as interesting.

Sincerely yours,

W. Jackson Jones

WJJ:v

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

FEB 20 58

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February 13, 1958

618X

Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Will you please send us a copy of the most recent issue of the Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States. The last one we had was dated 1955, and was issued as Bulletin No. 1185 of the Department of Labor, and we hope very much that there is an up to date directory available. .40

I enclose 45¢ in coin in payment.

Sincerely,

Faith C. Lawson

Faith C. Lawson
Secretary to Labor Consultant

FCL:s

1 Enclosed .40
Total Paid
Change
.05
Postage

FEB-24-58 88691 E • • 7- Coupons 0.05

674

February 13, 1958

Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Will you please send us a copy of the most recent issue of the Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States. The last one we had was dated 1955, and was issued as Bulletin No. 1185 of the Department of Labor, and we hope very much that there is an up to date directory available.

I enclose 45¢ in coin in payment.

Sincerely,

Faith C. Lawson
Secretary to Labor Consultant

FCL:s

RECEIVED MAR 2 1957

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR

February 28, 1957

Dear Harold:

You've probably seen this article by Father Kenealy long ago, but in the event you missed it, here's a copy from the "Congressional Record."

Sincerely,

John Edmunds

April 1, 1958

The Geological Survey
Department of Interior
Washington 25, D. C.

Gentlemen:

Would you please send us two copies of your new composite map of Atlanta and vicinity. Enclosed is our check for $3.00.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check - $3.00)

THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR., MO., CHAIRMAN
CARL HAYDEN, ARIZ. CARL T. CURTIS, NEBR.
THEODORE FRANCIS GREEN, R. I. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, KY.
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GORDON F. HARRISON, CHIEF CLERK AND COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

April 24, 1958

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Senator Javits has asked me to contact your office posthaste to request that a copy of "A Study of Negro Voter Registration in the South" be forwarded to him here at his Washington office as soon as possible.

Your cooperation is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Sheila S. Kelley

Sheila S. Kelley
Research Assistant to
Senator Javits

SSK:gls
P.S. Enclosed is a self-addressed special-delivery stamped envelope for your use.

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
13TH DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

DETROIT OFFICE:
671 MACK AVENUE
TEMPLE 3-4100

MISS DOROTHY QUARKER
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.

COMMITTEES:
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS
VETERANS' AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
1239 NEW HOUSE OFFICE
BUILDING

CAPITOL 4-3121
EXTENSION 2261

April 24, 1958

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

The Washington Post and Times Herald of today refers to a report just issued by your Council concerning renewed efforts of Southern States to curb Negro voter registration.

I am very much interested in obtaining one or two copies of the complete report if it is at all possible. A stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience. Thank you for your kind attention to this request.

Sincerely yours,

Charles C. Diggs, Jr.

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
Member of Congress

Enclosure

September 5, 1958

Miss Marjorie Clough
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
450 House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Clough:

Thank you for your letter of September 3, 1958, concerning material of the Southern Regional Council. Under separate cover, we are sending you a packet of material in which you may be interested. In addition we are adding Representative Bolton's name to our mailing list.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lcc

FRANCES P. BOLTON
22D DISTRICT OHIO

COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

September 3, 1958

Southern Regional Council
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

We would appreciate receiving current material issued by your organization on the segregation issue.

With appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie Clough
Executive Assistant

450 HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

June 5, 1961

Mr. Ben Read
Office of Senator Clark
260 Old Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Read:

At the request of Harold Fleming, we have pulled together the enclosed materials on private schools. Regretably, this is a miscellaneous collection of clippings. If you need more information, and have the time, we will be happy to try to do a more thorough job.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:a

Enclosures

PA

PHILIP A. HART
MICHIGAN

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D.C.

July 3, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In view of the recent appointment of John Feild to be Executive Director of the President's Equal Employment Opportunity Committee, I would greatly appreciate having communications from your office addressed to my attention.

With many thanks for your consideration,

Sincerely,

William B. Welsh
Administrative Assistant

MA. — changed Feild
added Welsh research } MA 7-6-61
For mailing list & other
changes

Pendu

December 1, 1961

Mr. Franklin H. Williams
Special Assistant to the Director
Peace Corps
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Williams:

Many thanks for your letter of November 29. We would indeed be interested in a report of the Corps' activities in behalf of improved racial relations.

As a matter of fact, I wrote several days ago to Paul Geren requesting information from your agency. Perhaps you have seen the letter.

May I say also that I hope on some occasion when I am in Washington, or you are in Atlanta, that we may have a chance to meet. I have heard many people speak of you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

PEACE CORPS

Washington 25, D. C.

November 29, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have been informed by a mutual friend that the Council is currently preparing a summary report of action taken by Federal Government Agencies to meet the over-all problems of racial discrimination, or to encourage broader participation and involvement of racial minorities in Government programs.

As you know, the United States Peace Corps is a new agency in Government, but one whose record on this subject we are proud of. Would you be interested in a report of our activities along these lines, and if so, would you be kind enough to forward me a series of questions or other indications of the kind of information which you most desire to have.

Your cooperation is deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

Franklin H. Williams

Franklin H. Williams
Special Assistant to the Director

FHW:mm

PRESIDENT'S STUDY GROUP
on a
NATIONAL SERVICE PROGRAM
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

Telephone: DU 2-3961

May 27, 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Please excuse the delay in my writing you; however, since my return to Washington, we have been working on Congressional testimony for hearings which began last week.

Thank you very much for seeing me and also for the interesting and helpful conversation. I hope to see you again in the near future.

Best regards.

Yours truly,

Mark H. Furstenberg

Mark H. Furstenberg

U. S. Govt
Gen. Corresp

July 31, 1963

NM

Nobbie,

Please see that the following person is added to our mailing lists (Cat. #10):

Mr. Richard M. Shapiro
Regional Youth Consultant — free
U. S. Department of Labor
Youth Services and Employment Standards
1416 Commerce Street - Room 1012
Dallas 1, Texas

thanx, mmj

July 20, 1963

Mr. Richard M. Shapiro
Regional Youth Consultant
U. S. Department of Labor
Youth Services and Employment Standards
1416 Commerce Street - Room 1012
Dallas 1, Texas

Dear Dick:

I came back from vacation on July 10, and found your letter of July 10. Congratulations on your new job. It sounds good and you sound good for it.

I will see that you are put on our mailing list and will ask Paul Anthony, the major demo of the Interagency Conference, if you can be invited to its Olympian deliberation; I hope you can.

All the best, and keep in touch.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STANDARDS
~~WASHINGTON~~
Youth Services and Employment Standards
Room 1012 - 1416 Commerce Street
Dallas 1, Texas

IN REPLY REFER TO:

July 10, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les,

I have recently assumed the position of Regional Youth Consultant, Division of Youth Services and Employment Standards of the Bureau of Labor Standards. My activities will take me to Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas. The program is such that we will undoubtedly have many points of contact and areas of interest, therefore I would appreciate it if you would place me on your various mailing lists so I can keep abreast of current doings. I would also appreciate receiving invitations to your Southern Agency Conferences, with perhaps an invitation to participate in some facet of the meeting, thereby enabling me to justify a trip to Atlanta.

If your travels through the South bring you this way please look me up.

My regards to all our friends in Atlanta.

Cordially,

Dick

Richard M. Shapiro
Regional Youth Consultant

U. S. Court

Hon. Corrap.

TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY
KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

SB
BP
PA
VJ

return to LD

OFFICE OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

September 6, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I was interested in your Report L-45 on "Public Education in Mississippi." This reminds me of one significant fact about our primaries last week. Jack Tubb, the State Superintendent of Education for a number of years, was renominated by a narrow margin. The central issue in the campaign was Tubb's well known position in favor of keeping the public schools open. His opponent had the active support of the Citizens Council and took the side of the DAR about school textbooks and also attacked the NEA as subversive. This was the kind of politics that won the Governor's race but didn't pay off for Tubb's opponent.

Cordially,

Frank E. Smith

file / U.S. Gov't General

November 27, 1963

Mr. Franklin H. Williams
The Peace Corps
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Williams:

I understand that you will be the speaker at the annual meeting of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations on December 4 at which I am also supposed to give some brief remarks. So, perhaps I shall at long last have the pleasure of meeting you.

The purpose of this ~~letter, however,~~ is to say that I understand Mr. Ira Kaye of Sumter, South Carolina is under consideration for a Peace Corps appointment which, I believe, has gone as far as an interview with Mr. Shriver. I would welcome the opportunity of saying a few words to you about Mr. Kaye while we are in Durham.

file Ira Kaye cr. ref. - M.A. Wright

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Bc: M.A. Wright

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
JOHN H. WHEELER, CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
LESLIE W. DUNBAR, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
RIP RAPS PLANTATION
MAYESVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

November 24, 1963

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Les:

I got the impression our connection was broken yesterday, but since you had my opinion on the postponement of the annual meeting, I didn't bother about it. Ten minutes after I talked with you I learned over TV that President Johnson had proclaimed Monday a day of mourning. If I had known this when we were talking, I wouldn't have hesitated at all in agreeing that we had to postpone the meeting. Indeed, I probably would have called you then, suggesting that this be done. The main reason I hadn't called before was that you and the staff knew the difficulty of any postponement, and the troubles that might arise from it, and I felt that any suggestion should come from you.

The above is incidental. The real purpose of this letter concerns Ira Kaye. I told him several days ago that I would discuss the matter with you during the annual meeting to be held this weekend. Since that meeting has been postponed, I'm writing you.

Kaye's situation in Sumter becomes increasingly unhappy, particularly since his participation in the suit to desegregate the schools of District No. 2. He has had in for some time an application for membership in the Peace Corps. This has carried him as far, several days ago, as an interview with Sergeant Shriver. (The spelling may be Sargent, I don't know.) I do not know Shriver personally, nor do I know that anyone at SRC does; but I told Kaye I would inquire, and see if it seemed feasible for any letter to go to Shriver supporting Kaye's application for the position he is seeking. Do you know Shriver, and would you be willing to write such a supporting letter? It should go on as soon as possible. Kaye did an investigative job for SRC within the last year. This has already yielded fruit in changes in Federal action in South Carolina; but I remember you once raised a question, smilingly and I don't know how seriously, about "your man Kaye in Sumter."

Col. Francis Pickens Miller, whom I have long known personally, is in the State Department and may know Shriver. What do you think of

my writing him? I only know Kaye as a faithful supporter of interracial activities in Sumter, and as a man who is sacrificing his legal career through his sympathy for the Negro cause.

I hate to bother you with this in view of all the troubles you now have over the postponement of our meeting, but I feel I should.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

J.M. Dabbs
President

File
U.S. Govt -
Gen. Corresp.

September 4, 1964

Mr. Arthur L. Tackman
Director, Division of Operation
and Personnel
U. S. Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Art:

After your call, I telephoned the Commission on Civil Rights and spoke about Bill. I don't know what may come of it. At the time I talked, there seemed to be only one clear vacancy at Bill's level. I'll do anything else I can.

In the meantime, why don't you suggest to Bill that he look into the North Carolina Fund, which is recruiting a few people for some of its local projects. As a matter of fact, I would think this is much more down Bill's alley. The Fund is an exciting thing, and was, in part, the prototype of the Johnson anti-poverty program. If Bill makes an inquiry, I would suggest he do it specifically in reference to the Charlotte project; the director's salary here has been set between $15,000 and $20,000. He should write to George Esser, Jr., Executive Director, North Carolina Fund, P. O. Box 687, Durham, North Carolina; for whatever it's worth, he could tell George that he is writing at my encouragement.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

December 29, 1964

The Honorable Everett M. Dirksen
House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator Dirksen:

I have the honor of forwarding to you, as minority leader of the Senate and as a member of its Judiciary Committee, the enclosed resolution of the Southern Regional Council. The resolution sets forth views on the crucially important subject of qualifications for federal judgeships in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

December 29, 1964

The Honorable Mike Mansfield
House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator Mansfield:

I have the honor of forwarding to you, as the majority leader of the Senate, the enclosed resolution of the Southern Regional Council. The resolution sets forth views on the crucially important subject of qualifications for federal judgeships in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

December 29, 1964

Mr. Louis Martin
Deputy Chairman
Democratic National Committee
1730 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Louis:

When you encountered John Wheeler, me, and two other gentlemen from the Southern Regional Council last week on the streets of Washington we were up there delivering the enclosed resolution. We saw Mr. John Macy, representing the White House, John Stewart and Carl Auerbach in Senator Humphrey's office, and Nicholas Katzenbach and Burke Marshall. The resolution is being transmitted by John to the President and Senator Humphrey and is being sent to a number of Senators.

All the best for the New Year,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

December 29, 1964

The Honorable Philip Hart
House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator Hart:

I have the honor of forwarding to you, as a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the enclosed resolution of the Southern Regional Council. The resolution sets forth views on the crucially important subject of qualifications for judgeships in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

December 29, 1964

The Honorable Paul H. Douglas
House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator Douglas:

I have the honor of forwarding to you, as a deeply interested member of the Senate, the enclosed resolution of the Southern Regional Council. The resolution sets forth views on the crucially important subject of qualifications for judgeships in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

December 29, 1964

The Honorable Thomas J. Dodd
House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

My dear Senator Dodd:

I have the honor of forwarding to you, as a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the enclosed resolution of the Southern Regional Council. The resolution sets forth views on the crucially important subject of qualifications for judgeships in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

December 31, 1964

The Honorable Elbert P. Tuttle
Old Post Office Building
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Judge Tuttle:

I thought you might perhaps be interested in the enclosed resolution of the Southern Regional Council and the explanatory memorandum which accompanies it.

With best wishes for the New Year I am,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures - 2.

Rec'd 3/18/65

PA - please see that each st director gets copy letter & regulation

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

Done MM

March 5, 1965

✓ F ✓
✓ J
BP - file regulation
SW - file letter

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Here are copies of rules and regulations which have been prepared to assure USDA agency compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Agriculture's programs and activities are affected primarily by Title VI of the Act, Nondiscrimination in Federally-Assisted Programs.

The regulations became effective January 3, 1965. All USDA agencies, except those administering continuing State programs, are expected to certify their immediate compliance. Agencies administering continuing State programs were required to sign assurances by March 3, 1965, certifying that they are in compliance with Title VI regulations and thereby are eligible for continued Federal financial assistance. Continuing State programs that could not so certify by March 3, 1965, are to submit compliance plans that will outline their non-compliance and contain reasonable assurances that it will be corrected. The adequacy of these plans must be approved by the Secretary of Agriculture before they become effective. The Cooperative State Extension Service and the Department's School Lunch Program are both classified as continuing State programs.

The Department will make every effort to acquaint citizens with their rights under the law. I invite you to share this responsibility with the Department of Agriculture.

I am aware of your deep interest in many of the programs administered by this Department and am seeking your help in carrying out my responsibility in this area in as effective a manner as possible. Therefore, I hope that you and your staff will become well acquainted with these regulations so that, in addition to disseminating information on them, you can bring possible instances of non-compliance to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

Orville L. Freeman

Enclosure

April 8, 1965

Mr. Melvin W. Wachs
Associate Director for Educational
Resources
Office of Career Development
U. S. Civil Service Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wachs:

I have your undated form letter regarding Dr. Ralph Purcell. I am very glad to recommend him to you as a visiting faculty member with the Office of Career Development.

I have known Dr. Purcell since we were colleagues at Emory University, from 1949 to 1951. He is an excellent teacher and a sound scholar. He has a creative mind and a clear and sensible conception of Political Science and the responsibility of political scientists to contribute to public policy-making. I am sure that you already have an abundance of material on his experience with the State Department and with the Naval College. It should seem to me his background excellently equips him for your program.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 3/12/65

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20415

IN REPLY PLEASE REFER TO

YOUR REFERENCE

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

Dr. Ralph Purcell has indicated an interest in a position as visiting faculty member with the Civil Service Commission's Office of Career Development. The responsibilities of visiting staff both to the Commission and to other Federal agencies is described in greater detail on the other side of this page. He has given your name as a person who would be acquainted with his professional career.

We would appreciate your evaluation of his performance during the period of his acquaintance with you, and your judgement of his personal qualities in terms of responsibility that will involve work with mid-career and senior federal officials, and with Presidential appointees. We would also be grateful for your evaluation of his ability to begin and carry through difficult and complex projects; of his creative qualities; of his approach to his work and to his colleagues; and of the breadth, flexibility, and adaptability of his background. Please also include any other personal and/or institutionally related qualities or experience which you may consider important to a better understanding of his character, ability and attitudes.

Your reply will be held in strict confidence, and will not be made available to the applicant. Thank you for your assistance to the Commission, and for your contribution to our evaluation.

Sincerely yours,

Melvin Wachs

Melvin W. Wachs
Associate Director for
Educational Resources
Office of Career Development

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION - Challenging positions for several faculty members who will serve on one year appointments beginning in the summer of 1965 with the Commission's Office of Career Development, either in Washington, D. C. or in Executive Seminar Centers located elsewhere. Faculty members on leave from their universities will conduct and design seminars for mid-career and senior federal executives in a variety of fields related to the requirements of the Federal agency community; they will assist in planning for future immediate and long-range developments in the field of interagency education and training; consult with other agencies on their career development programs; and assist in evaluation of Federal training needs and resources. These positions offer an opportunity to meet with upper level career officials and Presidential appointees, to gain first-hand exposure to government operations and to contribute directly to the Federal community's needs. Examples of seminars designed and/or run in the past by academic appointees include: Seminar on International Operations; Economic Analysis and Program Decisions; Financial Management for Operating Executives; Institute for Executives in Scientific Programs (Science and Government Policy); Federal-State Operations and Relations; The Administration of Public Policy; and others in a variety of fields. Salary begins at $12,100 per annum, and may be adjusted according to available positions and the appointee's qualifications. Letters of inquiry, together with standard application for Federal employment (SF 57), should be directed to: Mr. Melvin W. Wachs, Associate Director for Educational Resources, Office of Career Development, U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C. 20415. (Note that applicants need not necessarily be specialists in American government or public administration to be eligible for consideration; any field of business administration, political science, economics or the social sciences may provide suitable grounding.)

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

(1)

Rec'd 7/8/66
File U.S. Gov't Dept. of Agriculture

August 4, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

If they are available I would like to order sixteen (16) copies of your map "Percentage of Nonwhite Population in Counties of Southern States" for distribution to the members of the Secretary's Citizens Advisory Committee on Civil Rights.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Wm M Seabron

William M. Seabron
Assistant to the Secretary

Sent by K.M.

file
U. S. Govt - gen.

AIR MAIL

September 29, 1966

United States Advisory Commission
on Food and Fiber
1321 H Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

Attention: Mr. Olson

Dear Mr. Olson:

Mr. John Wheeler, a member of your Commission and the president of the Southern Regional Council, has asked me to write you and say that we would welcome an opportunity to testify at the Commission's hearing in Atlanta on November 9 and 10.

Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
U.S. Govt. Gen.

January 18, 1968

Mr. John R. Thoman
Regional Director
U. S. Department of the Interior
Federal Water Pollution Control
Administration
Southeast Region
Suite 300
1421 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

Dear Mr. Thoman:

Thank you for the invitation to present a statement at the Jekyll Island meeting. While certainly we like all good citizens have a deep concern for this serious problem, it is not a subject area in which I or this agency have gained any particular knowledge or competence. I am, therefore, declining with appreciation your invitation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ADMINISTRATION

January 12, 1968

DIRECTOR
SOUTHEAST REGION
SUITE 300
1421 PEACHTREE STREET, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30309

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Clean Water Restoration Act of 1966 directs the Department of the Interior to make a comprehensive study of pollution problems in the Nation's estuarine areas and to report to the Congress recommendations for a future management program. A copy of a booklet describing the study is enclosed.

See Research Dept. 1/18/68

The Act further directs that the Department invite the contributions of Federal, state, and local public bodies, institutions, private organizations and individuals. The study is designed to encourage contributions concerning the effects of pollution in the estuarine zones of the United States on fish and wildlife, sport and commercial fishing, recreation, water supply, water power, and on other beneficial uses.

The Federal Water Pollution Control Administration is responsible for carrying out the study. The Governor of each coastal State in the Southeast Region has appointed a person to serve as the State contact to work with us in assuring that State interests are represented. In Georgia, the Governor has appointed Mr. R. S. Howard, Jr., Executive Secretary, of the Georgia State Water Quality Control Board.

You are invited to present a statement at a public meeting to be held on Thursday, February 29, 1968, at the Aquarama in Jekyll Island, Georgia. The statement should express your opinions on optimum use of estuarine resources, their value, damages incurred due to estuarine pollution, and how the estuarine resources should be managed, and other items you feel appropriate to a consideration of the estuarine and coastal waters of Georgia. Comments from State and Federal agencies are being obtained through direct contact from this office and will not be presented at this meeting. This meeting will start at 9:00 A.M. and a verbatim transcript will be taken.

The following guides will be used in conducting the meeting:

1. The meeting is open to all interested groups, organizations, or to individuals having an interest in the problems of estuaries.

2. Persons desiring to present statements for the record should advise us by February 12, 1968. Formal statements should be sent to the Director, Technical Programs, Southeast Water Laboratory, Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, Athens, Georgia 30601. A registration desk will be maintained at the meeting and any persons wishing to present statements, who have not previously done so, should make their desire known at that time. Priority for making statements at the meeting will be given to those persons submitting statements or requests prior to February 12.

3. Limitations on lengths of statements will not be made unless it is necessary to do so in order to accommodate all those wishing to appear. Participants are encouraged to make their statements concise and as brief as possible. It is suggested that lengthy statements be filed in writing for inclusion in the record of the meeting with a summary of the statement presented orally.

4. Written statements are not required although participants are encouraged to do so.

5. Statements should be as factual as possible and based upon the subjects of estuarine pollution and effects therefrom.

6. Persons desiring to use visual aids such as slides, charts, etc. should make their own arrangements for necessary equipment. A screen for projection will be available.

7. The meeting record will be held open for a period of fifteen calendar days within which written statements or supplements to statements presented at the meeting will be received.

Any questions you may have can be directed to me or to the Director of Technical Programs at the Southeast Water Laboratory. I look forward to your participation in this important endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

John R. Thoman

John R. Thoman
Regional Director

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

HOUSE BILL #HR 12962

REGARDING

U. S. Commission on Negro History & Culture (filed in Research)

DATE

March 5, 1968

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

U. S. Govt. - " Corresp. with Senators, Congressmen, etc."

Sec - Post
U.S. General

March 7, 1968

Mr. Jerry Sparer
Office of Economic Opportunity
for Health Affairs
1111 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Sparer:

Would you please add the attached list of state council directors to your list for early distribution of The Guidelines covering Section 222 (a) (6) of the 1967 Economic Opportunity Act.

Yours very truly,

James N. Wood, Jr.
Executive Assistant

JNW/km

Enclosure - 1

File
Fed. Govt
general

July 18, 1968

Clerk
United States Supreme Court
Supreme Court Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Would you please send us a copy of the Court's decision in the case of Jones vs. Mayer Company?

Thank you very much for this courtesy.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood
Executive Assistant

JNW/mmj

file

ASCS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

August 20, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On July 5 I sent you a list of election changes adopted by ASCS for the years 1967 and 1968. These changes are designed to improve our election procedures and hopefully enhance the opportunity of minority group farmers to become members of ASC community and county committees.

We have, in 1968 as in 1967 and 1966, prepared an election leaflet explaining in summary fashion our election procedures. This leaflet will be sent to all farmers of record prior to the ASCS election.

I am sending you twelve copies of the leaflet and hope you will find them useful in telling others about ASCS elections. If you want additional copies please do not fail to request them.

Again, thank you for your interest in our programs and the equitable administration of ASC community and county committee elections.

Sincerely yours,

Victor B. Phillips

Victor B. Phillips
Assistant to the Administrator
Civil Rights Coordinator

Enclosure

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

WASHINGTON, D.C.

VJ
SB

FOR RELEASE ON RECEIPT

U. S. TREASURY OFFICIALS HONOR DR. WESTERFIELD

Treasury officials and many friends, including Secretary Douglas Dillon and Assistant Secretaries John C. Bullitt and Robert A. Wallace, honored Dr. Samuel Z. Westerfield, Jr., at a reception held at the Washington Hotel on Friday, August 9, 1963.

Dr. Westerfield has recently been named Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs. He leaves the Treasury Department where he has served 2-1/2 years with Secretary Dillon as Senior Adviser for International Affairs.

Secretary Dillon expressed "great pride in the fact that it was the Treasury Department which brought Dr. Westerfield to Washington," and "provided him with high-level experience necessary to fulfill the responsibilities of his new, top policy post."

Dr. Westerfield was presented with an engraved silver cigarette box by Assistant Secretary Bullitt. The guest of honor was accompanied by his wife, Helene.

Dr. and Mrs. Westerfield, and their two children, Samuel III, age 16, and Sheila Helene, age 11, reside at 4801 Colorado Avenue, N.W., Washington 11, D.C.

SCHOOL HISTORY of the UNITED STATES.

by

J. WM. JONES, D. D.

Former Chaplain in Army of Northern Virginia.
Late Chaplain University of Virginia.
Chaplain-General United Confederate Veterans.

UNIVERSITY PUBLISHING COMPANY
NEW YORK and NEW ORLEANS.
1901

CHAPTER XXIX. - Page 313

Third Year of the War, 1863.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION. -- Under the plea of "military necessity," President Lincoln declared that his emancipation proclamation, issued during the previous September, should be operative on the 1st of January, 1863. This momentous edict set free, in theory, 4,000,000 slaves among the States striving for their independence. It could produce no immediate effect, but the end was the abolition forever of slavery in North America.

Mr. Lincoln had said in his inaugural address that he had no right to interfere with slavery in the States, and no disposition to do so if he had the right. His proclamation was clearly unconstitutional, his plea of "military necessity" a shallow pretext. The final consummation of the edict, by a triumph of force over justice and right, was as bold a piece of wholesale robbery as ever the conqueror inflicted upon the conquered.

Make folder if there is not one

May 25, 1965

Mr. Kenneth C. Jones, Jr.
Intergroup Relations Specialist
U. S. Atomic Energy Commission
Washington, D. C.

Dear Casey:

Mark Jones was here last week and spent some time with Paul Anthony and me. Paul is continuing to work with him. Ray Marshall of the University of Texas happened to be here at the same time, and we got him to sit down with Jones also to share some of his knowledge of southern employers and employment situations.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20545

Read 5/10/65

MAY 7 1965

PAV
MJ
file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

As you are probably aware, the Atomic Energy Commission in staffing to meet the requirements of the Executive Order on Equal Employment Opportunities, has utilized personnel already assigned to the Operations and Personnel Divisions of the various Field Offices. By and large, this has worked out quite well and I have been able, with the assistance of people like yourself, to orient these men to the intergroup needs of the program. Granted, I was lucky in having had assigned interested and sensitive people.

A very recent reshuffling of assignments brings all of the southeast part of the country under the aegis of the Oak Ridge Operations Office. Accordingly, I have suggested to Mr. Mark Jones, Chief, EEO Branch, of that office, that he contact you when next he's able to get to Atlanta to seek your guidance in obtaining resources which he and his men may use in the various communities in the South. He now plans to be in your city sometime later this month and I expect he will be getting in touch with you to establish a mutually convenient date. I don't feel that it's necessary for you to spend a lot of time with him; you may want to shunt him off onto Paul Anthony for some conversation. I would like it, however, if someone from your shop can give him a little background on the Southern Regional Council, the work you are doing, and the people who are working with you.

I expect our men, when conducting reviews of the facilities assigned to us, to learn prior to their review something about the community and its resources so that they can know better what to expect of the contractor and how to advise him. This comes off real easy when it's said but it's sometimes difficult for these "non-community organizations" types to do.

MAY 7 1965

I'll appreciate any help you can extend to him and that which you have already extended to others from this program to AEC. I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

Cacy

Kenneth C. Jones, Jr.
Intergroup Relations Specialist

cc: Mark Jones

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming
Civil Rts.
File
Commission

Regards
Art Levin

THE MAJESTY THAT IS AMERICA

AN ADDRESS BY

RAYMOND B. WITT, JR.
1234 Volunteer Bldg

to

The Kiwanis Club of Chattanooga

1956

Single Copies of this booklet
may be obtained without charge from
George C. Hudson
1400 Chestnut St.
Chattanooga, Tenn.

THE MAJESTY THAT IS AMERICA

RAYMOND B. WITT, JR.

In March of 1770 the town of Boston, Massachusetts was occupied by British soldiers. Although the Revolutionary War was still six years away, Boston was slowly reaching a boiling point. The presence of the British soldiers on every hand created an atmosphere of continual tension. Angry mobs gathered in the streets and one night a lone British sentry was surrounded by such a mob. He became frightened and called for help. Seven British soldiers and a Captain Preston came to his rescue. The crowd surrounded them hurling insults, clubs, oyster shells and snowballs.

One Redcoat, when struck by some object, lost his footing; fell, and dropped his gun, which fired. The other soldiers then fired into the mob killing five Americans. The town blazed in anger.

The soldiers were to be tried for murder but no lawyer would defend them. They were afraid of the mob. None of the Tory lawyers would run the risk. So the British soldiers turned to the opposition, to a leader of the Sons of Liberty, and pleaded with him to act in their defense.

The detested Redcoats turned to John Adams for help despite the fact that he was a known leader of the soon-to-be Revolutionists. John Adams had no love for the British, but he was disturbed by the possibility that the British soldiers would go on trial for their lives without the benefit of legal counsel, and in a community seething with emotion and hatred toward all British soldiers.

John Adams made his decision with these words: "If Captain Preston thinks he cannot have a fair trial without my help, then he shall have it."

When this news began to circulate among the community, strong words were used. A score of indignant Sons of Liberty met John Adams on his way home to dinner the day he agreed to defend the British soldiers.

They asked: "Are you going to defend those murderers?"

Adams replied with heat that he had engaged to defend men who were assumed innocent until the law had proven them guilty.

Mass protest meetings were held, often led by ministers. A march on Boston by 15,000 Americans was threatened. Armed citizens took turns as guards on all the streets. Ninety-four witnesses gave depositions placing the entire blame on the British soldiers.

As he prepared for the trial it was strange for John Adams to receive congratulations from Tories —supporters of the Crown—strange to be in harmony with the Crown's representatives.

Windows were broken in John Adams' house by stones thrown from the street. He was insulted as he walked along the street. A mudball barely missed his head. Ministers frequently justified their position by quoting from the Old Testament, "Whoso shedeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."

John Adams knew the key to his defense of the British soldiers depended upon his ability to get the jury to understand the difference between murder and manslaughter. In searching for inspiration he read a book by an Italian Marquess where he came upon these words:

"If, by supporting the rights of mankind and of invincible truth, I shall contribute to save from the agonies of death one unfortunate victim of tyranny, or of ignorance equally fatal, his blessing and tears of transport will be sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of all mankind."

John Adams won his case and in so doing proved to the world that the people's cause in America was not led by a mere mob, nor by a riotous and irresponsible water-front rabble. He had demonstrated to the jury the difference between manslaughter and murder explaining thoroughly the theory of self-defense. In his speech to the jury John Adams used these words to carry his point:

"We are to look upon it as more beneficial that many guilty persons should escape unpunished, than that one innocent person should suffer.

"God Almighty, whose laws we cannot alter has planted in every man the quality of self-love, the first and strongest principle of our nature. Religion has commanded us to love our neighbors as ourselves—but not better than ourselves.

"We talk much of liberty and property. But if we cut up the law of self-defense, we cut away the foundation of both.

"He who on an assault retreats to the wall beyond which he can go no further before he kills the other, is judged by the law to act upon unavoidable necessity.

"The law no passion can disturb, 'tis void of desire and fear, lust and anger. 'Tis written reason, re-

taining some measure of the divine perfection. It commends that which is good and punishes evil in all, whether rich or poor, high or low. 'Tis deaf, inexorable, inflexible."

John Adams pointed out that the British soldiers had a right to defend their own liberty, and if they felt they could only defend that liberty by depriving those of life who were endeavoring to deprive them of their liberty, then such taking of life was justified.

Six of the soldiers were found not guilty. Two were found guilty of manslaughter, not murder.

This building has a strong foundation to support its many stories, its great weight of brick, stone, steel and concrete.

The story I have just told you about John Adams is a part of the foundation of our way of life, of our United States of America. It's similar to the concrete and steel which forms the foundation of this building.

I'd like to talk about the foundation of our way of life—to pose some questions that seem to me to be of vital importance to all of us. Questions that don't seem to have any ready answers—but questions that seem to continually demand better answers as democracy looks forward.

Is it important that we have respect for the law? How important is it? How does the law protect each of us? What if we don't like the law? What if the law requires us to do something that is contrary to our beliefs, our sense of right and wrong?

There is one major belief that undergirds our way of life. *The individual is of prime importance,* therefore:

A. We have law for the purpose of protecting one individual from another individual—to guarantee to each individual the maximum in liberty and freedom without allowing one individual to restrict or limit the equal right of another individual to his maximum in liberty and freedom. This results in none of us having absolute freedom. We can do as we wish as long as what we do does not take away from another to do as he wishes. You have perfect freedom to swing your arm with fist clenched, but that freedom ends where my chin begins.

B. We have *justice* because we know that when men live together in society, men will want to do things which will directly affect the rights of other men. There will be differences of opinion. And when such differences arise there must be some way to resolve these differences. The equal rights of two people must be balanced in some practical way. There must be some just solution to differences between two men. Justice — always considering the rights of both — balancing the right of each to freedom.

Both law and justice developed because man recognized the fundamental importance of each and every individual who ever had lived and who would ever live in the future. Law and justice were developed in order to protect the individual, and to provide an environment in which every man could have the maximum opportunity to pursue happiness in his own way.

Law and justice contribute materially to stability in society. And man desires stability — the known, the certain, the expected. But do we not also desire progress, change, improvement? So we do not demand conformity of opinion realizing that to do so might stifle change which usually comes from new ideas. But we still desire stability with our change. We desire change but not destruction. We desire to improve on what we have rather than destroy what we have and build anew.

Our nation was born of a revolution. Someone has used the phrase, "the continuing American Revolution." Could it be that the Founding Fathers, instead of drafting an inflexible, detailed blueprint for us, recognized that their wisdom was not infinite and infallible, and therefore drafted a broad flexible instrument reflecting their combined wisdom and that of all who had gone before, hoping that those who came after them would improve upon their handiwork as they benefited from its magnificent wisdom?

If so, then a tremendous responsibility rests upon us for we are faced with our share of problems of eternal significance.

Did the American Revolution terminate with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown? Or was that only the beginning? Is the American Revolution continuing now? The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution often speak in terms of ideals, in terms of perfection. We have made significant progress, but certainly no one would say we have attained perfection. The important thing to me seems to be the fact that we believe in these ideals, and that it is important to work toward eventual accomplishment of the ideals.

But do we believe in these ideals with the same certainty that we believe in the law of gravity, or perhaps in the law of supply and demand? Each of us will have to answer that question for ourselves.

What problems face us in this continuing nonviolent revolution?

What protects the minority from the tyranny of the majority? John C. Calhoun struggled with that very real problem. Does the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness depend solely upon being with the majority? Can the will of the majority interfere with our right to worship God as we please, compelling us to do things that are contrary to our basic beliefs, or require us to rear our children in an atmosphere contrary to our best judgment?

The law does protect us. We drive down a one-way street with comparative confidence, knowing others will obey the law and drive in only one direction on that street. Unconsciously we exhibit, by so doing, a belief in the fact that auto drivers do respect the law.

But what happens when respect for law and order comes into direct conflict with our tradition and our upbringing, even with our sense of right and wrong. What happens to our need for stability when we are faced with such a stark conflict? Where is our devotion to law and order? Our belief in justice?

It seems to me we must re-examine these things we believe in. What is justice? Do we really believe in justice when we are just only to our friends or to those who think like we do? If our friends are the only ones to whom we are just, then the important thing is not justice, but friendship. Then if we want justice we must first obtain friendship. Justice would then depend upon a slender thread. To render justice to a friend is not so difficult, but to do justice to an enemy is extremely difficult. Yet justice should not depend upon friendship.

John Adams believed in justice for his enemies. He was willing to sacrifice his political future and his family's financial security, so strong was his belief.

The radical Republicans were counting on Senator Ross of Kansas, yet he cast the deciding vote against the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. He knew he was writing his own death warrant politically, but he felt compelled to do impartial justice even to Andrew Johnson and he could not convict Johnson because of personal dislike or because of disagreement with his policies.

Senator Robert Taft in the aftermath of World War II condemned the execution of war criminals because they were tried for a crime that was not a crime at the time the acts were committed, and our Constitution condemned such ex post facto laws.

These men have collaborated on the construction of the foundation of our way of life. They have been motivated by a deep sense of the importance of every individual whether friend or enemy. A belief in justice for everyone.

Where do we stand today: you and I? How important is the law to us today? What will we risk in order to maintain and increase respect for the law? Of what value is money without law? And widespread respect for law? What security would there be in our homes tonight for us and our families if there was no respect for the law? We would each provide our only security. Our own individual strength would protect our families.

How important is the law? Justice? What is law? Justice? Freedom? Liberty? Oh, well, too deep for me, let someone else worry about it. But would we say that about our business? Can we afford to let George do it?

If, by our individual action or lack of action, we contribute to a growing disrespect for law, whom have we harmed? Perhaps, not ourselves immediately, but later on, whom? Our children? Some forces once unleashed and encouraged are often difficult to restrain at any given point.

The law protects but it does not spoon feed. With our rights go equal responsibilities, that demand from us effort—thought—wisdom.

The structure that is America is not yet completed. We are working on it today. And each one of us has a job to do. Because we are each an essential part of the whole. America is the sum total of all of us. And the majesty that is America is the importance of the individual—each individual—every individual—now and from now on—

the weak
the strong
the rich
the poor
the popular
the unpopular
the dirty
the clean

Could it be that the foundation of our government can be found in these words:

"Then shall the righteous answer him, saying Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirsty and gave thee drink? When saw we thee a stranger and took thee in? or naked and clothed thee? or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?

"And the King shall answer and say unto them, verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

File

October 15, 1957

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

President Eisenhower has often said that racial integration is a problem of changing the minds and hearts of people. He has also shown his determination to uphold the Constitution and to enforce the laws.

Yet we seem to be at an impasse. For it is against the law to deprive any citizen of the right to vote by reason of his color. Racial segregation in the public schools is unconstitutional and must be ended with all deliberate speed. But a substantial and dominant part of the public in a number of states is opposed to compliance with these and other applications of the constitutional guarantee of equal protection of the laws.

The question then is what can be done to change the opinions, prejudices and habits of people while enforcing the law, and particularly what role Federal laws and policies can play in such a process of persuasion.

This question is properly before the Commission on Civil Rights. For it is the Commission's assignment (1) to investigate allegations that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote, (2) to "study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution," and (3) to "appraise the laws and policies of the Federal Government with respect to equal protection of the laws under the Constitution".

The investigation of violations of the right to vote will have to be coordinated with enforcement actions of the new Assistant Attorney General under other sections of the bill. While the investigations and hearings the Commission may conduct in this connection may be important in establishing the right to vote for all citizens, the latter two functions of the Commission -- which look to the larger problem -- may ultimately prove more significant in breaking the present impasse. By their terms they invite inventive statesmanship.

Of course, enforcement of the law is itself a form of persuasion. The law is a teacher. People learn to drive on the right side of the street by driving on that side. The citizens of the thirteen original states came to consider themselves citizens of the United States of America because the Constitution of the United States was ratified, established and enforced. Without the working of the Constitution no amount of talk would have convinced Americans to abandon their parochial loyalties for a higher allegiance.

Today compliance with the Constitution is still the best instruction in our constitutional duties. Negroes voting will do more to change the habits and opinions of those who oppose such voting than any amount of talk. Children of all races going to school with each other will do more than anything else to persuade young people and their parents that integration can work. Thus enforcing the law is part of the problem of changing the minds and hearts of people.

But it is only a part. The law needs help. The courts and the Department of Justice and Federal policing powers appear to be insufficient to overcome the popular emotional and psychological obstacles to school integration in some of the states. The law cannot act as teacher where the conditions necessary for the educational process do not exist. Where opposition to the law is violent and widespread the law may not be obeyed at all, or may be obeyed only in form while the spirit is submerged in a wave of irrationality.

Little Rock may be the exceptional case where straight enforcement will suffice. The crisis there occurred under relatively favorable circumstances for law enforcement. The local school board had decided to comply with the Supreme Court, it had devised a gradual plan for integration that had substantial support in the community, and the city authorities were themselves willing to enforce it. A spark of demagoguery enflamed the situation, but there is reason to hope that Federal authority plus local common sense will put out the fire and give the plan for integration a chance to succeed. The example of Little Rock may help prevent other such outbreaks in areas where the Negro population is small and integration not in fact a very big problem, such as Northern Virginia.

However, in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina and perhaps one or more other states where "black belt" counties with a majority of disfranchised Negroes play an important political role, the situation does not offer such hope. Local school boards in many cases will refuse to adopt even the most gradual

integration plan, and if pressed by litigation the public school system may itself be abandoned. Or the public schools in these black belt counties may be preserved for Negro children, with the whites establishing private schools. Will the state legislatures appropriate funds for integrated schools or for nominally integrated but de facto all-Negro schools? The courts can hardly compel appropriations. Perhaps the Negroes will move very slowly to forestall such a showdown, picking only border situations where with Federal enforcement there is a chance of successful, if at first token, integration. But the original Supreme Court cases in Clarendon County, South Carolina, and Prince Edward County, Virginia, are clouds bigger than a man's hand, threatening an impending storm.

Ways must be found to break up the concentration of emotions on this one issue, to disperse the hatred, violence and irrationality gathered around public school integration, to take the initiative out of the hands of racial demagogues, to release the forces of moderation, of law and order, and of Christianity.

It should be the aim of the Commission on Civil Rights to discover how to do this.

For this the Commission must look beyond the problem of enforcing the laws concerning school integration and voting rights. It should try to shift its focus -- and the country's focus -- from the part of the problem that is now jammed by hysteria to the whole of the problem. And the whole is the demoralization of important sections of the American community -- the human depression in which

most of the Negroes and many of the whites in the South find themselves, and in which the Negroes and other minorities find themselves in the urban slums of the North. Equal protection of the laws is denied or rendered meaningless to some people in all regions of the country, although the crisis is deepest and most acute in the South.

The South is suffering a skin disease with deep psychological and economic causes. Its very concentration on its sores makes their treatment more difficult. Somehow its eyes must be taken off its skin troubles and its mind shaken out of its present rut. Somehow the pattern of its irrationality must be jolted and a new and more promising pattern offered.

One way to do this might be to take hold of the main line of the segregationist argument and, in adopting it, turn it upside down. That line is a simple one: the Negro has lower standards of health, education and morality than the white; to mix the two would be detrimental to the white. To the white parent living in a black belt county or a city with a substantial Negro population this is persuasive. The Negroes he knows for the most part live in slums, have a much higher incidence of venereal and other diseases, and have a lower level of intellectual and cultural achievement, presumably the legacy of slavery, discrimination, and years of separate but inferior schools, jobs, homes. The white does not want to inflict upon his children the price of remedying the sins of omission and commission of many generations. On this one solid reason a tower of irrationality has been built.

Instead of dodging this argument through reiteration of the case for law and order, why not meet it head-on and take it away from the segregationist? The very demoralization of the Southern Negro can be used as a reason for doing something about the problem, and for doing it on a broad and big scale.

Even without school integration the standards of health, education and morality of the Southern Negro are pulling down or slowing down the South. Disease spreads across racial lines, lack of skills holds back the economic development of the whole South, and the habits of irresponsibility and sloth instilled by slavery and continued by white supremacy violate the minimum standards necessary for our new world of science and technology. Moreover, the growing distrust and bitterness between the races is infecting and demoralizing the whites as well as the Negroes. The very relationship of inequality is corrupting both races.

The constitutional necessity of establishing equal protection of the laws throughout the United States could be used as an opportunity to end the demoralization which is making the South sick. Desegregation should be seen as the occasion for a generation-long program to lift up the whole of the South -- and to rehabilitate the urban centers of demoralization throughout the country.

Even if the South were willing to comply with the Supreme Court's mandate, integration of the schools, at least in black belt areas, would require a massive program to improve the living standards of the Negroes. The present massive resistance of the Southern

white to integration cannot be met in most cases by bayonets on school steps. It must be flanked and surrounded by a general attack on the demoralization of which inferior Negro schools is only a part.

In some measure this approach is already underway in the Negro community itself, particularly in Montgomery, Alabama, under the Reverend Martin Luther King. The Montgomery Improvement Association insisted throughout its boycott that its aim was the improvement of all of Montgomery, and that it not only wanted Negroes to be able to sit next to whites but that it wanted those Negroes to be stronger and better persons. King and other Southern Negro ministers are now organizing voters' clinics where Negroes will study the Constitution not only in order to pass registration tests but also to be better voters when they win their rights. This is in line with Gandhi's advice to the Indians of South Africa around the turn of this century: to list all the complaints which the South African whites had against the Indians, to decide which of these were legitimate, and then to meet them with remedial action -- while at the same time fighting for their legal rights.

But the Southern white hears little of this constructive work, and the Negro movement itself, largely led by lawyers, has focused on litigation.

If the Civil Rights Commission could widen the focus to the whole problem of uplifting a demoralized community, it might

help break the hypnotic grip school integration now has on the South. If the Commission undertook a thorough survey of the economic, health and other social dimensions of the problem of integration the school issue might be seen in more manageable proportions. Then a community's plan of desegregating its schools could be geared into a far-reaching program of community improvement, and the school could itself be a radiating center for raising the standards of living and of public health.

In doing this the Commission would want to call for testimony from many of the respected leaders of both the white and Negro communities in the South. It would want to hear how such Southerners view the problem and what they think should now be done. Its questions to them would be framed not in terms of for or against school integration but in terms of what needs to be done and what constructive steps can be suggested. Its attitude would not be recriminatory and its emphasis would not be an enforcement. It would probably want to hear much of this testimony in public and in all regions, including some of the main cities of the South.

This would serve the other function of helping the South to know itself. At present there is almost no medium of communication open between the Southern whites and Negroes. The hearings of the Commission on Civil Rights could be forums at which leaders of both communities would meet and listen to each other. If handled well the proceedings might be followed rather

widely in the South, with beneficial results. The Southern white might realize that there is a new Negro in his midst, not sent from the North, not primarily stirred up by outside agitators but by the Constitution and the Christian Church. And the Negro might see that there are other, wiser Southern voices than the jeers and catcalls of racist mobs and the ranting or slipperiness of political demagogues.

To further this process of communities coming to know themselves the Commission might well utilize the provision in the Civil Rights bill authorizing it to constitute "advisory committees within states composed of citizens of that state" (Section 105(c)). If the Commission could establish advisory committees in all or most of the states, with members representing whites and Negroes (or other minorities suffering discrimination such as Puerto Ricans in New York), and including religious leaders, educators, doctors, lawyers, business executives and officers of women's and other civic organizations, the resulting discussions might be illuminating. At least in communities where almost no communication exists between the separate racial groups discussion is a necessary preliminary to any new understanding. While the need for such committees may be greater in the South it would be important to stress -- by operating in all regions -- that this is not solely a Southern question, just as the terms of the committees would stress the larger question of equal protection rather than only school integration.

The Report which such a Commission might produce in two years, appraising the laws and policies of the Federal government with respect to equal protection of the laws, might provide a platform for new constructive action by Congress and the Executive Branch. And the Report and the process which produced it might help bring into action the moderate forces in the South who could support some if not all of such a program, and further encourage the Negro movement to undertake more ambitious efforts of self-help.

* * *

To do any of these things the Commission should from the beginning be considered as a big venture. The Commission, in a sense, must take the country by surprise. It must be composed of persons of high public stature who have the vision and practical wisdom to take a fresh, good look at the problem. They must be prepared to put in the time necessary for a thorough investigation. They must be able to command the confidence of the moderate South, of the Negroes, of the President, and of the great majority of the country.

To persuade such persons to serve the President must convince them that there is no more important assignment. The crisis of civil rights has already called for the unprecendented intervention of Federal troops in one Southern city, a thing the President said he could not imagine being required. The Commission on Civil

Rights is an occasion for the President to put his full powers behind an imaginative new approach to this problem, however unprecedented such an experiment in persuasion may be.

Harris Wofford, Jr.
1226 Rebecca Drive
Alexandria, Virginia

Mr. Harris L. Wofford, Jr.
Legal Assistant to
Father Theo. M. Hesburgh
March 1958

L I S T

Members of CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION (1957)

9

Dr. John A. Hannah, Chrm.
(Pres. Michigan State Univ.)

Mr. Doyle Elam Carlton
(Former Gov. of Fla.)

Mr. John S. Battle
(Gov. of Virginia)

Mr. Robert G. Story
(Dean - Law School, Southern Methodist Univ)

Mr. J. Ernest Wilkins
(Asst. Secy. of Labor)

~~Rev.~~ Father Theodore M. Hesburgh
(Pres. of the Univ. of Notre Dame)

Civil Rights Commission

FYI: HCF ✓ JC

152 West 42 Street
New York 36, New York

2 January 1958

Not Correct

Dr. John A. Hannah, Chairman
Civil Rights Commission
c/o U.S. Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Hannah:

I am writing this letter at the direction of the Eleventh Annual Conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, which concluded in Kansas City on November 22, 1957. Its purpose is to offer all possible assistance and cooperation to the Commission.

The Association is an organization of persons engaged professionally in intergroup relations. With occasional exceptions, the members are employed by agencies and organizations, public and private, committed to the advancement of equality of opportunity and the preservation and enhancement of equal rights in accordance with the Constitution of the United States and in the spirit of democracy.

As individuals, many members of the Association are in position to make available to your Commission information on the status and progress of civil rights in the communities, states or regions in which they work. Many may be able to be helpful in various ways in connection with programs of interpretation or with the functioning of such advisory or other bodies as the Commission may create. All members of the Association will be pleased to cooperate in every appropriate way in connection with publicizing hearings that the Commission may decide to hold, in presenting testimony and information, and in being of assistance when called upon.

The procedures and practices developed in recent years by the profession of intergroup relations can contribute greatly - and in respects in which legal methods and procedures alone may be inadequate - to the harmonious resolution of civil rights problems. Intergroup relations practitioners, in addition to possessing skills and knowledge and experience useful in the resolution of conflict situations associated with denial of civil rights, have gained extensive familiarity with the legislative needs in the civil rights fields. Their participation in the formulation of recommendations for legislative action is in our view greatly to be urged. We therefore recommend most strongly

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that, along with the legally trained persons employed by the Commission on its staff, competent and experienced intergroup relations practitioners be appointed in policy positions - to help develop those non-legal approaches which we feel to be so important to the success of the Commission's work.

We also express our earnest hope that the Commission will be able to name its staff director before the opening of Congress, in order that he may begin to operate without further delay to the full functioning of the Commission.

We trust that the Commission will accept our proffer of cooperation and that, as it proceeds with the urgent and demanding task that has been laid upon it by Congress, it will not hesitate to seek any specific information or invite any specific assistance that our Association or its members may be in a position to supply.

With this letter go the sincere wishes of all members of our Association to you and your associates for the fruitful fulfilment of your great responsibility.

Sincerely,

ARNOLD ARONSON
President

fib

SPECIAL DELIVERY

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 12, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In Mr. Shine's absence from the city, this will acknowledge your letter of May sixth, enclosing recommendations for appointments to the Florida and Virginia State Advisory Committees.

Your interest in making these suggestions available to us is very much appreciated and I will be pleased to bring your correspondence to Mr. Shine's attention as soon as he returns to Washington.

Sincerely,

Sallie Wymard

Sallie Wymard
Administrative Assistant
to Gordon M. Tiffany

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 24, '58

GEORGIA

1. Dr. Lester Rumble (W)
33 Walker Terrace, N.E.

2. Mrs. Margaret MacDougall
4141 Club Drive, N.E.

3. Mrs. Fred Patterson (W)
2959 Andrews Drive, N.W
Atlanta Ga.

4. Rev. Monroe Swilley (W) – 2715 Peachtree Rd N.E.

5. ~~Bishop~~ Rt. Rev. R.R. Claiborne (W)
Bishop
2744 Peachtree Rd, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

6. Abe Goldstein
458 Peachtree St. N.E.
Atl. Ga.

7. Sylvan Meyer (W)
Ed., The Daily Times
Gainesville, Ga.

8. Bert Struby
Macon Telegraph, Macon Ga

9. J. McDowell Richards
Columbia Theol. Seminary
Decatur, Ga.

10. W. B. Stubbs (W)
155 Garden Lane, Decatur

11. Dean Hepburn

12. ~~Msgr. MacNamara~~ Rt. Rev. Msgr. T James McNamara
222 East Harris Street, Savannah, Ga.

13. A. M. Carter

June 24, 1958

LOUISIANA

1. Victor Bussie, W President, Louisiana State Labor Council, AFL-CIO
427 Ricou-Brewster Building, Shreveport

2. Walter Kindleberger W (check sp.) Dean, School of Social Work, Tulane Univ.
New Orleans

3. Edgar B. Stern W Cotton Broker, American Bank Building, New Orleans

Born, New Orleans 1886; W Jewish (See Who's Who)

5. Rt. Rev. Msgr. C. Plauche W 7845 Walmsley Ave., New Orleans 25

VIA AIR MAIL

June 26, 1958

Dr. George M. Johnson
Director of Research and Planning
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

It was good to have a chance to discuss common interests with you on Monday. As a first installment on the various things I plan to send you, I am enclosing a copy of the news release, issued some time ago by the Fund for the Republic, announcing the establishment of an independent Commission on Race and Housing and defining the scope of its work.

My understanding is that the final report of the Commission is at the printing stage or very nearly so. I also understand that the Commission has prepared various interim reports for circulation among its staff members and consultants. I should think that the findings would be of great help to you in your approach to the whole problem of racial discrimination in housing throughout the country. If you wish to inquire directly about the work of the Commission and the availability of its reports, you should write to Professor Davis McEntire, Research Director, Commission on Race and Housing, 2180 Milvia Street, Berkeley 4, California.

As of related interest, I am sending separately a recent issue of Phylon devoted to housing and minorities and urban renewal.

I am placing your name on our mailing list and would be happy to have you call on me for any information we may have that is not contained in our printed materials.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (FFR News Release, dtd. June 15, 1956)

VIA AIR MAIL

June 26, 1958

Mr. Eugene Jackson
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Jackson:

I enjoyed our conversation the other day and recall that you were interested in seeing the booklet, Integration North and South. I am sending a copy of this to you separately for inclusion in the Commission's library.

I hope I will be seeing you further in the near future.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 27, 1958

Mrs. Carol Renner Arth
Executive Secretary to the Commission
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Arth:

Thank you for your letter of June 20th.

I have recently had an opportunity to visit the offices of the Commission and have placed on the mailing list of the Southern Regional Council several of the staff members, including Mr. Tiffany and Dr. Johnson. If you would like me to make an addition to the mailing list in the name of the Commission itself, please let me know and I shall be glad to do so.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 20, 1958

Dear Sir:

The Commission on Civil Rights, established during the first session of this - the 85th - Congress would greatly appreciate being placed on the mailing list of your organization to receive any and all reports which you might publish --- newsletters, annual reports, studies, general information pieces about your organization.

Please direct such material to:

The Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

If there are charges for this, we would appreciate your advising us.

We know that having the opportunity to receive and study material prepared by your organization will prove of invaluable assistance to us in the compilation and writing of the interim and final reports which "The Civil Rights Act of 1957" calls upon us to submit to the Congress and the President by September 9, 1959.

Sincerely,

Carol Arth

Mrs. Carol Renner Arth
Executive Secretary to
the Commission

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 1, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 26, 1958, enclosing the FFR News Release of June 15, 1956. I sincerely appreciate your calling my attention to this material and I am writing to Professor McEntire to determine what material he can furnish.

Sincerely yours,

George M. Johnson

George M. Johnson
Chief, Research and
Planning Division

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 7, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

Thank you for sending me a copy of the booklet "Integration North and South". I have found it most interesting, and it is too bad that these developments cannot be catalogued on a monthly or quarterly basis. I will appreciate receiving any material in this area which may be available in your office.

I am not sure when I will be able to visit Atlanta. However, it should be sometime during the fall. Looking forward to seeing you then, I am

With highest regards,

Eugene R. Jackson

Eugene R. Jackson

ERJ/gmbs

VIA AIR MAIL

July 24, 1958

Mr. Frank Bane
Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bane:

After talking with you today, it occurred to me that I had not given you the addresses and telephone numbers for the two persons whose names I suggested. In case you should want to communicate with them before your visit to Atlanta next week, here is the information:

Mr. Robert H. White
President
Southern Wood Preserving Co.
East Point, Georgia

Phone: POpular 7-0211

Mr. Elfred S. Papy
Res. - 40 Maddox Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Phone: TRinity 6-7109

I will be looking forward to seeing you here next week.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

2

TEXT OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S STATEMENT ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION

(From Presidential newsconference of Aug. 20, 1958, as reported in Atlanta Journal)

Because there are still some phases of this case pending in the courts, it would not be appropriate to express my view on the case itself.

This case, however, or any person's agreement or disagreement with its outcome, must not be confused with a solemn duty that all Americans have to comply with the final orders of the court. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that the maintenance of order to permit compliance with the final orders of the court is the responsibility of each state. Each state owes to its inhabitants, to its sister states and to the union the obligation to supress unlawful forces. It cannot by action or deliberate failure to act permit violence to frustrate the preservation of individual rights as determined by court decree. It is my hope that each state will fulfill its obligation with a full realization of the gravity of any other course.

Defiance of this duty would present the most serious problem, but there can be no equivocation as to the responsibility of the federal government in such an event. My feelings are exactly as they were a year ago. As I said then:

"The very basis of our individual rights and freedoms rests upon the certainty that the President and the Executive Branch of government will support and insure the carrying out of the decisions of the federal courts."

Every American must understand that if an individual, community or state is going successfully and continuously to defy the courts, then there is anarchy.

I continue to insist that the common sense of the individual and his feelings of civic responsibility must eventually come into play if we are to solve this problem.

B

(H - President - [illegible] with Kad.)

57

PRESIDENT AGREES TO TALK RACE BAR WITH REP. POWELL

Chattanooga Times

Tells Negro Congressman His Own Moderate Views Already Well Known

SAW FAUBUS, RUSSELL

House Member of Opinion Eisenhower Should Get Opposing Viewpoint

By W. H. LAWRENCE

© New York Times News Service

NEWPORT, R.I., Sept. 18 - President Eisenhower agreed today to meet with a Negro House member to explain his view that progress toward equal rights will be served best by moderation as well as firmness.

He replied to Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, New York Democrat, who bolted his party last year to support the President's re-election campaign.

Powell suggested that the President see him and possibly other Negro leaders to get their views on the "growing crisis" over public school racial integration. The New York House member noted that the President had discussed civil rights problems recently with white leaders, including Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia and Gov. Orval E. Faubus of Arkansas.

Approves Progress

"It is my conviction now, as it has always been, that progress must steadily be made in assuring to all citizens equality under our Constitution and under the laws," the President responded.

"Moreover, I have repeatedly stated my conviction that it is not in law alone that rapid achievement of this purpose will be found, but rather that citizens will more readily respond to the dictates of fair and just laws if explanation, understanding and moderation as well as firmness of purpose are used by officials of government at every level.

4A The Atlanta Journal Thursday, September 19, 1957

Rights Not Law Alone, But 'Understanding,' Ike Says

NEWPORT, R.I. (AP)—President Eisenhower—on the eve of the Arkansas school integration showdown—says the way to civil rights progress is mainly through "explanation, understanding and moderation."

It is in that way—and "not in laws alone"—that there will be rapid achievement of equality under the Constitution, the President says.

Eisenhower set forth his views anew late yesterday in agreeing to meet with Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-NY), a Negro, for a discussion of the Negroes' point of view on integration problems generally.

Powell, Harlem minister who bolted the Democratic party in the 1956 presidential race to support Eisenhower for re-election, wired the President Tuesday saying with respect to the school integration situation: ". . . I feel now that in the light of the growing crisis, it would be very helpful for you to get the Negroes' point of view directly."

Powell had suggested that President invite him and other Negro leaders to a parley on integration.

There was no indication the President would meet with Negro leaders other than Powell.

James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, said it might be a few days before a time and place for the conference are decided.

Eisenhower's reply to Powell was the occasion for his first public praise of the civil rights law which he signed into law Sept. 9. The President, who had asked for more far-reaching legislation, wrote the congressman that the new law "protects the right of every citizen to vote without intimidation or coercion."

"This legislation marks a more step forward in assuring security to every individual in the exercise and enjoyment of

e full proceedings of the Youth Training-Incentive onference are available from the Superintendent o ocuments, U. S. Government Printing Office, Wash gton 25, D. C., at a cost of 30¢ each or $22.50 per ndred.

"The swift development of scientific knowledge with its lication to business and industry brings new opportities and responsibilities to our Nation. The maintece of our security and our standard of living depends the full use of all our people at the highest level of r capabilities. This requires training in the latest niques for our entire manpower, of all minority ups. In this great nationwide task, the Government res responsibility with education, business and intry, organized labor and civic organizations."

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

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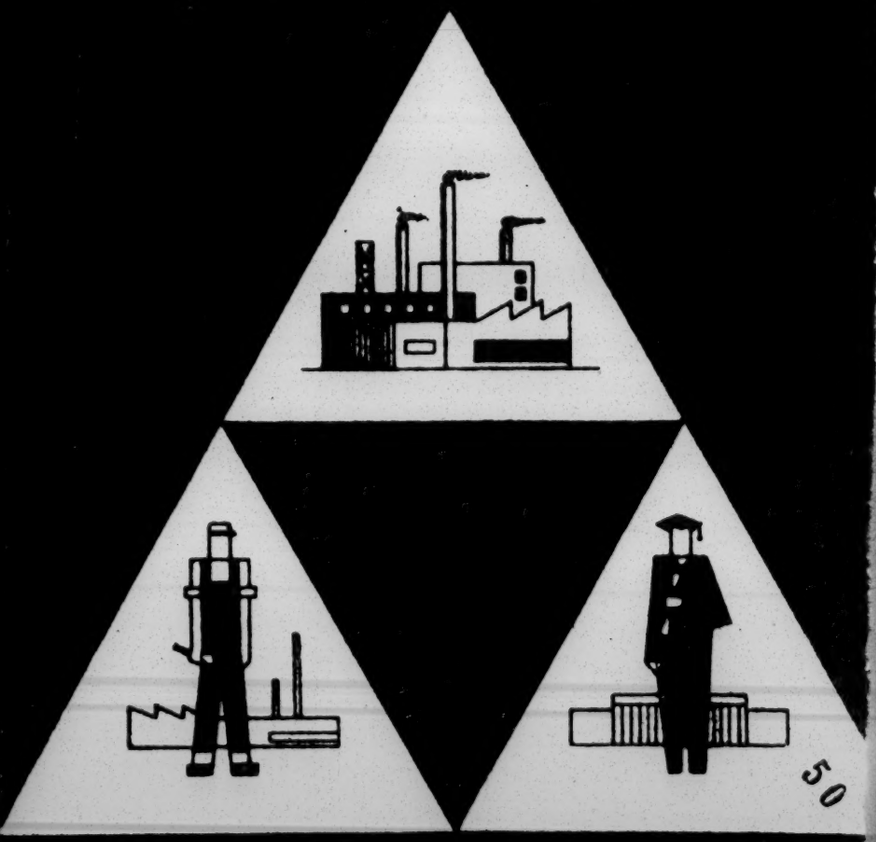
D

Development of Training Incentives for the Youth of Minority Groups



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THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS
Washington, D. C.
APRIL 1957

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e full proceedings of the Youth Training-Incentive nference are available from the Superintendent o cuments, U. S. Government Printing Office, Wash ton 25, D. C., at a cost of 30¢ each or $22.50 per ndred.

"The swift development of scientific knowledge with its application to business and industry brings new opportunities and responsibilities to our Nation. The maintenance of our security and our standard of living depends upon the full use of all our people at the highest level of their capabilities. This requires training in the latest techniques for our entire manpower, of all minority groups. In this great nationwide task, the Government shares responsibility with education, business and industry, organized labor and civic organizations."

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

(4)

D.

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HCF DRAFT

A- Little Rock TV statement 8/20/58
B- Law + Order statement 9/19/57
C- NYT power story
D- PGCC bklet Apr '57

Every American, of whatever race and in whatever part of our nation, should have a sober concern for the problems attendant on school desegregation. These are far more than racial problems or sectional problems; for the way in which we meet and resolve them is vital to the interests and welfare of the United States, at home and abroad. On an issue of such importance to the national well-being, we cannot allow emotionalism or misunderstanding to endanger the foundations of law and justice and good will on which our unity as a people rests.

Believing this deeply as I do, I am disturbed by the implications that appear to have been drawn from some of my recent, informal remarks. In order to dispel any doubt or confusion about my views on this important question, I should like to review briefly those principles to which I adhere and which I have sought to emphasize previously.

1. First, there can be no equivocation as to the Federal Government's responsibility to uphold the orders of the Federal courts. As I have said repeatedly, "The very basis of our individual rights and freedoms rests upon the certainty that the President and the Executive Branch of government will support and insure the carrying out of the decisions of the federal courts." (A) & (B) This is fundamental.

Note: The references (A), (B), (C) and (D) are to the attached documents correspondingly numbered.

(SPECIAL STATEMENT PREPARED SEPT. 6, 1958 - sent to Gordon Tiffany)

2. Secondly, I have stressed the responsibility of the individual citizen and the state governments in assuring compliance with court orders, whether their personal opinions of such orders are favorable or unfavorable. As I have said: "Our personal opinions about the decisions have no bearing on the matter of enforcement; the responsibility and authority of the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution are clear." (A) And, "Every American must understand that if an individual, community or state is going successfully and continuously to defy the courts, then there is anarchy." (B)

3. In all that I have said, I have emphasized -- most recently on August 20 -- that "the common sense of the individual and his feelings of civic responsibility must eventually come into play if we are to solve this problem." (B) And further: "It is not in law alone that rapid achievement of this purpose will be found, but rather that citizens will more readily respond to the dictates of fair and just laws if explanation, understanding and moderation as well as firmness of purpose are used by officials of government at every level." (C) There is no contradiction in recognizing the need for just laws firmly enforced, and at the same time recognizing that we must work for acceptance of these principles in the hearts and minds of the American people.

4. Finally, I have consistently refused to express my personal opinion of specific court rulings in this field. Any assumption that I have done so because of private disagreement with any such rulings is wholly unwarranted. I have done so because of my firm conviction that ours is

-- and should remain -- a government of laws, not men. For the President to express a purely personal view of a court decision, even though that view might be favorable, would set a precedent for future occasions when his opinion might be otherwise and the results unfortunate. Thus I have sought to further, by example, my belief that as Americans, whatever our opinions, our duty is to observe the law.

Certainly nothing I have said should be interpreted as implying criticism of the courts, the substance of their decisions, or the pace of change required. We all owe a debt of gratitude to those able Federal judges who have handled these cases with understanding, care, and patience. The very nature of our legal processes and the problems under adjudication have inevitably made the rate of change a relatively slow one; that is inherent in the democratic method. But ~~ex~~ speed in and of itself is not the vital factor. What is important is that we should move steadily forward, in accordance with due process, and that time should be used for sound planning and preparation rather than mere delay or defiance.

Although I have abstained from personal comment on specific court decisions, there should be no doubt about my views on the importance of achieving equal rights for all citizens, regardless of race or creed. Again to refer to an earlier statement: "It is my conviction now, as it has always been, that progress must steadily be made in assuring to all citizens equality under our Constitution and under the laws." (C)

This expresses not only my personal, moral conviction,

but also what I hold to be an essential condition of success in our struggle to advance human freedom at home and within the family of nations. Confronted as we are by the international threat of a system that puts its faith in brute force rather than in people, we cannot afford to squander our human resources. As I have pointed out before: "The maintenance of our security and our standard of living depends upon the full use of all our people at the highest level of their capabilities." (D) Unreasoning prejudice and discrimination based on race must not be allowed to stand in the way of this realization.

If the United States is to fulfill its promise as leader of the free world and maintain the confidence of its friends, we must press unremittingly toward the goal of full equality for all our citizens; we must exemplify that standard proclaimed in the charter of the United Nations -- "faith in fundamental human rights and in the dignity of the human person . . . without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."

This Republic, to which all of us give our basic allegiance, is founded on the concept of the equal human dignity of all men. In the Declaration of Independence, which is the spirit of the law of the land -- as well as in the Constitution, with its Bill of Rights, which is the letter of the law of the land, this concept is made manifest. The most advanced theory of government ever proposed is set forth in those documents; that governments are established to secure certain inherent rights with which man is endowed by his Creator. The creation, maintenance, and extension of this concept is the real meaning of the American Dream.

From the inception of the nation this ideal has been challenged by individuals and nations with totalitarian philosophies. Impatient with the democratic process and fearful of the common will, they have sought to destroy this symbol of hope for men of every station in all lands. Never before has the challenge been more insidious than it is today. Not only is the life of the nation at stake, but the future of Western Civilization --- and all that it stands for --- hangs in the balance, dependent on the outcome of the current struggle for the hearts and minds of men; for the allegiance of the uncommitted masses of the world.

If this nation is to emerge victoriously from this struggle --- indeed, if this nation is to survive, it will be because we have the undivided loyalty of all Americans, and can gain the support of the uncommitted peoples by demonstrating through act and deed that we practice what we preach.

It is to this end that I speak to you this evening. It is with a sense of humility, compassion, but with determination that I pledge to you, to free men and men who yearn to be free, everywhere, that this nation --- under God and through the due process of law --- shall continue the unfinished task of

creating a society which recognizes but one class of citizenship. It is evident to honest men, everywhere, that we have made much progress toward that goal. It also is evident that there is much yet to be done.

In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States declared that enforced segregation, based on race, in the public schools was unconstitutional. Today this is the law of the land; it is the duty of the President and the Executive Branch of the Federal Government to support and insure the carrying out of the decisions of the federal courts. I have said this before; I repeat it now so that there may be no misunderstanding of the responsibility and intent of your government: it cannot, it will not tolerate the anarchy of mob rule; nor can it permit, either by act or failure to act, any state to stand between American citizens and their national constitution.

The Supreme Court decision of 1954 established the legal principle; the decision of 1955 spelled out the implication of that principle. It called for four steps: 1) a prompt and reasonable start; 2) good faith compliance; 3) all deliberate speed; and, 4) supervision of the desegregation process by the federal District Courts. The court wisely provided a flexible approach to the solution of this complex problem. It placed the responsibility for supervising the process as close to "home" as the federal courts operate.

I am happy to report to you that considerable progress has been made. In 1954 there were seventeen states and the District of Columbia where segregation was legally sanctioned. Today, ten of those states are in the process of desegregating their school systems --- of complying with the law of the land. At the personal urging of this Administration, the nation's capital has made giant strides toward an end to discrimination, not only in education, but in all of the public places. Today, more than ever before, it deserves the title of Capital City of a great democracy.

I am told by competent advisers that in the vast majority of communities which have begun the process of desegregation, the transition has been easier than anticipated; the results more gratifying. In some areas there have been difficulties; not with the children --- but with adults, many of whom have no school age children. Responsible citizens, emotionally secure persons do not participate in mobs. Those who do must be made to realize that the swift and sure hand of justice will m eet their outbreak.

The Court decision applies to all sections of the nation; it is not "aimed" at any one section of the nation. The government recognizes that the problem of fully complying with the decision is more difficult, will take longer in the Deep South than it has in other sections of the country. The government does not recognize, however, that beginning the process in good faith should take longer in one place than another.

As President of the United States, I call upon Americans everywhere to support the law of the land. I call upon the Governors and others in authority in the various states to maintain law and order in the communities of their states and to prevent interference with the orders of the federal courts.

This is more than a legal problem; it is a great moral problem. In the United States the majority of us are Protestants, Catholics, or Jews. Each of these faiths— including all of the major denominations of Protestantism, have declared that segregation denies the basic tenets of faith. In Atlanta, in Richmond, in Dallas, and in Little Rock ministerial groups have spoken out. Parochial schools have often led the public schools in opening their doors on a non-discriminatory basis.

It is, I feel, my moral obligation as President of the United States, to place the full weight of this office behind those Americans of all faiths who day by day seek to bring a fuller respect for all men as children of God.

Religious leaders have a special responsibility in times of social change. They should seek Divine Guidance that what we do may be acceptable in the eyes of Almighty God; they should encourage with their people a calm, thoughtful, and prayerful approach to our problems.

As I said earlier, the United States is locked in spiritual and intellectual combat with a great totalitarian ideology. The foreign policy of the nation is dedicated to the preservation of the free world and to encouraging others who seek to be free. The new nations of Africa and Asia, populated by non-white people, are more and more becoming the keys to survival. The Soviet Union fully recognizes this; we dare not ignore it. With Soviet aid goes Soviet infiltration; many of the new nations are aware of this.

I can tell you, however, that the task of the Government of the United States has been made inestimably more difficult because of discriminatory practices here at home. The good name of the United States was more tarnished by the mob activity of Little Rock than by all the lies and half-truths of Soviet propaganda. Our representatives abroad felt the full brunt of a shocked world. Our efforts to win the minds and hearts of men were sadly set back.

This nation can no longer afford, if indeed it ever could, to have two classes of citizenship. The eyes and ears of the world are focussed on us. We have a responsibility to free men everywhere.

As a people, we have come to recognize that we can no longer live in isolation. Like it or not, we are a part of all mankind. The basic question then, is not whether we should take an active role in world affairs but, rather, how we should take an active role, and what that role should be. It has been the firm conviction of this administration that the United States must assume the leadership of the free world; through necessity, not choice.

If we are to be worthy of that task we cannot be hypocritical. Our reputation and our effectiveness in foreign affairs depend upon what happens here at home as much as our sincerity of purpose. I call upon dedicated Americans to give careful consideration to this factor in all that they do.

In closing, let me make clear --- abundantly clear --- that with patience and firmness your government is going to carry out the task before it. In that undertaking I ask for your prayers and your cooperation. Let us together bind up our wounds of misunderstanding and proceed with the job at hand: expanding the scope and increasing the vitality of American democracy.

5 Sept 58

Harvey -

Here are the brief biographies of the people mentioned yesterday. [Plus mine - for which you may have some use at some time. If you wish to consider my name with the others, I have no objection - but am certainly not anxious.]

Many thanks for the data + your time yesterday.

Regards,

PROFESSOR ARTHUR S. MILLER
EMORY UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GA.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF T

w York and American Bar Asso- geles, Ca
S. Armed Forces, 1941–46. With views ar
of Justice, 1947–50. Member
Evider

WILLIAM RAY, Instructor, San
burgh School of Law, Pitts- Arm
Subject: *Legal Aid Practical* mis

VALTER, Prof. of Law, New
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stitutional Law, Equity, *Insurance*, Suretyship, Legal Liability, Mortgages. Member, Bar Association of Baltimore City, Richland County Bar, South Carolina Bar and American Bar Associations.

McFARLAND, CARL, President and Prof. of Law, Montana State Univ., Missoula, Mont. b. 1904. B.A. 1928, M.A. 1929, LL.B. 1930, LL.D. (Honorary) 1949, Montana State Univ.; S.J.D. 1932 Harvard Univ. Admitted to practice, Montana, 1930; U. S. Supreme Court, 1933; U. S. District Court for District of Columbia, 1937; other federal courts and administrative agencies. Prac., Helena, Mont., 1932–33; Washington, D. C., 1939–51. Visiting Lecturer in Law, Univ. of Virginia, 1949–50; President and Professor of Law, Montana State Univ., since 1951. Subjects: Administrative Law, *Orientation*. Author: Judicial Control of the Federal Trade Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission (1933); Federal Justice—Chapters in the History of Justice and the Federal Executive (with Homer Cummings) (1937); Milk Marketing under Federal Control (1946); Cases and Materials on Administrative Law (with Arthur T. Vanderbilt), 2nd Ed., 1952. Coeditor, Revised Statutes of Montana by appointment of Supreme Court, 1933–36; Special Asst. to U. S. Atty. Gen'l, 1933–37; Asst. Atty. Gen'l of U. S., 1937–39. Member, American Bar and Montana Bar Associations; American Judicature Society; American Law Institute.

McGARR, FRANCIS J., Instructor in Law, Loyola Univ. School of Law, Chicago 11, Ill. Subject: *Criminal Law*.

McGEE, MORRIS CLINTON, Prof. of Law, Univ. of Alabama, University, Ala. b. 1916. B.S. 1938, LL.B. 1940, Univ. of Alabama. Admitted to practice, Alabama, 1940. Assoc. firm of Leader & Hill, Birmingham, Ala., 1940–41; prosecutor and defense attorney, U. S. Military Courts, also associated in prosecution of cases in English, Irish and French Courts, 1942–46. Asst. Prof. of Business Law, Univ. of Alabama, 1947–50. Author, Criminal Procedure of Alabama. Subjects: *Criminal Law*, *Criminal Procedure*, *Evidence*, *Negotiable Instruments*, Domestic Relations, Legal Bibliography. Member, Alabama State Bar Association. U. S. Air Forces, 1941–46.

McGEE, RICHARD K., Lecturer, Univ. of Tulsa, School of Law, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Subjects: *Legislation*, *Damages*.

McGIVNEY, ARTHUR A., Prof. of Law, Fordham Univ., New York City. Subject: *Torts*.

McGHEE, ALFONSO, Asst. Prof. of Law and Law Librarian, Florida A. & M. Univ., Tallahassee, Fla. b. 1931. LL.B. 1954, Florida A. & M. Univ. Admitted to practice, Florida, 1956. Prac. in Florida, 1956–57. Asst. Prof. of Law and Law Librarian, Florida A. & M. Univ., since 1957. Member, Florida Bar Assn.

McGOVERN, JOSEPH W., Prof. of Law, Fordham Univ. School of Law, New York City. Subjects: *Property*, *Creditors' Rights*.

McGOWAN, HAROLD X., Lecturer in Law, New York Univ., New York 3, N. Y. Subject: *Trial Practice*.

McGURNAGHAN, MARGARET, Lecturer in Law, Washburn Univ. School of Law, Topeka, Kan. Subjects: *Office Practice*, *Abstracts and Conveyancing*.

McINTIRE, JOHN ALBERT, Professorial Lecturer in Law, George Washington Univ. Law School, Washington 6, D. C. Subjects: *Government Contracts I, II*.

McINTOSH, HAROLD ELWOOD, Assoc. Prof. Univ. of San Francisco School of Law, San Francisco 17, Cal. b. 1920. A.B. 1943, Colorado State College of Education; LL.B. 1948, Univ. of San Francisco. Admitted to practice California, 1949. Instructor in Law and Asst. to the Dean, Univ. of San Francisco School of Law, 1948–50. Subjects: *Titles*, *Property*, Legal Method, Security Transactions, Civil Procedure, Landlord & Tenant, Persons, Sales. Member, California State Bar Association, Bar Association of San Francisco. U. S. Army, 1942–46. Contributor to Survey of California Law. Editor, 1957 Supp. to Tiffany on Real Property.

MACKAY, JAMES ARMSTRONG, Lecturer, Emory Univ., Lamar School of Law, Emory University, Ga. Subject: *Personal Property*.

McKAY, ROBERT BUDGE, Prof. of Law, New York Univ., New York 3, N. Y. b. 1919. B.S. 1940, Univ. of Kansas; LL.B. 1947, Yale Univ. Admitted to practice, Kansas, 1948; District of Columbia, 1948; U. S. Supreme Court, 1951. Asst. Prof. of Law, Emory Univ., 1950–52; Assoc. Prof. 1952–53; Assoc. Prof. of Law and Director, Law Center Publications Office, New York Univ., 1953–57; Prof. since 1956. Subjects: *Constitutional Law*, Constitutional History, Constitutional Liberties, Criminal Procedure, Equity, International Law, Labor Law, Federal Procedure, Administrative Law, *Contracts*, Remedies. Editor, Survey of New York Law and of Annual Survey of American Law 1953-57.

the Law of Oil and Gas, (with H. R. Williams and C. J. Meyers) (1956); California Security Transactions, (with S. A. Riesenfeld) (1957).

MAYDA, JARO, Assoc. Prof. of Law, Univ. of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. b. 1918. J.U.D. 1945, Masaryk Univ. Czechoslovakia; J.D. 1957, Univ. of Chicago. Legal Counsel, Skodaworks, Pilsen-Prague, 1946–48. Teacher, Bus. Law, Brno, 1943–45; Denison Univ., 1949–50; Ohio State Univ., 1950–51. Asst. Prof. of Law and Pol. Sc., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1951–56; Assoc. Prof. of Law, Univ. of Puerto Rico, since 1957. Subjects: Soviet Law, Comparative Law, *Introduction to Law, International Law, Conflicts, Contracts*. Author: Lawyers' Fees as an Element of Costs, and several law review articles.

MAYO, LOUIS HARKEY, Asst. Dean and Assoc. Prof. of Law, George Washington Univ. Law School, Washington 6, D. C. b. 1918. Attended East Kentucky State College, 1935–36; B.S. 1940, U. S. Naval Academy; LL.B. 1949, Univ. of Virginia; Graduate Fellow 1949–50; J.S.D. 1953, Yale Law School. Admitted to practice, Virginia, 1949. Asst. Prof. of Law and Secretary of the Law School, George Washington Univ., 1950–53, Asst. Dean and Assoc. Prof. of Law since 1953. Subjects: *Contracts*, Insurance, Wills, Criminal Law, *Communications Law, Restitution, Control of Atomic Energy*. Member, American Bar and Virginia State Bar Associations; Lieut. Comm. U. S. Navy, 1940–47. Exec. Sec., FCC, 1956–57.

MEADOR, DANIEL JOHN, Assoc. Prof. of Law, Univ. of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. b. 1926. B.S. 1949, Alabama Poly. Institute; LL.B. 1951, Univ. of Alabama; LL.M. 1954, Harvard Law School. Admitted to practice, Alabama, 1951; U. S. Supreme Court, 1955. Prac. in Birmingham, 1955–57. Assoc. Prof. of Law, Univ. of Virginia, since 1957. Subjects: *Procedure, Constitutional Law Seminar, Federal Jurisdiction and Procedure*. Law Clerk to Mr. Justice Hugo L. Black, U. S. Supreme Court, 1954–55. Member, Alabama, and American Bar Association. U. S. Army, JAGC, 1951–53.

MEANS, DAVID HARPER, Prof. of Law, Univ. of South Carolina, Columbia, S. C. b. 1913. A.B. 1935, LL.B. 1937, Univ. of South Carolina; S.J.D. 1956, Harvard Univ. Admitted to practice, South Carolina, 1937. General prac., Columbia, S. C., 1937–42; 1946–49. Instructor in Law, part time, Univ. of South Carolina, 1949; Assoc. Prof. of Law, full time, 1949–54; Prof. of Law since 1954. Subjects: *Future Interests, Titles*, Code Pleading, *Rights in Land, Personal Property*, Jurisprudence, *Conflict of Laws, Estate Planning*. Member, South Carolina and American Bar Associations. Captain, U. S. Army, 1942–46.

MEBS, FREDERICK WILLIAM, Prof. of Law, Salmon P. Chase College, Cincinnati 10, Ohio. b. 1927. B.S. 1949, LL.B. 1951, Univ. of Pittsburgh; Graduate Study in Law, Univ. of Cincinnati, 1954–55; Graduate Study in Education, Xavier Univ., 1955. Admitted to practice, Ohio, 1952. Instructor and Librarian, Ohio Northern Univ. Law School, 1951–52; Assoc. Prof. of Law, Salmon P. Chase College, 1952–56; Prof. of Law, since 1957. Subjects: Legal Bibliography, Common Law Pleading, Private Corporations, Constitutional Law, Damages, Partnerships, Future Interests, Trusts, Conflict of Laws, *Real Property I and II, Contracts I and II, Agency, Domestic Relations, Wills*. Member, Cincinnati and Ohio Bar Associations. U. S. Navy, 1944–46.

MECHEM, PHILIP, Prof. of Law, Univ. of Pennsylvania Law School, Philadelphia, Pa. b. 1892. Harvard Univ. 1911–14; B.A. 1922, Stanford Univ.; Univ. of Chicago, 1916–17; Stanford Univ. 1918–19; LL.B. 1922, Univ. of Colorado; J.S.D. 1926, Univ. of Chicago. Asst. prof. of law, Univ. of Idaho, 1922–24; teaching fellow in law, Univ. of Chicago, 1924–25; assoc. prof. of law, Univ. of Kansas, 1925–26; prof. of law, 1926–28; acting dean of the Law School, Univ. of Kansas, 1928–29; prof. of law, Washington Univ. 1929–30; prof. of law, Univ. of Iowa, 1930–48; prof. of law, Univ. of Pennsylvania, since 1948. On leave of absence 1942–44, with Department of Justice, Washington, D. C. Subjects: Equity, *Agency*, Quasi Contracts, Persons, Jurisprudence, Partnership, Torts, *Wills*, Trusts, *Restitution*, Trade Regulation, Corporations, *Bills and Notes, Future Interests*. Pub. articles in Illinois, Iowa, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Michigan Law Reviews; editor Mechem, Cases on Agency (4th Ed.), co-editor Mechem & Atkinson, Cases on Wills and Administration (4th Ed.); author Mechem Outlines of Agency, 4th Ed. Secretary-Treasurer, 1954–6, President, 1957, Association of American Law Schools.

MEDILL, GEORGE FLEMING, Lecturer in Law, Univ. of Toledo College of Law, Toledo, Ohio. Subject: *Trusts*.

MEEHAN, JOHN JOSEPH, Asst. Prof., Brooklyn Law School, Brooklyn 1, N. Y. b. 1923. LL.B. 1950, Brooklyn Law School.

WILKINSON, JOSEPH HENRY, JR., Prof. of Law, Univ. of Texas, Austin 12, Texas. b. 1913. B.S. 1934, Univ. of South Carolina; LL.B. (with honors) 1949, Univ. of Texas; C.P.A. 1950, Texas. Admitted to practice, Texas, 1949. Prac. in Midland, Texas, 1950–57. Prof. of Law, Univ. of Texas, since 1957. Subjects: Estate and Gift Taxation, *Oil and Gas Tax Law*, *Legal Accounting*, *Tax Seminar*. Pub. articles in Texas Law Review. Member, Texas and American Bar Associations. U. S. Navy, 1942–45.

WILLCOX, BERTRAM FRANCIS, Prof. of Law, Cornell Law School, Ithaca, N. Y. b. 1895. B.A. 1917, Cornell Univ.; LL.B. 1922, Harvard Univ. Admitted to practice, New York, 1923. Prac. with Hughes, Rounds, Schurman & Dwight, and successor firms, 1923–28, partner Schurman, Wiley & Willcox, and successor firms, 1928–43, New York City. Instructor in Law, Cornell Law School, Summer 1926; Assoc. Prof. and Prof. since 1946; McRoberts Prof. in Administration of Law since 1954. Subjects: *Labor Law; Labor Law Problems;* Commercial Transactions; Negotiable Instruments, Personal Property. Co-author with Braucher, Sutherland, "Commercial Transactions" and of portion of (Mathews) "Labor Relations and the Law". Pub. articles in various law reviews. Labor Arbitrator. Public Member, Appeals Committee, National War Labor Board, Washington, D. C., 1944–45; Member, New York State and City Bar Associations; Lawyers Guild; Tompkins County Bar Association.

WILLIAMS, CLAYTON EPES, Dean and Prof. of Law, Washington and Lee Univ. Law School, Lexington, Va. b. 1890. Wash. and Lee Univ. 1908–10; LL.B. 1912, Washington and Lee Univ.; LL.D. 1951, Hampden Sydney College; Columbia Univ. School of Law, summer sessions 1922 and 1926. Prac. firm of Williams & Bro., Woodstock, Va., 1912–19; Commonwealth's attorney of Shenandoah county. Assoc. prof. of law, Washington and Lee Univ., 1919–20; prof. of law since 1920. Acting dean, 1943, dean since 1946. Bradford Prof. of Law since 1947 Subjects: Criminal Procedure, Criminal Law, *Real Property*, *Titles*, *Future Interests*, Insurance, Municipal Corporations, Wills and Administration, *Trusts*, *Personal Property*. Member American Bar Association, Virginia State Bar Association and American Law Institute. Member Legislative Commission on the Improvement of the Administration of Justice in Virginia (1944–45). Pub. Williams' and Burks' 3d Ed. of Burks' Pleading and Practice.

WILLIAMS, GEORGE HOWARD, Prof. of Law and Secretary of the Faculty, New York Univ. School of Law, New York 3, N. Y. b. 1918. A.B. 1939, Hofstra College; LL.B. 1946, New York Univ. Admitted to practice, New York, 1946. Administrative Asst. to Dean, full time, New York Univ. School of Law, 1945–48; Instructor in Law and Asst. to the Dean, 1948–1949; Asst. Prof. 1950–52; Assoc. Prof. 1952–1955. Subjects: Sales, *Agency*. Spec. Asst. Dept. Atty. Gen'l, New York State. Director, Citizen Clearing House. Member, American and Nassau Bar Associations; New York County Lawyers Association. Lt. Col., Infantry—World War II.

WILLIAMS, GEORGE P., III, Lecturer in Law, Temple Univ. School of Law, Philadelphia, Pa. Subject: *Torts*.

WILLIAMS, HOWARD RUSSELL, Prof. of Law, Columbia Univ., New York City, 27. b. 1915. A.B. 1937, Washington Univ., St. Louis, Mo.; LL.B. 1940, Columbia Univ. Admitted to practice in New York, 1941. Prac. in New York, N. Y., 1940–41. Instructor, Field Artillery School, Fort Sill, Okla., 1942–43; Assoc. Prof. of Law, Univ. of Texas School of Law, 1946–49; Prof. of Law, 1949–51; Asst. Dean, 1948–50; Acting Dean, summer session, 1948–49; Assoc. Prof. of Law, Columbia Univ., 1951–52; Prof. of Law since 1952. Subjects: *Property*, Creditors' Rights, Trade Regulation, Conveyances, Trusts and Estates, Legal Writing, Texas Land Titles, Oil & Gas, Wills, Corporate Reorganization, *Possessory Estates*, Real Estate Transactions. Editor, Columbia Law Review, 1938–40. Field Artillery U. S. Army, 1941–46. Consultant on Oil and Gas, President's Materials Policy Comm., 1951. Author: Cases on Property, 1954; Cases on Oil and Gas, 1956 (with Maxwell & Meyers); Manual of Oil & Gas Terms, 1957 (with C. J. Meyers). Pub. articles in various periodicals. Visiting Prof. of Law, UCLA Fall Semester, 1957–58.

WILLIAMS, JERRE STOCKTON, Prof. of Law, Univ. of Texas School of Law, Austin 12, Texas. b. 1916. A.B. 1938, Univ. of Denver; LL.B. 1941, Columbia Univ. Admitted to practice in Colorado, 1941; U. S. Supreme Court, 1945; Texas, 1953. Staff Judge Advocate and Trial Judge Advocate, U. S. Army Air Corps, 1943–46. Instructor, Univ. of Iowa Law School, and Faculty Editor Iowa Law Review, 1941–42; Asst. Prof. of Law, Univ. of Denver, 1946; Assoc. Prof. of Law, Univ. of Texas, 1946–1950; Prof. of Law since 1950. Subjects: *Constitutional Law*, Administrative Law, Taxation, Equity,

Legal Bibliography, Introduction to Law, *Labor Relations*, *Employees' Rights*, Legal Method, *Legal Profession*, Legal Writing, *Seminar in Legal and Economic Aspects of Collective Bargaining*. Member, American Bar and Texas Bar Associations. Editor, Columbia Law Review, 1939–41. Attorney, O.P.A., Washington, D. C., 1942; Captain, U. S. Army, 1942–46. Assoc. Director, Study of Loyalty-Security Programs, City of New York Bar Association (1955–6). Pub. Cases and Materials in Employees' Rights (1952); Assoc. Ed., Labor Relations and the Law (1953). The Supreme Court Speaks (1956); Assoc. Ed., The Employment Relation and the Law (1957) and articles in periodicals.

WILLIAMS, JOHN RICHARDS, Lecturer, Western Reserve Univ. School of Law, Cleveland 6, Ohio. Subject: *World Law*.

WILLIAMS, KENNETH B., Prof. of Law, Suffolk Univ., Boston 14, Mass. Subject: *Contracts*.

WILLIAMS, PEELER, JR., Lecturer in Law, Baylor Univ. School of Law, Waco, Texas. Subjects: *Civil Procedure*, *Labor Law*.

WILLIAMS, ROBERT L., Prof. of Law, Florida A. and M. Univ., Tallahassee, Florida. b. 1915. Attended Morris Brown College 1934–38; State College, Orangeburg, S. C., 1948–51; New York Univ. 1951–53. Admitted to practice, New York, 1953. Taught in high schools 1939–42 and 1947–48. Assoc. Prof. of Law, Florida A. and M. Univ. 1953–57; Prof. of Law, since 1957. Subjects: *Conflict of Laws*, *Domestic Relations*, *Business Organizations*, Federal Jurisdiction, Equity, Negotiable Instruments, Creditors' Rights, *Torts*, Commercial Law. Member, New York City Bar. U. S. Army, 1942–46.

WILLIAMS, WAYNE D., Part-Time Instructor in Law, Univ. of Denver College of Law, Denver, Colo. Subject: *International Law*.

WILLS, ROBERT L., Prof. of Law, Ohio State Univ. College of Law, Columbus 10, Ohio. b. 1910. B.A. 1931, LL.B. 1934, Ohio State Univ. Admitted to practice in Ohio, 1934. Prac. in Cleveland, 1934–37; Chillicothe, Ohio, 1937–44. Assoc. Prof. of Law, Ohio State Univ., 1946–1952; prof. of law since 1952. Subjects: *Civil Procedure*, *Pleading*, Wills, *Federal Procedure*, Legal Aid Clinic, Decedents' Estates, Legal Bibliography, Judicial Administration, Legal Profession, Seminar in Legal Planning. Member, Columbus Bar Association, Ohio State Bar Association, American Bar Association. Lieut., U.S.N.R., 1944–46. Pub. articles in Ohio State Law Journal.

WILLS, THOMAS A., Assoc. Prof. of Law, Univ. of Miami School of Law, Coral Gables 34, Fla. b. 1918. B.S. 1940, St. Ambrose College; M.S. 1942, Univ. of Iowa; B.A. 1954, LL.B. 1946, Univ. of Miami. Admitted to practice, Florida, 1946. Instructor in Law, Univ. of Miami since 1946. Subjects: *Torts*, Domestic Relations, Mortgages, Contracts, Insurance, Landlord & Tenant, Damages, Real Property, Personal Property, *Introduction to Civil Procedure*, *Contracts*, *Jurisprudence*, *Conflict of Laws*, *Jurisprudence Seminar*. Patent Department, Standard Oil Co., Ind., 1945.

WILSON, EDGAR HUNTER, Prof. of Law, Walter F. George School of Law, Mercer Univ., Macon, Ga. b. 1923. LL.B., LL.M. 1948, S.J.D. 1954, Duke Univ. Admitted to practice, North Carolina, 1948; Georgia, 1955. Asst. Prof. of Law, Walter F. George School of Law, Mercer Univ., 1948–49. Assoc. Prof. of Law, 1949–52. Prof. of Law since 1952. Visiting Prof. of Law, George Washington Univ., Summer 1957. Pub. articles in legal periodicals. Subjects: *Insurance*, *Taxation*, Administrative Law, *Contracts*, Damages, Agency, Domestic Relations, Legal Profession, Appellate Practice, *Security Transactions*, Arbitration, Creditor's Rights, Sales, Legislation. Member A.A.L.S. Committee, Selected Readings on Contracts 1950. Georgia member of Junior Bar Conference on Law Students 1952. Member, Georgia General Assembly, 1956–58. Member, North Carolina Bar Association and Georgia Bar Association. Flight Officer Army Air Forces, 1943–46.

WILSON, FRANK MOORE, Lecturer in Law, Baylor Univ. School of Law, Waco, Texas. Subject: *Practice and Procedure*.

WILSON, JOHN FURNESS, Visiting Prof. of Law, Tulane Univ., New Orleans 18, La. b. 1924. M.A., B.A. (Juris) 1949, Oxford Univ. Asst. Lecturer in Law, 1949–52 and Lecturer in Law since 1952, Univ. Coll. of Wales, Aberystwyth. Visiting Prof. of Law, Tulane Univ., 1957–58. Subjects: Contract, Criminal Law, *Legal History*, *Sales*, Company Law, Evidence. Author, Principles of Law of Contract, and various articles in law reviews. RAF, 1943–46.

WILSON, JOHN RICHARD, Instructor, Univ. of Detroit School of Law, Detroit 26, Mich. Subjects: Mortgages, *Corporate Legal Accounting*, Taxation.

articles in legal periodicals. Member, Texas Bar Association. Lt. (j.g.) U.S.N.R.

MICKELWAIT, CLAUDE B., Professorial Lecturer, The American Univ., Washington College of Law, Washington 6, D. C. Subjects: *Military Law, International Law.*

MICHIE, THOMAS JOHNSON, Lecturer Univ. of Virginia Law School, Charlottesville, Va. Subject: *Estate Planning.*

MILLER, ARTHUR SELWYN, Prof. of Law, Emory Univ., Emory University, Ga. b. 1917. A.B. 1938, Willamette Univ.; LL.B. 1949, Stanford Univ.; Graduate Fellow 1949–50, Yale Law School. Admitted to practice, California, 1949, Dist. of Columbia, 1953. Asst. Prof. of Law, George Washington Univ., 1950–53; (On leave of absence, 1951–53, for active duty service with Headquarters USAF, Procurement Division) Asst. Prof. of Law, Emory Univ., 1953–55; Assoc. Prof. 1955–57; Prof. of Law, since 1957. Subjects: Contracts, Torts, Sales, Public Utilities, *Constitutional Law, Legal Writing, Administrative Law, International Law, Social Legislation.* Assoc. Faculty-Editor-in-Chief, George Washington Law Review 1950–51. Faculty Editor, Journal of Public Law. Member, California Bar Association. Captain, Army Air Force, 1941–46; Lt. Colonel, USAF Reserve. Author of "Racial Discrimination & Private Education" (1957). Published articles and book reviews in legal and other periodicals. Guggenheim Fellowship, 1957–58. Contributing editor, The Military Market.

MILLER, CHARLES HENDERSON, Prof. of Law, Univ. of Tennessee College of Law, Knoxville, Tenn. b. 1906. A.B. 1928; LL.B. 1934, Duke Univ. Admitted to practice, North Carolina, 1934. Private practice, 1934–45, Durham, N. C.; Tenn. since 1948. Assistant Legal Aid Clinic, Duke Univ. 1934–45. Taught in Department of Economics, Duke Univ., 1941–42. Lecturer in Law, Wake Forest Law School, 1941–42; Prof. of Law, Univ. of Tennessee, since 1947. Visiting Prof. of Law, Univ. of Puerto Rico, Summer 1952. Subjects: Agency, Bills and Notes, *Criminal Law, Criminal Procedure,* Domestic Relations, Legal Bibliography, Legal Writing, Legal Ethics, Legal History, Office Practice, *Legal Aid Clinic, Legislation.* Field Consultant, National Probation and Parole Association; Consultant, Dept. of Welfare and Institutions. Pub. articles in various legal publications. Member, American, North Carolina and Tennessee Bar Associations.

MILLER, CLARK, Prof., Brooklyn Law School, Brooklyn 1, N. Y. b. 1897. B.A. 1918, Princeton Univ.; LL.B. (cum laude) 1921, Univ. of Pittsburgh; S.J.D. (cum laude) 1953, Brooklyn Law School. Admitted to practice, Pennsylvania 1921; New York, 1935. Prac. in Pittsburgh, 1921–34; New York City, 1935–46. Asst. Prof., Univ. of Pittsburgh School of Bus. Admin., 1925–29; Prof., Brooklyn Law School, 1935–37, and since 1947. Subjects: Agency & Partnership, Constitutional Law, *Contracts,* Sales, *Domestic Relations, Bills & Notes,* Guaranty & Bailments, *Roman Law, International Law.* Pub. articles in law reviews. Member, American Bar Association. U.S.N.R., 1917–21 and 1935–41. Spec. Hearing Officer, Dept. of Justice.

MILLER, FRANK WILLIAM, Prof. of Law, Washington Univ., St. Louis 5, Mo. b. 1921. B.A. 1946, LL.B. 1948, S.J.D. 1954, Univ. of Wisconsin. Admitted to practice, Wisconsin, 1948. Asst. Prof. of Law, Washington Univ., 1948–53; Assoc. Prof. 1953–56; Prof. since 1956. Visiting Prof., Univ. of Arkansas, Summers 1952, 54, 56; Stetson Univ., Summer 1955; Univ. of Wisconsin, Summer 1957. Subjects: Rights in Land, *Torts,* Suretyship, Trusts, Trade Regulations, Legislation, *Criminal Law,* Legal Bibliography, Future Interests, Fiduciary Administration, Wills and Trusts, Legal Writing, Insurance, Restitution, *Seminar in Criminal Administration,* Damages. Editor-in-Chief Wisconsin Law Review, 1947–48; Asst. to draftsman, Bulk Sales article Uniform Commercial Code. Pub. articles in legal periodicals. Member, American and Wisconsin Bar Associations. Intelligence Section, 5th Armored Division, 1944–45.

MILLER, FREDERIC MAGOUN, Lecturer in Law, Drake Univ., Des Moines 11, Iowa. Subject: *Appellate Practice.*

MILLER, HARRY, Lecturer in Law, Univ. of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo. Subject: *Civil Procedure.*

MILLER, LAMBERT H., Adjunct Prof. of Law, Georgetown Univ., Washington, D. C. Subject: *Trade Association Law.*

MILLER, NORMAN B, Prof. of Law, Cleveland-Marshall Law School, Cleveland 13, Ohio. Subjects: *Agency, Conflict of Laws, Evidence, Contracts.*

MILLER, ROBERT WILLCUTTS, Prof. of Law, Syracuse Univ., College of Law, Syracuse, N. Y. b. 1906, A.B. 1927, J.D. 1928. Indiana Univ.; LL.M. 1929, Harvard Univ. Admitted to practice in Indiana, 1928; prac. alone, Marion Ind., 1931–32. Asst. prof. of law, Univ. of S. D., 1929–30; Univ. of Wyo., 1930–31; asst. prof. of law, Syracuse Univ., 1932–36; assoc. prof. 1936–38; prof. of law

RECEIVED JAN 14 1959

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 12, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are delighted to hear that you will make available to us 100 copies of the population-distribution map for our Nashville Conference.

Enclosed is a self-addressed franked label for your use in mailing the maps to us. We would appreciate receiving them at your earliest convenience.

Thank you for your generous consideration in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Howard W. Rogerson

Howard W. Rogerson
Legal Assistant

Enc

Sent 1/14/59 WHG

January 9, 1959

Mr. Howard W. Rogerson
Legal Assistant
Commission on Civil Rights
126 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Rogerson:

We have 100 copies of the population-distribution map and will be glad to furnish them without charge for use at your Nashville conference. You might supply us with a franked label, if that's possible, and let me know when and where you would like them mailed.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dear Mr. Rogerson:

We have 100 copies of the population-distribution map and will be glad to furnish them without charge for use ~~in~~ at your Nashville conference. You might supply us with a franked label, if that's possible, and let me know when and where you would like them mailed.

Sincerely,

HCF

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 8, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As you know, the Commission has schedule a conference on March 5th and 6th in Nashville, Tennessee, of public school officials who have had desegregation experience.

We are in the process of assembling materials for the conference. Your multi-color map showing the distribution of non-white population in counties of southern states would be a valuable addition to these materials. This map was included in your pamphlet entitled "Next Steps in the South - Answers to Current Questions". We would need 100 copies of the map.

Please let us know as soon as possible whether you can furnish us with the required number and what the cost thereof would be.

Yours very truly,

Howard W. Rogerson

Howard W. Rogerson
Legal Assistant

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Civil Rights Commission in New York

REGARDING

Hearings on Housing Discrimination

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

NAIRO REPORTER
Vol. IX, No. 5, Feb., 1959
in folder marked: "NAIRO, 1958-1959"

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Information for State Advisory Committees

REGARDING:

Civil Rights - Desegregation Status

DATE

February, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

State Organizations - "Civil Rights - Desegregation Status"

March 4, 1959

Civil Rights Commission
746 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

We have received today correspondence from the Department of State indicating that a letter and materials sent from this office to Mr. Dean Acheson have been passed on to your Department.

Mr. Acheson has been informed that our letter to him was inappropriately addressed and additional materials have been sent to him at a corrected address. Therefore, you may disregard the letter and materials you are holding.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF
cc: Mr. Dean Acheson

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 15, 1959

Mr. John Constable,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Constable:

I sincerely appreciate your sending me a copy of the reprint of the New Republic. I enjoyed meeting you on my recent trip to Atlanta, and I hope you will favor us with a visit when you are in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Burton Stevenson

Burton Stevenson
Legal Assistant to
Commissioner Carlton

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Robert A. Thompson
Housing Secretary
Atlanta Urban League

REGARDING:

Testimony before Civil Rights Commission's Hearing on Housing
Aldermanic Chamber, City Hall, Atlanta, Ga., April 10, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Research Files, MM., LWD

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Jesse B. Blayton

REGARDING:

Opening statement at Hearings on Housing - Civil Rights Commission, Aldermanic Chamber City Hall, Atlanta, Ga., April 10, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Research Files - MM, LWD

MF- File CR Commission

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Washington 25, D. C.

Not for publication

NOTES ON ATLANTA HOUSING HEARING

April 10, 1959

As part of its nation-wide study of problems of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution, the Commission on Civil Rights has scheduled a hearing on housing in Atlanta, on April 10, 1959. A similar hearing was held in New York City on February 2-3 and hearings are scheduled for Chicago on May 5, and Los Angeles on July 9.

The Commission is a fact-finding agency established to investigate complaints of the denial of the right to vote, to study other matters of equal protection of the laws, to appraise Federal laws and policies in these respects, and to submit a report, with findings of fact and recommendations, to the President and the Congress by September 9, 1959.

The Commission is in no sense an enforcement agency, and has no connection with the Department of Justice. Its membership is bipartisan, with three Democrats, two Republicans, and one Independent. Three of its six members are from the North and West - Chairman John Hannah, president of Michigan State University, the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame, and Presidential nominee George M. Johnson, former Dean of Howard University Law School, from California, who upon confirmation by the Senate will replace the late J. Ernest Wilkins of Chicago. Three members are from the South and Southwest - Vice

Chairman Robert G. Storey, Dean of Southern Methodist University Law School in Dallas, former Governor John S. Battle of Virginia, and former Governor Doyle E. Carlton of Florida.

The members conducting the hearing in Atlanta will probably be Chairman Hannah, Dean Storey and Governor Carlton.

Early in its deliberations the Commission decided that the question of equal protection of the laws in housing should constitute one of its main fields of inquiry, along with the fields of voting and public education. Before the Commission can appraise Federal laws and policies on housing, it must understand the problems these laws and policies are designed to cope with. Particularly the Commission must find and understand the facts concerning the actual housing situation of minority groups throughout the country.

To do this, the Commission has been conducting field surveys and consultations in a number of cities, and it has asked the State Advisory Committees being organized in each state of the union to assist in this study by advising the Commission of their findings and recommendations concerning the question of housing in their states. In addition, in order to get the fullest and most accurate picture possible of the housing problems of minority groups in different parts of the country, the Commission decided to hold public hearings.

The Commission knows that the problem differs greatly in various regions. Therefore, to get a balanced picture it is holding hearings in several sections of the country. It believes that Atlanta in the heart of the South will present

new aspects of the problem, including much progress as well as things that remain to be done.

The Commission has received no complaints from Atlanta. The hearing is being held not to find fault but to assess the problem-- to see what measures have been helpful and successful in Atlanta in securing equal opportunity in housing for minorities and what areas are still unsolved. The Commission is particularly interested in the reported progress in this field and hopes that the facts found will be of use to other communities concerned with these problems

The Commission knows that the questions involved in solving the problem of discrimination in housing are many and complicated. It comes to Atlanta, as to New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, with no preconceived solutions. It is trying to learn.

Congress has declared in the Housing Act of 1949 that "a decent home and a suitable living enviroment for every American family" is the goal of national policy. Through its various housing programs--assistance for slum clearance and urban renewal, public housing, and mortgage insurance-- the Federal Government is playing a major role in housing. In studying housing the Commission is trying to collect information as to whether equal opportunity in housing is denied to some Americans by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin. In order to appraise Federal housing laws and policies and to make constructive recommendations to the President and the Congress, it needs to know the causes and the effects of any such discrimination. More specifically, the Commission is trying to collect information on the following questions:

QUESTIONS

(These questions the Commission asked in New York and will ask in Chicago and Los Angeles, as well as in Atlanta. The parenthetical comments elaborate some of our special interests in the Atlanta study or additional points rising out of the New York hearing.)

1. What is the factual situation with respect to the quantity and quality of housing at present occupied by or available to racial, national or religious minority groups? How does this differ, if at all, from the housing situation of others?

   (Comparative statistics on white and non-white housing trends in housing, population, and area expansion, maps showing white and non-white residential patterns, and photographs showing particular housing developments would be pertinent.)

2. What difficulties, if any, are encountered by minority groups in finding decent, safe and sanitary housing? What accounts for any such difficulties?

   (Comparative statistics on white and non-whte income, and information about zoning practices affecting low-income and/or non-white housing, about problems of site locations for non-white housing, including public housing projects as well as middle and upper income housing, and about problems of areas in racial transition, would be pertinent.)

2(a) To what extent have these difficulties of minority groups been overcome? What accounts for the considerable new housing built for Negro occupancy, new housing sites available to Negroes and the development of outlying Negro residential areas in Atlanta?

   (Information concerning the role of Negro and white financial institutions, real estate brokers and builders would be pertinent. Of particular interest would be information concerning the role of the West Side Mutual Development Committee.)

3. To what extent, if at all, do patterns of residential segregation by racial, national or religious groups exists, and what is the cause?

(In New York the Commission found considerable residential segregation despite laws to the contrary. In Atlanta, where segregation has been the public policy, is the degree of residential segregation increasing or decreasing? What is the effect of Federal housing programs on the pattern of segregation? To what extent is residential segregation voluntary and to what extent is it promoted by public laws and policies?)

4. What are the effects of either inadequate housing for minority groups or segregated housing, in terms of crime, juvenile delinquency, disease, interracial relations, public education, property values, the municipal tax base and the general standards of city life?

(In New York there was considerable testimony to the effect that unequal housing opportunities for Negroes and Puerto Ricans and segregation in racial areas contributed heavily to the demoralization of persons so affected. The Commission is interested in knowing whether, and to what extent, this is a problem in Atlanta).

5. What state and local laws, policies and programs have been adopted to accomplish equal opportunity to adequate housing on a non-discriminatory basis? What has been the experience under these laws, policies and programs?

(Information concerning voluntary efforts to negotiate and conciliate racial housing problems, such as the West Side Mutual Development Committee, promoted by public officials, would be pertinent.)

6. What is the effect of Federal housing laws, policies, and programs on the housing patterns and problems of minority groups, and on the state and local housing programs? Particularly, what are the practices and effects in this respect of the three constituent agencies of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency--the Public Housing Administration, the Federal Housing Administration and the Urban Renewal Administration?

7. What proposals should this Commission consider in appraising Federal housing laws and policies and in making its recommendations to the President and the Congress?

(In New York many witnesses recommended the adoption of Federal policies requiring the end of all racial discrimination or segregation in housing projects or programs financially assisted by the Federal government. How would such a proposed policy affect the housing problems in Atlanta?)

mf
Enclosures

ally,

let me know.

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Encls: Wmsburg Proceedings
" Memorandum dtd. Apr. 27, 1957
"Premises"
Minutes of CSP, May 24-25, 1957
Agenda CSP, May 24-25, 1957
List of Participants, CSP Conf., May 24-25, 1957

Enclosures

May 5, 1959

Mr. George Harris
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

Here are some materials -- agenda, proceedings, and the like -- for two past conferences of ours that may contain an idea or two for your forthcoming meeting. One was a Southwide meeting of leaders which we convened at Williamsburg in anticipation of the Supreme Court's school decision; the other, a meeting of our consultants to critique the consultant program and outline future efforts. Obviously, none of this was, or is, for publicatinn.

If we can help in any other way, let me know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

May 5, 1959

Mr. Burton Stevenson
Legal Assistant to Commissioner Carlton
Commission on Civil Rights
126 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Steve:

This is belated but nonetheless sincere thanks for your thoughtfulness. I hope we will meet again soon.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

April 16, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing the registration statistics which I promised you in Atlanta the other day. They are not for publication, as I indicated, but you may find having them in a neat pile is helpful for some purpose.

It was pleasant renewing acquaintances with you and we always look forward to your visits when you are in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Burton Stevenson
Legal Assistant to
Commissioner Carlton

P. S. I will deny under oath that I sent you these.

Enclosure

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

May 7, 1959

Dear Harold:

This is to thank you for your letter of May 5th and the materials you enclosed. I will treat them as confidential. I am sure they will be of great help.

Your close cooperation with this Commission is appreciated.

Very sincerely,

George

George B. Harris, Jr.
Deputy Special Assistant to
the Staff Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 8, 1959

Mr. Burton Stevenson
Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stevenson:

We are interested in the names and addresses of the members of the State Advisory Committees in the Southern states for our basic mailing list.

We would appreciate it if you would furnish us with a list of the names of those persons and their addresses who have already been selected in the South.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

CCR-68

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

FOR RELEASE
Sunday, June 7, 1959
or thereafter

WASHINGTON -- President Eisenhower on Tuesday will address the National Conference of State Advisory Committee Delegates being held here this week by the Commission on Civil Rights, John A. Hannah, Chairman of the Commission, announced yesterday (Saturday).

Those attending the conference, scheduled for Tuesday and Wednesday, will represent the 48 State Advisory Committees of the Commission. Organized in all states except South Carolina and Mississippi, the committees are composed of uncompensated citizens representing a cross-section of each state's population. They advise the Commission about civil rights matters in their states and contribute information that will be included in the Commission's September 9th report to the President and Congress.

The President will deliver brief informal remarks to the delegates at noon on Tuesday in the Presidential Room of the Hotel Statler-Hilton. His appearance will be followed by an address by George V. Allen, Director of the United States Information Agency. Both these events will be open to the press.

Chairman Hannah said the conference was being held to enable the Commission, a fact-finding agency, to "obtain still more facts to implement those already gathered by hearings, investigations and staff studies." He explained that the conference would seek to define "the most difficult minority group problems, with respect to equal protection of the laws, in each state" and would discuss "possible recommendations."

Special emphasis, he said, will be given to problems of voting, education, and housing -- the three areas on which the Commission itself has focused its activities. Three roundtable sessions will discuss these problems. A fourth roundtable discussion will deal with the civil rights aspects of employment, administration of justice and other fields being considered by individual state advisory committees, and the fifth roundtable will discuss the past, present and future role of the committees, Chairman Hannah said.

The roundtable discussions will be held in executive session because, explained Commission Staff Director Gordon M. Tiffany, "participants will discuss material to be included in the Commission's report, which naturally cannot be made public until it is handed to the President and the Congress."

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CCR - 70 THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Sunday, June 7, 1959

TWENTY NEGROES TO REPRESENT STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF 19 STATES AT CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS IN WASHINGTON JUNE 9-10

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Fourteen Delegates Serving as Officers in State Committees; Two as Chairmen

- - -

Will Represent 8 Northern States, 6 Southern States and 5 Western States

- - -

WASHINGTON, D.C. - - Twenty of the almost 100 delegates to the National Conference of State Advisory Committee Delegates, to be held here June 9-10 under the auspices of the Commission on Civil Rights, are Negroes.

They will represent State Advisory Committees in eight Northern States, six Southern States and five Western States.

Fourteen of the 20 Negro delegates are officers of State committees. Two of these are Committee Chairman.

Former State Senator Harry A. Cole of Baltimore is chairman of the Maryland State Advisory Committee and Banker Nivelle Beaubien, of Rumford, is chairman of the Rhode Island State Committee.

The occupations of the Negro delegates range from housewife to college president. The majority (six) are attorneys. There are also two judges, two social workers, two college presidents, two physicians, two government administrators, one banker, one publisher, one insurance company president, and one housewife.

Negro delegates expected at the conference will be:

Dr. E. B. Goode, of Mobile, Alabama, vice-chairman of the Alabama State Advisory Committee and a member of the Southern Conference of Human Relations; Dr. Lawrence A. Davis, of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, secretary of the Arkansas State Advisory Committee and president of Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College; Attorney Wendell A. Peters, of Denver, Colorado, vice-chairman and secretary of the Colorado State Advisory Committee; Attorney William D. Graham, of Hartford, Connecticut; Dr. F. D. Funderberg, of Monticello, Georgia, a member of the Georgia Council on Human Welfare; Mrs. Jewell Stradford Rogers, of Chicago, Illinois, secretary of the Illinois State Advisory Committee and former Assistant U.S. District Attorney; Judge A. B. Howard, of Kansas City, Kansas, vice chairman and secretary of the Kansas State Advisory Committee; Dr. Albert W. Dent, of New Orleans, Louisiana, secretary pro-tem, of the Louisiana State Advisory Committee and president of Dillard University; Attorney Harry A. Cole, of Baltimore, Maryland, chairman of the Maryland State Advisory Committee and former State Senator and Assistant Attorney General of Maryland; Attorney Edward W. Brooke, of Boston, Massachusetts, vice-chairman of the Massachusetts State Advisory Committee and a director of New England Hospital; Clarence E. Elam, of Boston, Massachusetts, chairman of the Licensing Board for Boston and executive secretary of the Governor's Council; Mrs. Frankie M. Freeman, of St. Louis, Missouri, secretary of the Missouri State Advisory Committee and Associate General Counsel, St. Louis Housing and Land Clearance Authority; Judge Harry Hazelwood, Jr., of Newark, New Jersey, a former assistant prosecutor of Essex County; Elmer A. Carter, of New York, New York,

chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination; Asa T. Spaulding, of Durham, North Carolina, vice-chairman of the North Carolina State Advisory Committee and president of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company; Mrs. Ulysses G. Plummer, Jr., of Portland, Ore., secretary of Oregon State Advisory Committee and a social worker; W. Beverly Carter, Jr., of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, secretary of the Pennsylvania State Advisory Committee and publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier; Nivelle Beaubien, of Rumford, Rhode Island, chairman of the Rhode Island State Advisory Committee and Branch Manager of the Industrial Trust Company; Mrs. Thomas W. Richmond, of Salt Lake City, Utah, a social worker and director of the YWCA Food Service, and Mrs. Theodore W. Coggs, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, secretary of the Wisconsin State Advisory Committee and former member of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE June 9, 1959

James C. Hagerty, Press Secretary to the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS,
HELD AT THE HOTEL STATLER, JUNE 9, 1959

Mr. Chairman and My Friends:

I came over here this morning primarily to thank you for your undertaking of a work that in my opinion is one of a vital, prime importance to the United States and to its future.

Because the problem in which you are involved is an emotional one, it is certain that you have to have qualities of courage to undertake it. But above the quality of courage it is quite necessary that we have within our breasts, if we are to do this work, those feelings of compassion, consideration and justice that derive from our concepts of moral law.

I say moral law rather than statutory law because I happen to be one of those people who has very little faith in the ability of statutory law to change the human heart, or to eliminate prejudice.

I think that the Congress was wise in establishing this Commission because the very purpose of the Commission is conciliatory, fact-finding, and giving examples to us. Indeed at times I think it holds up before us all a mirror so that we may see ourselves, what we are doing and what we are not doing, and therefore making it easier for us to correct our omissions.

There can be no doubt that America has not reached perfection in attaining the lofty ideals laid down for us in our founding documents and in the amendments that have been made to our Constitution. The important thing is that we go ahead, that we make progress. This does not necessarily mean revolution. In my mind it means evolution. This is what we are talking about.

We are saying that the concept of equality among men is equality in their opportunities, that we do not deny them that opportunity. I think no one could find complete equality between any two individuals in the world, if we wanted to take absolute values in all of their spiritual, intellectual and physical connotations. But we can talk about equality of opportunity, guaranteed to each person in this mation.

Just as the Members of that Commission have undertaken a job that is difficult, so each of the State Commissions has done the same. The progress that you are going to help achieve is that of education, promoting understanding to see that we come nearer to achieving our ideals without necessarily, or maybe not even wisely, trying to place on our statute books too many punitive laws.

more

If I may digress from the exact subject of which I have been speaking, and which, of course, is occupying your thoughts and efforts while you are here, I should like to talk about the word "understanding" for just a moment.

The Federal Government in both its Legislative and Executive branches is involved in many problems that are most difficult of solution. In fact, some of them, under the particular conditions of the present, seem almost to defy solution: all we can do is to hold the line and wait for some change in either material or, let us say, mental conditions in which people are living. But the big, the strong thing, that must be behind the whole effort of the United States is understanding at home on the basic issues. This is needed to bring about higher standards of living in our own country, to make certain that free areas in other parts of the world do not go under the domination of communism, to make certain that our alliances are stronger through the intellectual, spiritual and material development of those countries with which we are allied.

We are too often swayed by slogans. For example, in the fields in which the United States is attempting to help other free countries so that together we may be safer and stronger and more confident, we use the slogan "give away." I submit, any intelligent man that will look at the world today and can find it in his heart to condemn America's purpose and her efforts to bring other free nations into a higher level of sturdier, better allies, more effective allies, then he is following a line of reasoning which I cannot follow.

All of our domestic problems, including the one now before you -- the equality of opportunity of all men rggardless of inconsequential considerations -- comes in the same category of demanding understanding. This is so whether it be the farm program, the debt program, the need for reducing Federal expenditures, how we want to expand in one direction and contract in another. All demand understanding.

None of these problems, when you come down to it, can be dealt with in a vacuum. They are not mutually exclusive. In almost all cases, you will find them interdependent.

As we achieve a better level of equality, of opportunity in this country, our own nttional prestige and leadership is enhanced. Our economic problems are involved often with this same subject with which youaare now dealing. Therefore, not only by developing a better understanding in these basic issues can we help solve the problem with which you are specifically concerned this morning, but by bringing your own minds and hearts into focus on this particular question you help to develpp better understanding through the whole of the United States.

Remember, in a democracy, the only motivating, energizing force is public opinion. If that public opinion is well informed, then the United States will act wisely and strongly and fairly at home and abroad.

So you are not solving, or helping to solve, just one problem. You are working for America. I say to you, in my opinion, there can be no better thing to do.

Thank you very much

PROGRAM

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Commission on Civil Rights

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE DELEGATES

HOTEL STATLER WASHINGTON, D.C.

JUNE 9 & 10, 1959

★★★★★★★★★★★

PROGRAM

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JUNE 9

8:30 - 9:30	REGISTRATION - Main Lobby, Mezzanine Floor
	Coffee and rolls will be served in Foyer No. 3 (adjoining Registration Center)
9:30 - 10:00	GENERAL ASSEMBLY - Federal Room DR. JOHN A. HANNAH, Chairman, Presiding
	Introductions Conference and Round Table Procedures
10:00 - 11:30	ROUND TABLE NO. 1 - Housing
11:30	GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND LUNCHEON - Presidential Room DR. JOHN A. HANNAH, Chairman, Presiding
	REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
12:30	AN ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE GEORGE V. ALLEN Director, United States Information Agency
	U. S. ARMY BAND ORCHESTRA Major Hugh Curry, Leader and Commanding Officer Assistant Conductor for today is Warrant Officer Fred Rose
1:30 - 3:00	ROUND TABLE NO. 2 - Voting
3:00 - 3:15	Recess
3:15 - 4:45	ROUND TABLE NO. 3 - Education

4:45 - 5:30	MEETINGS OF ROUND TABLE MODERATORS AND REPORTERS (Rooms to be announced)
6:30 - 7:30	RECEPTION - Foyer No. 3
7:30 - 9:30	DINNER - Federal Room HONORABLE GORDON M. TIFFANY, Staff Director, Presiding ADDRESSES BY THE MEMBERS, COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS SELECTIONS BY THE U. S. ARMY CHORUS Director, Captain Samuel Loboda Associate Director, Warrant Officer Fred Rose

●

JUNE 10

8:00 - 9:45	BREAKFAST AND ROUND TABLE NO. 4 - General Topics: Employment, Administration of Justice, Public Accommodations, etc.
9:45 - 10:00	Recess
10:00 - 11:00	ROUND TABLE NO. 5 - Past, Present and Future Role of State Advisory Committees
11:00 - 11:15	Recess
11:15 - 12:30	CLOSING ASSEMBLY - Presidential Room DEAN ROBERT G. STOREY, Vice Chairman, Presiding SUMMARIES OF ROUND TABLES - Adjourn

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- DOYLE E. CARLTON, former Governor of Florida, Tampa, Florida.
- REV. THEODORE M. HESBURGH, C. S. C., President of the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana.
- GEORGE M. JOHNSON, Professor of Law and former Dean of the Law School, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

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- GORDON M. TIFFANY, former Attorney General of New Hampshire, Concord, New Hampshire.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
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HOTEL STATLER, WASHINGTON, D. C. -- JUNE 9-10, 1959

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Fort Washakie

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

June 17, 1959

RECEIVED JUN 19 1959

Dear Harold:

The information you sent George Harris of this office was a big help in our National Conference. We enclose a copy of the program, a corrected roster, suggested questions for the round tables, remarks by the President at the luncheon, and our own two press releases, believing they may interest you.

Again, many thanks for the counsel you have consistently given this office.

Very sincerely,

Henry M. Shine, Jr.
Assistant Staff Director

Enclosures

P.S. Have just received "Intimidation, Reprisal & Violence" report - you anticipated me! I was going to ask for a copy.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

PHELPS-STOKES FUND

101 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED JUL 15 1959

July 9, 1959

M E M O R A N D U M

To : Dr. John Hannah
From : Mr. Gordon Tiffany
Wilton S. Dillon

Subject : Continuation of the Civil Rights Commission

In view of your possible interest in arguments favoring continuation of the Commission on Civil Rights, I wish to report to you the following statement made June 21st by Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, at an informal weekend discussion in Virginia in the context of a Phelps-Stokes Fund conference on urban renewal in Southern cities:

> There are various strong arguments for the extension of the Commission's life. One, which I would like to speak to particularly, concerns the state advisory committees established by the Commission. Setting up such a committee in each state was a gigantic organizing task and consumed a great deal of the Commission's staff time, energy, and ingenuity. The greatest difficulties, as one might expect, were encountered in the South; accordingly, many of the Southern committees were activated only recently. If the Commission should expire in September, much of this effort would be wasted. In fairness to itself and to the nation, the Commission should be allowed to endure long enough to give its "grassroots" machinery time to function. Since the state committees are purely citizen groups, with no staff or budget, the guidance and direction of the parent body will be essential to their meaningful performance as fact-finding or opinion-making groups in their respective states.

RECEIVED JUL 17 1959

L. H. FOSTER, PRESIDENT

H. K. LOGAN, BUSINESS MANAGER

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July 13, 1959

AIR MAIL

RECEIVED
JUL 15 1959

Mr. Wilton S. Dillon
Executive Secretary
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Dillon:

Continuation of the Civil Rights Commission

There are several compelling reasons why the life of the Civil Rights Commission should be extended.

The Commission approaches in a very thoughtful, orderly, and unemotional manner the critical problem of assuring civil rights for all Americans. The Commission's program is a significant expression of the national concern to move forward in the area of civil rights. Further, it is a successful demonstration, through the state advisory committees, of a joint state-national approach to a matter which has large local import, but at the same time transcends state lines and must be dealt with as a total national concern.

Despite the seemingly limited public reception and influence of the whole concept of a Civil Rights Commission in some communities, a great good has come from its work in a short time. This positive influence is felt even in those communities which seem very unreceptive at the present time. I believe there are large numbers of persons who are happy to have the firm, but understanding, influence of the Civil Rights Commission program. This help can advance us from our present state of difficulty in civil rights which has been promoted largely by some politicians and other influential community leaders who have been opportunists with very little real concern for the welfare of the people.

While it is important that the Civil Rights Commission have an active and positive program, the mere existence of the Commission is highly beneficial. It is reassuring to know that there is this channel through which some grievous problems in the area of civil rights may be brought to light.

Much useful information has been assembled through the work of the Commission. It is possible to gather data and wield some very helpful influence on civil rights because the national character of the Commission gives this body great prestige. The Commission is actually much more constructive than may sometimes seem to be the case.

Termination of the Commission's work would be interpreted in many quarters as a surrender to reactionary elements. This would be a tragedy at this time when the advancement of human rights is of such vital concern to the vast majority of people, not only in America but the world over.

The Commission is a powerful moral force in a situation which calls urgently for an acknowledgment of the morality inherent in the concept of civil rights.

I hope these comments may be useful. In my opinion, the welfare of this country and its people demands that the continuation of the Civil Rights Commission have an exceedingly high priority.

Sincerely yours,

L. H. Foster
President

LHF:1

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

RECEIVED JUL 22 1959

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 14, 1959

RECEIVED JUL 16 1959

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund
101 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Dillon:

I would strongly express the hope that the Congress of the United States would provide for the continued life of and adequate support for the Civil Rights Commission.

The Commission has barely begun to do the job it was set up to handle. I know from personal experience that there are numerous areas in which the work of the Commission can be more helpful. I would add, further, that if the Commission were now permitted to go out of existence, this very action would aid the determination of the anti-democratic forces in our nation to resist even more strongly the present efforts to enlarge the opportunities and to confirm the rights of all American citizens.

With kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

Rufus E. Clement

REC:b

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FROM: B. R. Brazeal

TO: Mr. Harold Fleming

RECEIVED JUL 29 1959

RE: Mr. William Goodman

DATE: July 28, 1959

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter which I received from William Goodman. I am sending a copy to you because I felt that you would be interested in Goodman's reaction about the Baker County study.

I hope that you are having a pleasant and profitable summer.

B.

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
Washington 25, D.C.

July 24, 1959

COPY

Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Dean
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dean Brazeal:

Belatedly, I am thanking you for the copy of the Baker County study. It is a fine job, inclusive and vividly presented. This kind of pin-pointing makes the most effective case, after all. In time, I hope the whole area where repressions exist can be documented the way you have done it.

In August, I am leaving the Commission to teach a year at the University of Michigan. I expect sometime our paths will cross and I am looking forward to that time.

Sincerely,

William Goodman

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

-file

July 23, 1962

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is a belated acknowledgement of the materials on the sit-ins which you sent me. They are extremely helpful. It was most generous of you to also offer to supply us with additional materials of this type. As our study takes more concrete form, we will certainly be in touch with you.

My very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold S. Trebach

Arnold S. Trebach, Chief
Administration of Justice Section

March 2, 1963

Mr. Carl M. Holman
c/o Mr. Peter Sussman
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1700 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

We want to thank the Commission, through you, for sending us extra copies of the Mississippi and the North Carolina Advisory Committee reports for distribution. However, we also want to request that you please check with us in advance before sending large quantities of reports. For instance, we cannot undertake to distribute the South Dakota report! I am sure you will understand this and can interpret it to the Commission.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

file

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT
M. Carl Holman
Information Officer
Liaison and Information
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D.C.

Phone: STerling 3-0860
Extension 3228

FOR RELEASE WEDNESDAY,
APRIL 17, 1963

file

WASHINGTON, D.C. --

The United States Commission on Civil Rights announced today that it had adopted and sent to President Kennedy a special report expressing its alarm at "the open and flagrant violation of constitutional guarantees" in the State of Mississippi, and requesting that the President employ the legal and moral powers of his office "to the end that American citizenship will not continue to be degraded in Mississippi."

In the report, which was sent to the President on April 16 by Commission Chairman John A. Hannah, the Commission detailed incidents which have occurred in various parts of the State since October 1962. The incidents reported ranged from denial of food provided through Federal programs to children "at the brink of starvation" to shootings and assaults upon citizens attempting to vote or engaged in civil rights activities.

The Commission requested that:

"(1) the President formally reiterate his concern over the Mississippi situation by requesting all persons in that State to join in protecting the rights of United States citizens and, in accordance with his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, by directing them to comply with the Constitution and laws of the United States;

"(2) the President continue and strengthen his Administration's efforts to suppress existing lawlessness and provide Federal protection to citizens in the exercise of their basic constitutional rights; and

"(3) the Congress and the President consider seriously whether legislation is appropriate and desirable to assure that Federal funds contributed by citizens of all States not be made available to any State which continues to refuse to abide by the Constitution and laws of the United States; and, further, that the President explore the legal authority he possesses as Chief Executive to withhold Federal funds from the State of Mississippi, until the State of Mississippi demonstrates its compliance with the Constitution and laws of the United States."

While noting that the Administration has taken "strong and vigorous action" to prosecute violators of Federal laws, the Commission said that the pattern of unlawful activity shows no signs of abating. Thus, it urged that further steps be taken to arrest the "subversion of the Constitution in Mississippi."

The Commission stated that according to available information, the Federal Government made payments to Mississippi exceeding $650 million in Fiscal Year 1962, while at the same time it received from all sources in the State only $270 million. Federal payments included grants-in-aid, military prime contracts, civilian and military payrolls and loan programs.

This "massive assistance," the Commission said, has continued past the time when the State "placed itself in direct defiance of the Constitution and Federal

court orders." It pointed out that the Federal Aviation Agency is granting $2,180,000 for the construction of a jet airport in Jackson, Mississippi, despite the fact that segregated eating and restroom facilities are planned for the terminal. At the same time, the Commission said, the National Aeronautics and Space Agency is proceeding with plans to build a $400 million moon rocket engine test center in Mississippi's Pearl River and Hancock Counties.

In questioning these projects, the Commission said it recognized that statutory requirements limit the discretion of the Executive branch and that the location of large Federal installations must reflect national needs. Nevertheless, the report said, "there is an overriding constitutional obligation to make certain that Federal funds are expended in a manner which will benefit all citizens without distinction."

Members of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, all of whom joined in the report, are:

John A. Hannah, Chairman, President of Michigan State University;

Robert G. Storey, Vice Chairman, President of the Southwestern Legal Foundation;

Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., President of Notre Dame University;

Robert S. Rankin, Chairman of the Political Science Department, Duke University;

Spottswood W. Robinson III, Dean and Professor of Law at Howard University Law School;

Erwin N. Griswold, Dean and Professor of Law, Harvard University Law School.

The full text of the resolution is attached.

INTERIM REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Pursuant to its statutory duty to submit reports to the President and to Congress at such times as either the Commission or the President shall deem desirable, the United States Commission on Civil Rights submits the following special report with respect to the status of equal protection of the laws in the State of Mississippi:

Since October 1962, the open and flagrant violation of constitutional guarantees in Mississippi has precipitated serious conflict which, on several occasions, has reached the point of crisis. The United States Commission on Civil Rights has become increasingly alarmed at this defiance of the Constitution. Each week brings fresh evidence of the danger of a complete breakdown of law and order.

Citizens of the United States have been shot, set upon by vicious dogs, beaten and otherwise terrorized because they sought to vote. Since October, students have been fired upon, ministers have been assaulted and the home of the Vice Chairman of the State Advisory Committee to this Commission has been bombed. Another member and his wife were jailed on trumped up charges after their home had been defiled. Even children, at the brink of starvation, have been deprived of assistance by the callous and discriminatory acts of Mississippi officials administering Federal funds.

All this affronts the conscience of the Nation.

The Commission is fully aware that the Administration has followed developments in Mississippi closely, that it has taken strong and vigorous action in assuring that violators of Federal law are prosecuted, and

that court orders are enforced. Despite the diligent and aggressive handling of each case as it has arisen, the Nation must be concerned that the pattern of unlawful activity shows no sign of abating. Moreover, nine years after the Supreme Court unanimously decided that segregation in public elementary and secondary schools violates the equal protection clause of the Constitution, Mississippi has taken no step to comply with the law of the land.

Since its organization, the Commission has been deeply concerned with developments in Mississippi. Its hearing scheduled for October 1962 in that State was first postponed at the request of the Attorney General of the United States, and finally cancelled. On March 26, the Attorney General, after referring to the Barnett case, stated that:

> While this case is pending, I continue to hold the view that a public hearing in Mississippi by the Civil Rights Commission would not be appropriate. In the meantime, I hope that the work of the Commission staff can continue as in the past on the question of the operation of federal programs in Mississippi as elsewhere.

Since October the Commission has received more than 100 complaints from Mississippi alleging denials of constitutional rights. Investigation of these complaints, reports of our State Advisory Committee and other evidence confirm the conclusion of the Commission that prompt and firm action is now required. The Commission has concluded unanimously that only further steps by the Federal Government can arrest the subversion of the Constitution in Mississippi.

The Commission notes the action taken by the President of the United States in employing the force necessary to assure compliance with the court decrees in the University of Mississippi case. It

is mindful of the unequivocal public statements of the President expressing his belief that discriminatory practices are morally wrong. The Commission, nevertheless, believes that the President should, consistent with his Constitutional and statutory authority, employ to the fullest the legal and moral powers of his office to the end that American citizenship will not continue to be degraded in Mississippi. We urgently request that:

(1) the President formally reiterate his concern over the Mississippi situation by requesting all persons in that State to join in protecting the rights of United States citizens, and, in accordance with his duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, by directing them to comply with the Constitution and laws of the United States;

(2) the President continue and strengthen his Administration's efforts to suppress existing lawlessness and provide Federal protection to citizens in the exercise of their basic constitutional rights; and

(3) the Congress and the President consider seriously whether legislation is appropriate and desirable to assure that Federal funds contributed by citizens of all States not be made available to any State which continues to refuse to abide by the Constitution and laws of the United States; and, further, that the President explore the legal authority he possesses as Chief Executive to withhold Federal funds from the State of Mississippi, until the State of Mississippi demonstrates its compliance with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The people of Mississippi and of the other States should know that according to information available to the Commission in Fiscal Year 1962, the Federal Government received from all sources in Mississippi $270 million. During the same period, payments from the Federal Government to the State, counties, municipalities and individuals exceeded $650 million for grant-in-aid programs, United States Corps of Engineers construction contracts, military prime contracts, and direct civilian and military payrolls. Examples of additional Federal programs benefitting Mississippi include Area Redevelopment loans and grants, Small Business loans, Accelerated Public Works projects, and Federal Aviation Agency grants.

Massive assistance to the economy of Mississippi has continued past the time when the State placed itself in direct defiance of the Constitution and Federal court orders. For example, the National Aeronautics and Space Agency is proceeding with plans to build a $400 million moon rocket engine test center in Pearl River and Hancock Counties, Mississippi.

Taking into account the need to comply with statutory requirements which limit the discretion of the Executive Branch, and recognizing that the location of large Federal installations must reflect national needs, the Commission believes there is an overriding constitutional obligation to make certain that Federal funds are expended in a manner which will benefit all citizens without distinction. The Federal Aviation Agency failed to take cognizance of such an obligation when it granted $2,180,000 for the construction of a jet airport to serve Jackson, Mississippi, without questioning the airport's plan to build separate eating and restroom facilities.

The financial benefits accruing to Mississippi and its citizens as a result of Federal programs are necessarily financed by American citizens throughout the Nation. The Commission deems it appropriate and desirable that the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Federal Government inquire into the moral and legal considerations arising out of a situation where, in large measure, the lawless conduct and defiance of the Constitution by certain elements in one State are being subsidized by the other States.

The Commission does not want the people of Mississippi, either Negro or white, to lose benefits available to citizens of other States. Rather, its goal is that all citizens in the United States be assured the full enjoyment of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. It is upon adherence to that great charter with its powerful moral premises that our survival as a free society depends.

April 16, 1963

Respectfully submitted

John A. Hannah, Chairman

Robert G. Storey, Vice Chairman

Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.

Robert S. Rankin

Spottswood W. Robinson, III

Erwin N. Griswold

file
ccl

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT
M. Carl Holman
Information Officer
Liaison and Information
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D.C.

Phone STerling-3-0860
Extension 3228

May 22, 1963

mj - file

PRESS MEMO

We are enclosing for your information a copy of the testimony of Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director, United States Commission on Civil Rights, before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Thursday morning, May 23, in Room 2228, New Senate Office Building.

The testimony presents the Commission's views on Senate Bill S.1117, which would extend the life of the Commission for four years and revise its functions, as well as on other pending legislation.

Commissioner Erwin N. Griswold, Dean of the Harvard University Law School, will also testify before the subcommittee on Thursday.

Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt, Chairman of the Mississippi State Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, testified before the subcommittee on Wednesday, May 22.

Commissioner Griswold and Staff Director Bernhard will be accompanied on Thursday by Howard W. Rogerson, Deputy Staff Director, William L. Taylor, Assistant Staff Director for Liaison and Information, and C. Clyde Ferguson, General Counsel.

Others scheduled to testify on Thursday include Father Trafford Maher, Chairman of the Missouri Advisory Committee; Andrew Secrest, member of the South Carolina Advisory Committee and Editor of the Cheraw Chronicle; and Dr. Duncan Howlett, Chairman of the District of Columbia Advisory Committee.

- 30 -

TESTIMONY OF BERL I. BERNHARD, STAFF DIRECTOR
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS
OF THE
SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE
ON S. 1117 AND OTHER PENDING LEGISLATION

THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1963

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee:

I am Berl I. Bernhard, Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The Commission appreciates this opportunity to present its views on legislation which would extend the life of the Commission and revise its functions.

President Kennedy, in his Civil Rights Message to the Congress of February 28, spelled out in some detail the views of his Administration on the present role of the Commission and how the agency's functions should be revised to meet current needs in the field of civil rights. Sen. Hart, with bipartisan support, has submitted a bill (S. 1117) to implement the President's proposals. The Commission is in accord both with the President's assessment of the role of our agency in civil rights developments and with the specific legislation which has been introduced to carry out the President's recommendations.

The Commission on Civil Rights has been in operation for more than five years. During this time, it has held hearings, investigated complaints, and ascertained the extent of progress in securing constitutional rights in all sections of the Nation. Major voting hearings were held in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1958 and in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 1961. Hearings on the status of equal protection of the laws have

been held in all areas of the Nation, including New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Atlanta, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Phoenix, Memphis, Washington, D.C., Newark and Indianapolis.

These investigations have led to reports on deprivations of the right to vote and on denials of equal protection of the laws in education, employment, housing and the administration of justice. Currently, in addition to the subjects mentioned, we are preparing reports on the status of equal opportunity in the Armed Forces, on the access of minority groups to hospital facilities constructed under the Hill-Burton Act, on the civil rights of Spanish-speaking Americans, and on the state of constitutional guarantees in Mississippi. The Commission's past reports have culminated in a series of recommendations, a number of which have been acted upon by the President and Congress.

Many areas remain to be investigated fully. This will always be the case. But it is appropriate to ask at this juncture whether the major need is now for more facts or for constructive action based upon the facts known. The Commission is satisfied that the facts it has already uncovered and reported concerning denials of equal protection and voting rights provide an ample basis for considered Federal action.

Thus, it seems to us that the major question before Congress is whether the Commission's factfinding role can be redefined in a manner which will permit it to perform a service of continuing significance and benefit to the Nation. In his message, the President said that "as more communities evidence a willingness to face frankly their problems of racial discrimination, there is an increasing need for

expert guidance and assistance in devising workable programs for civil rights progress." The need, the President said, is for information about the methods by which these problems have been solved in the past, for a forum to open channels of communication between contending parties, and for an agency able to give the kind of advice and assistance which will contribute to peaceful and permanent solutions to racial problems.

The Commission's experience bears out this analysis. In the years we have been in operation there has been an increasing demand for information concerning the status of civil rights. Commission reports are widely distributed to Federal, state and local officials, educational institutions and members of the public. At the same time, the staff receives a large volume of specific requests for information from Congress and the public, and from agencies and individuals who have professional responsibilities in the field of civil rights.

At our annual education conferences, held for the purpose of gathering facts, we have discovered that there is little direct communication between educators in various parts of the Nation about the means employed in each community for complying with the mandate of the Supreme Court in the School Segregation Cases. These conferences have had the collateral effect of providing a forum in which educators can share their experiences with desegregation and exchange information and advice. Our 51 Advisory Committees, established for the purpose of gathering facts for the Commission, have found a similar need for communication

at the local level. Their surveys and meetings have encouraged the solution of civil rights problems through State and community action.

Thus, the Commission already performs a limited service of providing information to Government agencies, organizations and individuals in dealing with civil rights problems. The difficulty is that as long as these efforts are necessarily subordinate to the performance of the factfinding and reporting function of the Commission, a function mandated by law, only a very small part of the Commission's resources can be devoted to them. S. 1117 would add information and assistance to the specific duties of the Commission and would enable the agency to concentrate its operations upon those areas which most need attention.

And the need for assigning to some Federal agency the responsibility of providing information and assistance is increasing. The President pointed out in his Civil Rights Message, that the Commission "has advised the Executive Branch not only about desirable policy but about administrative techniques needed to make these changes effective." In many areas of Federal programs, the problem has not been the absence of policy so much as difficulties in implementing adequately rules and regulations requiring nondiscrimination. The Commission has recommended in several of its reports on education, employment and housing, that the Federal Government obtain assurances that its funds will be expended only for nondiscriminatory purposes. Such recommendations are best implemented by establishing appropriate

machinery within the Executive Branch for securing and supervising agreements that Federal money will be expended for the benefit of all citizens without regard to race. When this is done, experience has demonstrated that Federal funds are distributed on an equitable basis without impairing the operation of the program. As policy has developed in the area of Federal operations, there has been a growing need for advice from a competent source on the substance and administration of Federal civil rights requirements.

Similar needs for assistance exist on the State and local levels. In the North, there are increasing demands for governmental action to deal with school segregation, racial housing practices and discrimination in employment. State and local governments are seeking information and guidance in drafting ordinances and adopting effective policies to deal with these problems.

There have been developments along the same lines in the Border States and in some parts of the South. It is noteworthy that in recent months, the City of Richmond, Virginia, has taken action to establish equal opportunity in municipal employment and the State of Kentucky, through its Governor, has adopted a comprehensive fair practices code covering many aspects of civil rights.

In areas where no formal governmental machinery has been established, there may be an even greater need for Federal assistance, so that racial disputes can be resolved in a rational, peaceful manner rather than through violence. For example, the continuing protest against exclusion

of Negro citizens from public facilities suggests the desirability of a forum for representatives of business, civil rights organizations and government to seek means for implementing a policy of equal access to such facilities. As more employers and unions turn their attention to the need for developing merit hiring and training programs, they find a need for advice and assistance. And community organizations in many localities are just beginning to come to grips with the question of how to afford equal access to housing without suffering the upheaval of stable neighborhoods which frequently occurs when real estate speculators are permitted to purvey misinformation and stimulate panic.

Thus, in our judgment, the facts more than warrant the establishment of an agency "to serve as a national clearinghouse for information, and provide advice and technical assistance" in respect to equal protection of the laws. Such an agency would bring facts and analysis to bear upon an area where misinformation and misunderstanding too often breed fear and hatred. It would marshal the constructive resources of government in areas where too often the only alternatives have been government sanctions or private conflict.

If the Commission were authorized to perform the function, we concur with the President's suggestion that the agency be placed "on a fairly stable and permanent basis." The Commission's operations would be strengthened, and made more efficient and more effective if it were granted a longer term. I have found it difficult to recruit, train, and retain personnel in the face of the prospect that the agency

will shortly cease to exist. This uncertainty has also made more difficult the process of establishing priorities and planning long-range studies. And the phasing-out and reduction of staff operations required of an agency scheduled to go out of business is a wasteful process if the agency is then extended and must regroup and secure a new staff.

Congress would not relinquish control over the Commission by extending it for a term longer than two years. The agency would still be subject to a yearly review of its operations when Congress passes upon its appropriations and it could still be terminated at any time.

The President has suggested an extension of at least four years. Sen. Saltonstall's bill (S. 1219) would place the Commission on a permanent basis. We think that an extension for a minimum of four years would provide sufficient assurance of continuity for the Commission to plan its operations on a sound and efficient basis. The precise length of the term is a matter within the sound discretion of the Congress.

There are also a number of technical changes in Commission procedures embodied in S. 1117. These are summarized and explained in a memorandum which we shall submit with the permission of the Committee.

In summary, Mr. Chairman, the Commission believes there is genuine need for an agency to provide information, advice and assistance in the solution of civil rights problems. Such an agency should

have sufficient continuity to enable it to perform these services effectively. If Congress deems the Commission the appropriate body to perform these functions, we would carry out the new mandate to the best of our ability. It is clear to us that the availability of of these services would constitute an affirmative and constructive contribution toward attaining the goal of justice and equal opportunity under law.

Columbia University in the City of New York

ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH OFFICE BUTLER LIBRARY

24 May 1963

S BV

pls return to me

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

Enclosed is a copy of a report I recently submitted to the N.Y. State Advisory Committee of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. gen.

Because of your outstanding work in this area, I thought you might find this report of some interest.

The N.Y. State Committee will undoubtedly edit and revise this report and publish their own based on these findings. However, until the publication of their report I hope you will regard this as confidential material.

Cordially,

Don Shaughnessy

Don Shaughnessy

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON ~~25, D.C.~~

STAFF DIRECTOR

VJ
SB
MJ - file

August 6, 1963

Mr. Cyril F. Brickfield
Chief Benefits Director
Department of Veterans Benefits
Veterans Administration
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Brickfield:

Thank you for your letter of July 25, concerning the racial practices of developers in the Atlanta area. We appreciate your investigating and reviewing the situation for us.

Should there be any further developments, please keep us informed.

Sincerely yours,

Robert L. Nelson
Acting

cc: Dr. Leslie Dunbar

JUL 25 1963

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard
Staff Director
United States Commission
on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bernhard:

A copy of your letter of May 24, 1963, to Mr. Milton Semer, General Counsel for the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and copies of advertising by real estate companies in the Atlanta area of property for sale only to members of the white race, were referred to us by the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

We obtained a report from our Atlanta Regional Office which shows that none of the developers of Cardinal Lake Estates, Hi-Roc Shores or Meadowbrook Subdivision are active in the GI loan program. Cardinal Lake Estates is the only one of the three subdivisions in which the Veterans Administration has had a request for appraisal. That request involved a direct loan made in May 1962. The veteran owned the lot at the time the appraisal was requested and subdivision improvements were complete. The title insurance policy guaranteed that "no instrument creating restrictions upon ownership, use or occupancy of the mortgaged premises on the basis of race, creed or color has been filed of record subsequent to February 14, 1950."

Our Atlanta office advises that no request for subdivision analysis has been received for any of the subdivisions mentioned above. Any request for appraisal or subdivision analysis will of course be refused unless there is full compliance with all current requirements.

Very truly yours,

CYRIL F. BRICKFIELD
Chief Benefits Director

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

ROUTING SLIP

TO	CO	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10

NAME AND/OR SYMBOL	BUILDING, ROOM, ETC.
1. Leslie Dunbar	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	

- [ ] ALLOTMENT SYMBOL
- [ ] APPROVAL
- [ ] AS REQUESTED
- [ ] CONCURRENCE
- [ ] CORRECTION
- [ ] FILING
- [ ] FULL REPORT
- [ ] ANSWER OR ACKNOWLEDGE ON OR BEFORE _____
- [ ] PREPARE REPLY FOR THE SIGNATURE OF _____
- [ ] HANDLE DIRECT
- [ ] IMMEDIATE ACTION
- [ ] INITIALS
- [ ] NECESSARY ACTION
- [ ] NOTE AND RETURN
- [ ] PER OUR CONVERSATION
- [ ] PER TELEPHONE CONVERSATION
- [ ] READ AND DESTROY
- [ ] RECOMMENDATION
- [ ] SEE ME
- [ ] SIGNATURE
- [ ] YOUR COMMENT
- [x] YOUR INFORMATION
- [ ]

REMARKS

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1963

RECEIVED JUL 5 1963

FROM	CO	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7	R8	R9	R10

NAME AND/OR SYMBOL	BUILDING, ROOM, ETC.	
William L. Taylor L & L	TELEPHONE	DATE 7/1

GPO : 1962 O—631039

GSA FORM 14
FEB 62

Mr. Dunbar Interest

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR • WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

Federal Housing Administration
Public Housing Administration
Federal National Mortgage Association
Community Facilities Administration
Urban Renewal Administration

JUN 13 1963

VJL
PAL
SBL
MJ - file

Mr. Berl I. Bernhard
Staff Director
United States Commission on
Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Bernhard:

This is in reply to your letter of May 24, 1963, with which you enclosed a letter from Leslie W. Dunbar of the Southern Regional Council and some samples of racial advertising by real estate companies in the Atlanta area.

Although the existence of such discrimination is not surprising, it is nonetheless distressing to see first-hand evidence of it. As you pointed out, there is no indication in any of the advertising that the property is assisted by FHA and I am not sure that anything can be done about it. I agree with you, however, that it warrants an inquiry. We have, therefore, referred copies of your letter and enclosures to FHA, our Regional Office in Atlanta and to the Administrator of Veterans Affairs.

Thank you for calling this matter to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

Milton P. Semer

Milton P. Semer
General Counsel

November 4, 1963

NM & JS

MMJ

Ladies,

Please remove from our mailing lists Berl Bernhard formerly with the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington. Bernhard has resigned from the Commission, but as of this date we do not have a new mailing address for him. When we receive a new address for him, I will let you know and he can be reinstated on our lists.

file

November 4, 1963

Mr. Berl Bernhard
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Berl:

I am sending this letter to the Commission assuming that it can be forwarded to you wherever you have now put up. I have, of course, known for some time of your impending departure, but seeing it reported finally in the Times prompts this note of gratitude to you for all that you have done these last five years. My very best wishes to you, and I hope we shall continue to see and hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

January 7, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I am back with my eternal problem --- personnel. The Commission is looking for a Deputy Director for our State Advisory Committees Division. We would prefer someone with experience in Southern states. Salary would start at either $13,615 or at $15,665 per year, depending upon experience and background.

Would you have any suggestions for us? I know you would not be happy about qualified people leaving the South. On the other hand, we hope the person would continue working in the South but for a Federal agency.

Sincerely yours,

F. Peter Libassi
Assistant Staff Director

original letter forwarded by us Jan. 28, 1964

File ~~U.S. Gov~~ Civil Rights Commission

January 22, 1964

Mr. F. Peter Libassi
Assistant Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Pete:

I have your letter of January 7 regarding a Deputy Director for your State Advisory Committee Division. I come back to my perennial position of Courtney Siceloff, but I'm sure you have thought of him.

Another suggestion, and just as strongly put, is Ozelle Sutton, now Associate Director of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. Ozelle apparently does not want to leave Little Rock, but you indicate in your letter that the person could continue working in the South. He is a good man, and you could check him out further with Jim Youngdahl.

Another name you might consider is Norman Jimerson, now Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations. My reason for offering his name is that we have come to believe that Norman, who has been under terrific pressure, needs to get out of Birmingham. He has, in a sense, served his time.

Another person whom I could recommend to you very strongly is Constance Curry, now Executive Director of the Southern Project of the National Student Association. Connie has done a bang-up job, as I believe Harold Fleming, Art Levin, and Will Campbell would agree. Connie is ready to move on.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

file.
Civil Rights Commission

February 10, 1964

Mr. William Taylor
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

I thought you might be interested in a copy of Ben Muse's latest field report on Mississippi. Please show it to others, if at all, with great discrimination.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
(Ben Muses' "Report on Mississippi - January 1964")

See: Civil Rights Commission

March 24, 1964

Mr. William Taylor
Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

Do you have a copy of your speech to the Civil Liberties Clearing House? It was good. I may wish to raise a question about one of your points, but would like to read the thing first. This is a subject in which I am more than usually interested.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File: Civil Rights Commission

April 2, 1964

Mr. William Taylor
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

The coincidence of dates of the conference and the court hearing is remarkably ironic. As you may know, Jekyll Island is state-owned.

I thought the Administration had got its agencies better disciplined than to do things like this.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

Rec'd 9/10/64

file

September 8, 1964

Mr. Wilmot L. Averill
2719 Weller Road
Silver Spring, Maryland

Dear Mr. Averill:

Mr. Libassi has brought to my attention your continued interest in employment with this agency. While we are still interested in your application, I regret that I can only repeat the message I gave you in July that we have no suitable openings available at this time.

After the Congress acts on our supplemental appropriation, the situation may change. In that event, you may be sure I will get in touch with you.

I might also suggest that you contact the Community Relations Service which has just been established in the Department of Commerce under the direction of former Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida which might well be able to make use of a man of your qualifications.

In any event, we appreciate your interest in working in the civil rights field and hope that you can find a suitable way to do so.

Sincerely yours,

Warren I. Cikins
Special Assistant
to the Staff Director

October 20, 1964

Mr. Howard Rogerson
Acting Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Howard:

When I was in Washington last week I had a talk with Carl Holman and extended an invitation to him to attend our Annual Meeting. I gather that Carl felt enticed, but he told me very properly that an invitation should be sent to you for you to send "a representative" of the Commission as an observer to our meeting.

I go one step better on Carl's suggestion, and herewith invite the Commission to send a representative or representatives.

We do not yet have the program finally prepared, but the enclosed announcement contains all the pertinent facts. Please notice that the meeting, which is scheduled for November 20-21, will be preceded on November 19 by an all-day special session devoted to the affairs of the state Councils on Human Relations. We would be

glad to have Commission observers during the whole three-day period.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C. 20425

STAFF DIRECTOR

Rec'd 10/14/64

October 12, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to confirm our invitation to you to participate in a conference to be held in the Offices of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Fourth Floor, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., on Thursday, October 15, 1964. The meeting will begin at 10:00 A.M. in the Commission's conference room and will last for several hours.

Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Commission is authorized to:

> "Serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion or national origin, including but not limited to the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities, and transportation, or in the administration of justice."

Pursuant to this authority, the Commission intends to create a new research and publications unit and to expand its facilities for collecting and disseminating information. We would greatly appreciate the advice and guidance you can give us in establishing this new operation.

Among the subjects to be considered are the following:

1. What should be the major functions of such a research and publications unit? What civil rights questions should be the subject of Commission research and publications? What questions in civil rights are particularly appropriate for governmental rather than private research?

2. How should a research and publications unit be staffed? What kind of skills and backgrounds should be sought in staff members?

The Commission's present functions as a fact-finding and reporting body are described in the enclosed material. We are now operating on a budget of $1.28 million for the current fiscal year, with an authorized staff of 101 positions, 75 of which are filled. Roughly, 25 percent of our staff and budget resources are available for the research and publications unit.

The Commission will reimburse you for actual expenses, not to exceed $24.00 per day, during your attendance at the conference as shown on the attached travel and reimbursement instructions.

This letter, when signed by you and returned to this office, will serve as your appointment as a participant in the Civil Rights Conference. It constitutes the entire agreement between you and the United States Government in connection with your participation. Enclosed is a duplicate copy of this letter for your files. Please sign and return the original copy. It provides the legal basis for payment of your expenses.

Thank you for your willingness to participate. I look forward to seeing you on October 15.

Sincerely yours,

Howard W. Rogerson

Howard W. Rogerson
Acting

Enclosures

I accept the above invitation of the United States Commission on Civil Rights to attend and participate in a Conference on October 15, 1964, at the Commission's offices.

October 13 1964
date

signature

Rec'd 10/26/64

STAFF DIRECTOR

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C. 20425

MJ-file

October 23, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have your letter of October 20 and we certainly do want to have representation at your annual meeting in November.

Carl Holman has a bit of a schedule problem which he will try to work out. I think that Sam Simmons or one of his key people should also be there. Pete Libassi will be at Pine Mountain for a meeting with the Georgia Hospital Association on November 21 and may also be interested in dropping in on your meeting. I will get your letter and my response around to the appropriate people and let them work out their own schedule.

In any event, I am sure that we will have two or three people in attendance at various times during the three day period. You should be hearing from those who will be attending within the next few days.

Thanks for your invitation.

Sincerely,

Howard

Howard W. Rogerson
Acting

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

TAV
BT - file speech
SW - file letter

December 3, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
1529 Berkeley Lane N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

I have enclosed: 1) Mr. Lapenta's speech,
2) Steele Hays' proposed speech, and
3) A copy of the program.

As of this date the acceptances are:

School Officials	- 99
Hospital Administrators	- 36
Employers-Union	- 78
Public Accommodations	- 48
Private Agencies	- 56
Agriculture	- 6
Chambers of Commerce / City Officials	- 7

I think it significant that we have the greatest response from school superintendents. It is the first time we have had such a weak response from city officials. In a sense, this follows the pattern begun with the Little Rock school crisis, come to think of it.

By Lapenta's speech and that proposed for Steele, I think you can see your role.

I will be at the Marion Sunday afternoon and home Saturday. If you have any questions, call collect. Tel. 703-356-1698.

All the best,

Lou

Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Field Representative

Enclosures

file
LWD - General
Correspf.

December 10, 1964

Mr. Howard W. Rogerson
Acting Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Howard:

I am sorry to be so dilatroy in submitting this as authorized by your letter of October 20, 1964. I had to wait for the flite-checks to come through.

1. Left home by taxi to airport ($6.00) in time to meet 10:20 A.M. flight.
2. Arrived Washington National 1:15 P.M.
3. Departed late afternoon October 15.
4. Arrived home early evening October 15.
5. $11.00.
6. zero.
7. zero.
8. zero.

plus

9. $4.65 personal car Atlanta airport to here: 40 miles round trip @ 10¢ plus 25¢ parking
10. $70.14 airplane

TOTAL - $85.79

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C. 20425

STAFF DIRECTOR

October 20, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thank you for taking time from your busy schedule to meet with us last Thursday on the future research and publications activities of the Commission. The session was certainly helpful to us as we attempt to structure a meaningful program in fulfillment of our new clearinghouse responsibility. Some of our own thinking was confirmed, some was put in doubt, and some new thoughts were stimulated by the session. I hope that you felt it was also worthwhile to make the effort.

We will process your reimbursement when you send us your common carrier ticket stub, indicating the cost of transportation, together with the following information:

(a) Time you left your home;
(b) Time of arrival in Washington:
(c) Time you left Washington;
(d) Time you arrived home;
(e) Costs of transportation to and from the common carrier terminals, including tips;
(f) Cost of meals;
(g) Cost of overnight accommodations, if any (include receipted statement if you have it);
(h) Cost of telephone calls, etc.

~~14.45~~
15.65
70.14
85.79

Again, we appreciated your participation and look forward to a continuing relationship. Please let us have any further thoughts you may have on the matters discussed at the meeting.

Sincerely,

Howard

Howard W. Rogerson
Acting

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C. 20425

STAFF DIRECTOR

October 12, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is to confirm our invitation to you to participate in a conference to be held in the Offices of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Fourth Floor, 1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., on Thursday, October 15, 1964. The meeting will begin at 10:00 A.M. in the Commission's conference room and will last for several hours.

Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Commission is authorized to:

> "Serve as a national clearinghouse for information in respect to denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion or national origin, including but not limited to the fields of voting, education, housing, employment, the use of public facilities, and transportation, or in the administration of justice."

Pursuant to this authority, the Commission intends to create a new research and publications unit and to expand its facilities for collecting and disseminating information. We would greatly appreciate the advice and guidance you can give us in establishing this new operation.

Among the subjects to be considered are the following:

1. What should be the major functions of such a research and publications unit? What civil rights questions should be the subject of Commission research and publications? What questions in civil rights are particularly appropriate for governmental rather than private research?

2. How should a research and publications unit be staffed? What kind of skills and backgrounds should be sought in staff members?

The Commission's present functions as a fact-finding and reporting body are described in the enclosed material. We are now operating on a budget of $1.28 million for the current fiscal year, with an authorized staff of 101 positions, 75 of which are filled. Roughly, 25 percent of our staff and budget resources are available for the research and publications unit.

The Commission will reimburse you for actual expenses, not to exceed $24.00 per day, during your attendance at the conference as shown on the attached travel and reimbursement instructions.

This letter, when signed by you and returned to this office, will serve as your appointment as a participant in the Civil Rights Conference. It constitutes the entire agreement between you and the United States Government in connection with your participation. Enclosed is a duplicate copy of this letter for your files. Please sign and return the original copy. It provides the legal basis for payment of your expenses.

Thank you for your willingness to participate. I look forward to seeing you on October 15.

Sincerely yours,

Howard W. Rogerson

Howard W. Rogerson
Acting

Enclosures

I accept the above invitation of the United States Commission on Civil Rights to attend and participate in a Conference on October 15, 1964, at the Commission's offices.

_____ date

_____ signature

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

TRAVEL AND REIMBURSEMENT INFORMATION

The following expenses will be covered during your attendance at the Conference in Washington, D.C. on Thursday, October 15, 1964:

1. Travel to and from the Conference by plane, train, or privately-owned automobile. If you drive, you will be reimbursed from outside Washington, D.C. at a cost of 12¢ per mile, but not to exceed cost by common carrier. Standard Government Travel Regulations request that tourist class be used on planes whenever possible.

2. Actual expense basis not to exceed $24 per day. It will be necessary to submit receipted hotel bills and itemized records of all other expenses.

3. Expenses for taxis, airport limousines, or mileage on your own car between home and airport at a cost of 10¢ per mile, but not to exceed cost by common carrier.

4. Travel will be calculated on the basis of direct travel between your home and the Commission office and your return home.

5. On travel by common carrier, please retain all passenger coupons as they must be submitted to us for reimbursement.

Rec'd 10/18/64

The attached travel voucher has been prepared for you covering expenses incurred attending the ~~your State Advisory Committee~~ Meeting. Please sign on "signature of payee" line (marked X), date, and return in the self-addressed, stamped envelope which is enclosed.

Office of Business Administration
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Copy sent back to UCCR

STANDARD FORM NO. 1012
7 GAO 5300
1012-106

TRAVEL VOUCHER

DEPARTMENT, BUREAU, OR ESTABLISHMENT
U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

VOUCHER NO.

PAYEE'S NAME
L.W. Dunbar

PAID BY

MAILING ADDRESS
c/o U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425

OFFICIAL DUTY STATION
Atlanta, Georgia

RESIDENCE
SAME

FOR TRAVEL AND OTHER EXPENSES

FROM (DATE)	TO (DATE)
10/15/64	10/15/64

APPLICABLE TRAVEL AUTHORIZATION(S)

NO.	DATE
See attc. Memo dated 10/12/64	

TRAVEL ADVANCE
Outstanding $
Amount to be applied
Balance to remain outstanding $

CHECK NO.

CASH PAYMENT RECEIVED:
(DATE)
(SIGNATURE OF PAYEE)

TRANSPORTATION REQUESTS ISSUED

TRANSPORTATION REQUEST NUMBER	AGENT'S VALUATION OF TICKET	INITIALS OF CARRIER ISSUING TICKET	MODE, CLASS OF SERVICE, AND ACCOMMODATIONS *	DATE ISSUED	POINTS OF TRAVEL FROM–	POINTS OF TRAVEL TO–

** Certified correct. Payment or credit has not been received.

X Dec 15, 1964 (Date)

X Leslie W. Dunbar (Signature of Payee)

AMOUNT CLAIMED → Dollars 85 Cts 39

APPROVED (Supervisory and other approvals when required)

Administrative Officer

DIFFERENCES:

NEXT PREVIOUS VOUCHER PAID UNDER SAME TRAVEL AUTHORITY

VOUCHER NO.	D.O. SYMBOL	DATE (MONTH-YEAR)

Total verified correct for charge to appropriation(s)

Certified correct and proper for payment:

Applied to travel advance (appropriation symbol)

(Date) (Authorized Certifying Officer)

NET TO TRAVELER →

ACCOUNTING CLASSIFICATION (Appropriation symbol must be shown; other classification optional)

985.5-5.91120.211

* Abbreviations for Pullman accommodations: MR, master room; DR, drawing room; CP, compartment; BR, bedroom; DSR, duplex single room; RM, roomette; DRM, duplex roomette; SOS, single occupancy section; LB, lower berth; UB, upper berth; LB-UB, lower and upper berth; S, seat.

** FRAUDULENT CLAIM—Falsification of an item in an expense account works a forfeiture of the claim (28 U.S.C. 2514) and may result in a fine of not more than $10,000 or imprisonment for not more than 5 years or both (18 U.S.C. 287; *id.* 1001).

File
LWD Corresp

December 10, 1964

Mr. Samuel J. Simmons
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sam:

I'm getting this one in on time (in the same mail, I am just now sending expenses to Howard for that October trip).

Airplane	$ 75.00
Airport (including cab from home to airport)	9.53
Hotel	9.58
Meals	6.00
Tips	.50
TOTAL	$100.61

Merry Christmas,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

Rec'd 12/18/64

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

December 19, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Les:

In behalf of the Arkansas State Advisory Committee and the Commission staff, I extend our very deep appreciation for your participation in the Arkansas Information Meeting. Your presentation at the closing plenary session was well received and was an excellent wrap-up for the entire session. I hope that we can call upon you at some future date for a similar presentation.

I have been informed by our Administrative Office that, before you can be reimbursed for your travel expenses, the enclosed letter must be signed and returned to us. In addition, would you please indicate the information relating to your expenses, as set forth in the attached instruction?

Again, thank you very much for your cooperation. Merry Christmas to you, your family, and the members of the Council's staff.

Sincerely yours,

Sam

Samuel J. Simmons
Director
State Advisory Committees Division

enclosures

P.S.--To assist you in preparing your itemized travel statement, I am returning your letter of December 10 and duplicate air line ticket.--SJS/n

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

December 1, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We are pleased to know that you will participate in the open meeting of the Arkansas State Advisory Committee. The meeting will be held in the Hotel Marion in Little Rock, Arkansas on Monday, December 7, 1964, beginning at 10:30 A.M.

The Commission will reimburse you for actual expenses, not to exceed $16.00 per day, during your participation at the meeting as shown on the attached travel and reimbursement instructions.

This letter, when signed by you and returned to this office, will constitute the entire agreement between you and the United States Government in connection with your participation at the meeting. Enclosed is a duplicate copy of this letter for your files. Please sign and return the original copy. It provides the legal basis for payment of your expenses.

Thank you for your willingness to participate. I feel your background and experience will greatly enhance the meeting.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) HW Rogerson

Howard W. Rogerson
Acting

Enclosures

I accept the above invitation of the United States Commission on Civil Rights to participate in a meeting on December 7, 1964, of the Arkansas State Advisory Committee.

12/4/64
Date

Signature

Rec'd 1/15/65

file

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

LE

January 12, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

President Johnson recently approved regulations adopted by Federal agencies to implement Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This title requires nondiscrimination in programs receiving Federal assistance.

In response to requests for clarifying information, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has arranged a conference for representatives of selected organizations on the effect of Title VI regulations on Federal programs. Vice President-elect Hubert H. Humphrey will address the conference. Key departmental officials will report on their plans for the implementation of Federal civil rights policies. An opportunity for questions is included in the conference schedule.

You and representatives of your organization are cordially invited to attend this conference to be held on Thursday, January 28, 1965, at 9:00 a.m., at the Departmental Auditorium, Constitution Avenue, N.W., between 12th and 14th Streets, Washington, D.C. We believe the program will be of particular interest to members of your program development staff. Please return the enclosed registration form. A Commission analysis of Title VI will be sent to you shortly for background information.

I look forward to meeting with you at the conference.

Sincerely yours,

John A. Hannah

John A. Hannah
Chairman

Enclosures (3)

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Equal Opportunity in Federally-Assisted Programs

A National Conference On

Title VI - Civil Rights Act of 1964

Tentative Program

Thursday, January 28, 1965
10 a.m. to 3:30 p.m.

Departmental Auditorium
Constitution Avenue
(adjoining Labor Department
between 12th and 14th Streets NW)
Washington, D.C.

* 10:00 Registration

Introductory Statement: Hon. John A. Hannah
Chairman, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States

12:00 Lunch

1:15 Concurrent Panels (While final arrangements have not been completed, conference participants may be able to attend two panels.)

A. Health and Welfare

Opening Statement: Hon. Anthony J. Celebrezze
Secretary, Health, Education, and Welfare

Panelists: Surgeon-General, Public Health Service
Commissioner, Welfare Administration

Other Agencies Represented: Vocational Rehabilitation Administration
VISTA, Office of Economic Opportunity
Department of Justice
Surplus Property, Utilization Division, HEW

* Please note that the time for registration has been changed from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m.

B. Elementary and Secondary Education

Opening Statement: Hon. James M. Quigley, Assistant Secretary, Health, Education and Welfare

Panelists: Assistant Secretary Quigley
Administrator, Agricultural Marketing Service
Assistant Director, Community Action Programs, Office of Economic Opportunity

Other Agencies Represented: Department of Defense
Department of Justice
Surplus Property, Utilization Division, HEW

C. Agriculture and Rural Area Development

Opening Statement: Hon. Orville L. Freeman
Secretary of Agriculture

Panelists: Administrator, Federal Extension Service
Administrator, Farmers Home Administration
Director, Office of Rural Areas Development

Other Agencies Represented: Area Redevelopment Administration
Office of Economic Opportunity
Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
Soil Conservation Service

D. Higher Education

Opening Statement: Hon. Francis Keppel
Commissioner of Education

Panelists: Commissioner Keppel
Director, National Science Foundation
Commissioner, Community Facilities Administration, HHFA

Other Agencies Represented: National Aeronautics and Space Administration
Department of Defense
Atomic Energy Commission
Department of Justice
National Institutes of Health

E. Manpower Services (Vocational Training and Placement)

Opening Statement: Hon. W. Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor

Panelists: Administrator, Bureau of Employment Security
Assistant-Commissioner and Director, Division of Vocational and Technical Education
Assistant Director, Job Corps, Office of Economic Opportunity

Other Agencies Represented: Neighborhood Youth Corps
Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
Job Training Centers
National Aeronautics and Space Administration

F. Housing and Community Development

Opening Statement: Hon. Robert C. Weaver, Administrator
Housing and Home Finance Agency

Panelists: Commissioner, Public Housing Administration
Commissioner, Urban Renewal Administration
Commissioner, Community Facilities Administration, HHFA

Other Agencies Represented: Federal Housing Administration
Office of Emergency Planning
Bureau of Public Roads

February 8, 1965

Mr. Samuel J. Simmons
Director
Field Services Division
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sam:

Where are my 5,000 copies of your Title VI analysis?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Recd 1/21/65

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
5010-103

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Dr. Leslie Dunbar

DATE: January 19, 1965

FROM : Mr. Samuel J. Simmons
Director, Field Services Division

SUBJECT:

Five thousand (5,000) copies of the attached report will be available to you on February 1, 1965. I will call you on Friday to discuss this with you.

Sam

Samuel J. Simmons

Enclosure

file

March 8, 1965

Mr. William Taylor
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Bill:

It was a long and unnecessary wait, not only for you but for the rest of us who wanted the Commission to have the director it needed and need. Every good wish.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

March 11, 1965

Mr. Howard W. Rogerson
Acting Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C.

Dear Howard:

This is a reply to your letter of February 17 inquiring as to our opinion of the Commission's Information Center Bulletin.

We think the publication is very useful and quite worthwhile. Our one suggestion is that you give it as wide a distribution as possible. To facilitate you in that regard, somewhat, we are enclosing a copy of the names and addresses of the State Councils on Human Relations over the South. The State Councils' directors will find this publication particularly useful in their work. We would appreciate receiving several copies of each publication here at the Council.

It was good seeing you last week when I was in the office, if only for a passing moment.

Sincerely,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosure

Rec'd 2/19/65

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

STAFF DIRECTOR

FEB 17 1965

Let's review this always

✓BT - if we don't have items checked, I think we should get

KE - It's an O.K. idea! No suggestions

PA ✓

PW —

✓VI - pls reply, after getting comments from others above (seems useful to me)

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is interested in your opinion of the enclosed Information Center Bulletin, a technical publication for disseminating information on current activities and publications in the field of civil rights.

In addition to the features in this issue, future Bulletins may contain a chronology of recent developments, a directory of research projects, a listing of cases involving civil rights recently filed in the Federal district courts, and reports, annotated bibliographies or correlations which the Center produces. Is the publication worthwhile? Which of its present or contemplated features are most useful to you? Which are relatively useless? What additional features do you suggest?

The Information Center also responds to specific requests for information. If we can be of assistance to your organization, please do not hesitate to call upon us. So that we may have your guidance in developing the Bulletin as a periodical publication, please let us know your opinions at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Howard W. Rogerson

Howard W. Rogerson
Acting

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

INFORMATION CENTER BULLETIN

February 1, 1965

CURRENT ACTIVITIES

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The Commission will conduct a hearing in Jackson, Miss., February 10, 1965. The Commission will hear testimony concerning denials of voting rights to the State's Negro citizens and discrimination in the administration of justice.

In accordance with the statute governing the Commission's hearings, the hearing in Jackson will begin with an executive session during which persons who may be defamed, degraded or incriminated by testimony presented at the public session will have an opportunity to be heard. The public session, which follows the executive session, is expected to begin February 16.

Earlier, Commission Chairman Dr. John A. Hannah stated, "The Commission's purpose in holding this hearing is to obtain a balanced picture of the status of civil rights in Mississippi. The Commission is not a prosecuting agency; it cannot and does not seek to punish anyone. Our job is to find the facts and to report them to the President and Congress, with recommendations for any corrective action which seems necessary. To this end, the Commission intends to call a broad range of witnesses, so that all facts pertaining to civil rights problems in the State may be appraised objectively and in context.

"Information collected at the hearing will be evaluated in the Commission's report to the President and Congress in accordance with the Commission's responsibilities. The Commission also hopes a hearing conducted in this manner will assist responsible Mississippians in finding solutions to the problems in their State."

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EDUCATION*

The Southern Student Organizing Committee newsletter reports students have organized on two predominantly white college campuses to enroll more Negroes as students. Student volunteers from the University of Virginia at Charlottesville and the University of Florida at Gainesville are visiting secondary schools in their respective states to recruit candidates.

South Carolina

2 Negroes now enrolled

Baptist-affiliated Furman University in Columbia reaffirmed its decision to admit qualified students without regard to race, despite an adverse vote by the 1964 South Carolina Baptist Convention. The decision could mean loss of financial support from some churches.

Texas

Students from Bishop College (primarily Negro) in Dallas are taking courses at Southern Methodist University. The program is designed to provide courses not regularly offered at Bishop and to encourage graduate work among Bishop students.

A $2.8 million five year crash program to assist culturally deprived Negroes in Houston, public schools will begin next fall. Financed by the Ford Foundation, it is one of several programs planned for southern school systems to help Negro students reach the national level of academic performance.

STATE AND LOCAL COMMISSION NEWS

COLORADO

The Colorado Anti-Discrimination Commission reports seven years of litigation ended with the acceptance of a position with Continental Airlines by Negro pilot Marlon Green. A Denver District Court ordered the airline company to offer Mr. Green a position and a salary commensurate with what he would have received had he been continuously employed since June 1957.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Sixty-four Negro physicians hold 102 appointments in 42 private Chicago hospitals, an increase of 24 appointments since last year, reports the Chicago Commission on Human Relations.

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*Southern School News, Jan. 1965.

MICHIGAN

The Dearborn Community Council charged that Mayor Orville Hubbard and the Director of Public Works were responsible for maintaining bulletin boards in the city hall, youth center and police headquarters for the purpose of degrading and defaming the Negro race. The Michigan Civil Rights Commission heard the case and ordered the local government officials to "clean that city's bulletin boards, in public buildings" of materials which "tend to degrade or humiliate the Negro race."

Detroit

The Detroit Commission on Community Relations is supporting opposition to the local home owner's ordinance. The Commission will not file suit at this time; its staff is exploring the possibility of filing an amicus curiae brief or joining plaintiffs in a suit already filed.

NEW JERSEY

The New Jersey Division on Civil Rights issued a "cease and desist" order against Philip Gatti's Barber Shop in Madison.

A public hearing is being held to determine if barber shops are covered by the public accommodations section of the State Law Against Discrimination and if special techniques are needed to cut the hair of non-whites.

NEW YORK

The New York State Commission for Human Rights ordered an upstate real estate developer to build a home for a complainant who charged he was denied equal opportunity to purchase a home because he is a Negro. The complainant filed a similar complaint against another developer in the same area which will be considered in a public hearing in February.

Commission Chairman George Fowler is planning conferences among representatives of labor, management and civil rights groups to improve channels of communication in "realizing the goal of equal opportunity."

New York City

The City Commission on Human Rights denied a claim by Safeway Trails that the rights agency gave the bus company a "clean bill of health" in its dispute with CORE. Executive Director Madison Jones stated that the dispute with CORE and the bus company is still unfinished business.

The City Commission has asked Columbia University to develop a model urban renewal project which could serve as a prototype for the nation. The Commission further proposed that the University undertake a program of tenant relocation.

PENNSYLVANIA

A white dentist stated that although he had strong emotional reactions toward Negroes which made it very difficult to perform dental work on them, he would serve colored patrons. The dentist's testimony was offered in a public hearing after he had refused to treat a five year old Negro girl. The State Human Relations Commission directed the dentist to comply with the public accommodations section of the State law.

The owners of Shady Grove Park in Fayette County agreed to refrain from discriminatory practices regarding use of the swimming pool.

A Negro aeronautical engineer testified at a public hearing that he was denied an opportunity to buy a home in Rosemont, Delaware County, because of his race.

PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS' NEWS

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

The Chicago Regional Office's Youth Opportunities Program begins its second year of programs designed to draw together children, nine to thirteen years of age, from varying racial, economic and cultural backgrounds.

CORE

The Philadelphia branch of CORE launched a program of neighborhood schools for pre-school culturally deprived children in North Philadelphia. To implement the program, CORE formed a corporation with members from civic groups, block councils, churches and North Philadelphia neighborhoods.

After a year-long drive to end job discrimination in Newark, N. J. breweries, the West Essex branch of CORE announced an agreement with the New Jersey Brewers Association. Under the agreement Negro workers have regular status and access to union membership.

In Boston, Mass. CORE initiated a campaign against sub-standard housing. CORE members and a group of Roxbury tenants met with Mayor John Collins to ask for enforcement of the Sanitation Code in the Negro neighborhood.

CORE groups in Trenton and Englewood, N. J. are campaigning to change locally-drafted urban renewal plans to comply with community needs. In Trenton the CORE group is urging the inclusion of low cost housing in the renewal plan.

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY (San Francisco, Calif.)

Housing Opportunities Program Exchange (HOPE), organized by the Council for Civic Unity, assists persons from minority groups to locate housing in the Bay area. The CCU serves as a clearing house and coordinator for eight centers operating for the referral of real estate listings and requests for housing in the five county area.

EPISCOPAL SOCIETY FOR CULTURAL AND RACIAL UNITY

The Episcopal Church's Executive Council resolved that no Episcopal priest may be sent or assigned to work in a diocese by any agency receiving support from the Episcopal Church and Race Fund unless the priest is approved by the bishop of the diocese. The resolution was passed as a retreat from full support of the National Council of Churches' program in Mississippi, according to the ESCRU Newsletter, Jan. 10, 1965.

NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE

"Project Equality" is organized to promote and encourage merit employment practices in those business firms negotiating with Roman Catholic Church institutions. The NCCIJ Employment Service Department developed the program to aid bishops and religious superiors.

NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES CLEARING HOUSE

Plans are in progress for the annual Clearing House conference. The meeting is scheduled April 1 and 2 in the International Inn, Washington, D.C.

Discussions and predictions about the 89th Congress were presented at the January meeting. NAACP official Frank Pohlhaus noted that rule changes in the House will aid passage of future civil rights legislation. American Civil Liberties Union official Lawrence Speiser predicted changes in the Federal bail system which would benefit low-income defendants.

NAACP

The Coahoma County, Miss. branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is conducting a voter registration campaign. Citizenship schools are teaching adults to read and write to enable them to register to vote. Negroes are being encouraged to pay the necessary poll tax.

NEW BOOKS

Aptheker, Herbert. Soul of the Republic: the Negro Today. Marzani and Munsell Inc. New York. 1964. 122 p. The author examines the background of the Negro struggle for civil rights and evaluates progress in sections of the United States.

Dabbs, James McBride. Who Speaks for the South? Funk and Wagnalls Co. New York. 1964. 398 p. The author states at the outset that there is a Southern character which can be observed and defined. In an effort to draw this character, he examines the influences which molded the Southern personality before and during the Civil War, modifications resulting from defeat and reconstruction, and concludes with a portrait of the 20th century Southerner.

Denton, John H. Ed. Race and Property. Diablo Press. Berkeley, Calif. 1964. 159 p. Starting from the premise that the practice of discrimination in selecting tenants and buyers has been considered a "right" of owners of real estate, the study examines the conflict which has arisen over property rights versus civil rights. This is the second volume in the University of California Extension's series on Public Issues.

Dorman, Michael. We Shall Overcome. Delacorte Press Book. Distributed by Dial Press. New York. 1964. 340 p. The author relates his experience as a reporter covering civil rights news. Stories of the riot at Ole' Miss, enrollment of a Negro at Clemson, the murder of William Moore and the racial conflicts in Birmingham are included.

Gates, Robbins L. The Making of Massive Resistance. Virginia's Politics of Public School Desegregation, 1954-1956. University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill. 1964. 222 p. A detailed account of Virginia's resistance to school desegregation is presented.

Hedgeman, Anna A. The Trumpet Sounds. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc. New York. 1965. 202 p. The book contains the memoirs of the author whose adult life has spanned the birth and development of the Negro revolution. She describes her role in the revolution from her first teaching job in a Mississippi college through her political career in Harlem and her role in the March on Washington.

Lubell, Samuel. White and Black: Test of a Nation. Harper and Row. New York. 1964. 210 p. Mr. Lubell presents a current history and some analysis of the race problem in the United States.

Meltzer, Milton, Ed. In Their Own Words. A History of the American Negro. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. New York. 1964. 196 p. The editor compiled writings of American Negroes that tell of aspects of life as a slave in the South. The material is selected from letters, journals, newspapers and books.

Newman, Edwin S. Ed. The Hate Reader. Oceana Publications. Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. 1964. 182 p. A collection of materials on the impact of hate movements on American society and individuals is presented.

Robertson, A. H. Human Rights in Europe. University Press. Manchester, England. 1963. 280 p. Mr. Robertson compiled a chronicle of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed in Rome Nov. 4, 1950. He describes the work of the European Commission on Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights which were created by the convention.

Rollins, Charlemae Hill. They Showed the Way. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. New York. 1964. 166 p. Brief biographies of forty American Negroes are presented.

Smith, Lillian. Our Faces, Our Words. W. W. Norton and Co. Inc. New York. 1964. 128 p. The book is a series of monologues written from the viewpoint of various groups involved in the civil rights movement in the South: white and colored youth, the ministry, white Southerners, northern Negroes. Photographs accompany the monologues.

Starkey, Marion L. Striving to Make it My Home: the Story of Americans from Africa. W. W. Norton and Co. New York. 1964. 256 p. The author chronicles the acculturation of the African slave to American civilization, making use of memoirs left by slaves and journals of persons connected with the slave trade.

Wallace, Irving. The Man. Simon and Schuster. New York. 1964. 766 p. In this novel, an unknown Negro senator becomes President of the United States due to an improbable series of events and the law of succession. He must cope with all the problems of his office as well as those of race.

Zinn, Howard. The Southern Mystique. Alfred A. Knopf. New York. 1964. 267 p. The author finds that the traditional concept of Southern society is dissolving in the tide of 20th century change. He maintains that although the Southerner cares about segregation, he cares more about other things: monetary profit, political power, conforming to the dominant decision of the community.

REPORTS AND STUDIES

GEOGRAPHIC AREA REPORTS

Alabama

1964 Annual Report. Tuskegee Civic Association. Tuskegee Institute, Ala. 1964. 12 p. The Tuskegee Civic Association conducted a civic education program. Included in this program were monthly meetings, voter education sessions and other public programs.

California

Final Report of Modesto Human Rights Committee. Modesto, Calif. Dec. 1964. 25 p. The Modesto Human Rights Committee studied discrimination in services, employment, housing and education. Problems of Mexicans, Negroes and Orientals were considered.

Delaware

1964 Annual Report of the State Human Relations Commission. Delaware State Human Relations Commission. 1964. 10 p. The accomplishments of the first two years of the State Human Relations Commission are reviewed.

Georgia

Opening the Door to Employment. Georgia Council on Human Relations. 1964. 8 p. Atlanta, Macon and Brunswick are involved in securing equal employment opportunities for Negroes. In Atlanta, Operation Breadbasket has been most successful. Macon places the primary emphasis on training. Brunswick has concentrated efforts on local merchants since large industry in the area already hires on a non-discriminatory basis.

Illinois

Havighurst, Robert J. The Public Schools of Chicago. Board of Education of the City of Chicago. 1964. 499 p. The report surveys Chicago schools, from the elementary grades through junior and teachers colleges. It considers the background of the students to be educated, what facilities are required to meet their needs and includes recommendations for making the school system adequate to the task.

Indiana

Indiana Civil Rights Commission 1965 Report. Indiana Civil Rights Commission. Jan. 1965. 15 p. The Commission will concentrate on the areas of segregated housing and schooling in 1965. It will recommend that the General Assembly amend laws in these areas. Previous Commission surveys in these areas are included in the 1965 report.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

. . . With Justice for All: A Guide for Law Enforcement Officers. Anti-Defamation League. 1963. 36 p. A study of the causes of race riots and effective police tactics for preventing and handling them.

ANALYSES OF THE 1964 CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

Americans Are Law-Abiding Citizens. A Survey of Community Compliance. Potomac Institute. Aug. 1964. 15 p. The booklet presents a summary of Title II of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Comments from Congressmen, state and local officials, newspapermen, clergymen, businessmen, incidents of compliance and defiance, the cost of defiance and action within the Federal courts indicate the reaction to the entire Act. A program for community action is included.

The New Civil Rights Law and Your Business. Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1964. 40 p. The pamphlet describes the new responsibilities of American business under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, including employment, public accommodations. Hiring procedures, job qualifications, state laws, ability tests, legal redress and orderly desegregation of the work force are discussed.

EDUCATION

An Advisory Committee on Integration. A proposal by the Washington (D.C.) Urban League to the Board of Education. Dec. 16, 1964. 36 p. This mimeographed report contains recommendations from the Urban League to the Board of Education for creation of an advisory committee on integration. The report deals with the concept of the committee, its mandate, composition, areas of interest and power. Included are descriptions of similar committees established in other cities faced with the mounting problem of de facto segregation.

Prospectus and Progress Report. Institute of Urban Studies. Teachers College. Columbia University. New York. Dec. 1, 1964. 25 p. The prospectus identifies four urban educational issues "in greatest need of authoritative, scientifically grounded analysis": northern school desegregation; the deprived and disadvantaged; staffing city schools; educating the urban middle class. The report states the main function of the Institute will be to analyze these problems as they appear in the New York City school system and to supply basic research which will contribute to adequate, articulate theories of urbanism and education.

A Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border States. Southern Education Reporting Service. Nov. 1964. 69 p. The report gives a state-by-state statistical summary of the progress toward desegregation in Southern schools at elementary, secondary and college levels from 1954 to the present. Figures on desegregation of teachers and college faculties and the status of litigation are included.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMICS

Discrimination Without Prejudice. University of Michigan. Institute for Social Research. Survey Research Center. Nov. 1964. 45 p. This study concludes that non-ability criteria are more influential at highermanagement levels than at lower levels. Both social and religious background and personality are seen as having a major effect upon promotional chances.

Keyserling, Leon H. Progress or Poverty. Conference on Economic Progress. Washington. 1964. 150 p. Basic elements of anti-poverty programs are discussed. Practical remedies are proposed.

Mayfield, Harold. Equal Employment Opportunity: Should Hiring Standards be Relaxed? American Management Association, Inc. 1964. 12 p. The arguments for abolishing tests in hiring the underprivileged do not stand up under close scrutiny. Employers can take other steps to insure that applicants with insufficient education are given a fair chance.

HOUSING

Weissbourd, Bernard. Segregation, Subsidies and Megalopolis. Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. 1964. 19 p. Federal housing subsidies have not only influenced suburban sprawl and urban decay but have also encouraged segregation practices within the metropolitan region.

ARTICLES OF CURRENT INTEREST

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Butts, Charles. "The Beckwith Trial in Mississippi." Motive. Nov. 1964. pp. 15-19. The effects of the Beckwith trial upon the fabric of Southern justice are discussed with consideration given to the reactions of both the Negro and white communities.

Edwards, Carl N. "Profile of a Southern Court." Christianity and Crisis. Nov. 30, 1964. pp. 239-243. The question of alleged bias at the trial of sit-in cases in Orange County Superior Court (Hillsboro, North Carolina) is discussed.

CHURCH ACTIVITY

Beecher, John. "Magnolia Ghetto." Ramparts. Dec. 1964. pp. 45-50. The author reviews the status of desegregation of Catholic institutions in New Orleans and finds little progress since Archbishop Rummel's 1956 call for eradication of segregation. He describes Catholic segregation groups which have formed in reaction to the archbishop's request, and on the positive side, the activities of the Human Relations Institute at Loyola University in New Orleans.

Hartley, Ben. "The West End of St. Louis." Presbyterian Survey. Oct. 1964. pp. 10+. Before World War II the community around Westminister Presbyterian Church was one of the "most desirable" residential districts in St. Louis. Today most of the white residents have moved to the suburbs and the community's population is approximately 70 percent Negro. The efforts of the church to adjust to the changing community are described.

Southard, Samuel. "The Southern 'Establishment'." Christian Century. Dec. 30, 1964. pp. 1618-1621. The Southern religious establishment may have suffered irreparable harm to its integrity by its persistent conservation of the 'southern way of life.'

EDUCATION

Besse, Ralph M. "Education and the Race Problem." Junior College Journal. Oct. 1964. pp. 3-7. The author explores the social, economic and educational roots of the Negro revolution, and the resulting challenge to the nation's educational system: the challenge to provide educational quality and equality for the Negro. Mr. Besse suggests steps to upgrade public school education and gives particular attention to the role of the junior college in Negro education.

Detailing the Idea of the Educational Complex. Educational Complex Study Project, Institute of Urban Studies. Teachers College. Columbia University. 1964. In a series of memoranda Institute researchers discuss the use of the educational complex as a device for desegregating New York City schools. Included are criteria for determining whether a school is segregated, plans for merging existing schools into complexes and the case for introducing complexes as city-wide innovations rather than localized experiments.

Fielding, Byron. "De Facto Segregation." NEA Journal. May 1964. pp. 11-14. Unlike the case of de jure segregation, no Supreme Court decision exists to assist in systematic elimination of de facto segregation, which exists mainly in urban schools. In the absence of a clear policy, the struggle over neighborhood schools and plans to racially balance schools via transporting students has been intensified. The author reviews the arguments advanced by both sides.

Heald, Henry T. "The Right to Knowledge." School and Society. Dec. 12, 1964. pp. 376-379. The author maintains the status of Negroes in American higher education is second class. He points to substandard preparation and inadequately endowed colleges as evidence and suggests ways to close the gap between higher educational standards prevailing for Negroes and whites.

Hechinger, Fred M. "Preferential Treatment for Negroes?" The Reporter. Dec. 3, 1964. pp. 22-24. Preferential treatment is necessary in the public primary and secondary schools to help Negro children overcome deficiencies in background. But preferential treatment at the college level does more harm than good.

Knoll, Erwin. "Ten Years of Deliberate Speed." American Education. Jan. 1965. pp. 1-3. Writing in the first issue of this publication of the U.S. Office of Education, the author observes that while both South and North have far to go in providing equal educational opportunity for Negroes, the promise of the 1954 Supreme Court decision moves toward fulfillment.

Landers, Jacob. "The Responsibilities of Teachers and School Administrators." Journal of Negro Education. Winter 1965. pp. 63-77. The author maintains that education must "redress the social balance for the disadvantaged in order to extend to them a measure of equal opportunity." He details his suggestions for organizing schools and training teachers to meet the challenge.

Liddle, Gordon P. and Robert E. Rockwell. "The Role of Parents and Family Life." Journal of Negro Education. Winter 1965. pp. 56-62. If schools and social agencies are to have a significant effect on the disadvantaged child's motivations, they must strengthen or change the family's interaction with its children. The authors offer suggestions for helping parents become interested in aiding in the education of their children.

Marine, Gene. "NO FAIR! The Students Strike at California." The Nation. Dec. 21, 1964. pp. 482-486. Mr. Marine reviews the course of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California's Berkeley campus and concludes the issue is control of student participation in political groups: whether, as President Clark Kerr maintains, the administration shall decide what constitutes "lawful" political activity, or whether, as the students maintain, the prerogative belongs to the courts.

Speeth, Christopher. "Black Magic in Philadelphia." TC Record. Dec. 1964. pp. 229+. Mr. Speeth is director of cultural activities in a settlement house in Philadelphia, Penna. He describes the backgrounds of the children in the project and the need for more stimulating reading materials in the public schools.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMICS

No relation between automation the trend?

Drucker, Peter F. "Automation Is Not the Villain." New York Times Magazine. Jan. 10, 1965. pp. 26+. Automation is not the primary factor contributing to high unemployment rates among youth - particularly Negro youth. Rather, it is the trend away from the unskilled manual worker and toward the more educated and technically skilled positions that cause a shrinkage in the number of jobs available to youth.

Wolfe, Deborah P. "What the Economic Opportunity Act Means to the Negro." The Journal of Negro Education. Winter 1965. pp. 88-92. The author explains the provisions of the employment section of the Economic Opportunity Act (P.L.88-452), with particular attention to sections providing vocational and academic training for Negro youth, education for adults and assistance for the small businessman.

HOSPITALS

Seham, Max. "Discrimination against Negroes in Hospitals." New England Journal of Medicine. Oct. 29, 1964. pp. 940-943. The author surveys discrimination against Negroes in hospitals from 1940 to 1964.

HOUSING

McCurdy, Glenn A. "The Folcroft Incident: Documentary of a Disgrace." Negro Digest. Dec. 1964. pp. 84-96. When Mr. and Mrs. Horace Baker moved into previously all-white Folcroft, Penna., they were greeted with broken windows, name-calling and an estimated mob of 1000 persons. The author relates the incident in detail.

POLITICS

Bassett, T.R. "The Negro Vote Against Goldwater." Political Affairs. Jan. 1965. pp. 24-29. Techniques of mobilization of the Negro vote against Goldwater as well as results are discussed. The NAACP analysis of the Negro vote is presented and the gain in Negro representation in government is shown. The author feels that the Negro people gained a new awareness of the potency of their vote and will strive toward more effective use of political action to gain political, social and economic justice.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Fulks, Byron. "An Old Caucasian Custom." Negro Digest. Dec. 1964. pp. 4+. Our lack of a vigorous application of equalitarian principles to all Americans is due to our preference for property rights over human rights and the lawless attitude of some Southerners.

Sultan, Allen. "Property Rights vs Human Rights." Challenge. Oct. 1964. pp. 34-37. Property rights and personal rights are intertwined. Although the advancement of one is often at the expense of the other, each is necessary to the other's existence. This interdependence is one of the paradoxes of our democratic system.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Long, Margaret. "The Quiet Revolution." The Progressive. Nov. 1964. pp. 32-35. The South is generally complying with the 1964 Civil Rights Act Title II. There were some incidents of violence this past summer, but now it looks like a new day of polite public equality in Dixie.

Finkie, Ward. "Civil Rights and the Caucasian Cemetery." Concept. Sept. 1964. pp. 26-29. It is the writer's opinion that a cemetery may refuse to sell to a non-Caucasian without violating the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This could result in legal action. However, such an action is not likely to be successful. Title II of the Act is very specific and does not mention cemeteries.

STATUS OF MINORITIES

Baker, Samm Sinclair. "Panel of American Women." Ladies Home Journal. Jan. 1965. pp. 33+. Panel of American Women originated as a panel discussion program in Kansas City, Mo. Representatives of various religious and racial minorities discussed problems of prejudice and how prejudice affected their lives. The program was so successful that similar programs are being held throughout the country and the original Kansas City group has made many additional appearances. A similar program was also organized in Little Rock. Ark.

Halsey, Margaret. "What Does the Negro Want?" Liberation. Nov. 1964. pp. 9-14. Kotler, Milton. ". . . and What Does He Get?" Liberation. Nov. 1964. pp. 15-16. Miss Halsey examines the semantics of the race question and points to hackneyed concepts which keep whites from understanding what Negroes are trying to achieve. She believes the Negro revolution could fail if true communication is not established between the races and suggests means to open the channels. Appended is an editorial by Milton Kotler attempting to define "brutality" in Negro and in white terms.

Hernton, Calvin C. "Is There Really a Negro Revolution?" Negro Digest. Dec. 1964. pp. 10-22. It is incorrect to apply the term "revolution" to the Negro movement. A revolution seeks to fundamentally change an oppressive society. The Negro movement works within existing social structure: the Negro has accepted the white man's definition of how to achieve his freedom.

Young, Whitney M. Jr. "A Cry from the Dispossessed." Christian Century. Dec. 9, 1964. pp. 1524-1527. Despite the civil rights law, Mr. Young finds the persistence of poverty, subtle discrimination and racism indicates the gap between progress of Negro citizens and white Americans may be widening rather than diminishing. He suggests the nation should invest in special educational, health, housing and employment programs to overcome three centuries of handicap.

March 17, 1965

Mr. F. Peter Libassi
Director
Federal Programs Division
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Pete:

Thank you for your note of February 26. I have gone through the agricultural report and have read some parts of it with care. I think it is one of the best, if not the best, one you have done. I don't know who is responsible for it, but it makes me wonder whether you really need a research director. The report is the kind of work we look for CCR to do. It is something that no one else but you could have done, and it's something done with a good sense of strategy.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

Rec'd 3/1/65

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

February 26, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am enclosing a copy of a Commission study "Equal Opportunity In Farm Programs - An Appraisal of Services Rendered by Agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture." This report was released on March 1.

I believe you will find it to be of particular interest.

Sincerely yours,

F. Peter Libassi
Director
Federal Programs Division

Enclosure

Dear Les —
I would appreciate your comments on this report.
I hope you will find it helpful.
P.

VI
SW. file

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

March 22, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your very kind note on the Agriculture report. The key staff person was Marian Yankauer, who is a most unique and unusual person to say the least. She combines sensitivity and commitment with a perceptive and quick mind. I hope that the next time you are at the office I'll have an opportunity to introduce you to her.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FP Libassi

F. Peter Libassi
Director
Federal Programs Division

file

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

SOUTHEASTERN REGION

STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEE CONFERENCE

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 13 - 15, 1965

April 13

7:30 P.M.

Dinner Meeting

Les —
See you later,
Here is the program
for tonight —
Thanks again
for your help.

CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES AND TRENDS

Presiding:

Samuel J. Simmons
Director, Field Services Division
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Speaker:

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director, Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Panelists:

Jean Fairfax — Education
National Representative for
Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Clarence Coleman — Employment
Director, Southern Regional Office
National Urban League
Atlanta, Georgia

Vivian Henderson — Poverty Programs
Member, Tennessee State
Advisory Committee
Nashville, Tennessee

April 14

7:00 P.M.

Dinner Meeting - Administrative Session

Advisory Committee Chairmen,
Vice Chairmen, and Secretaries

April 15

9:30 A.M. - 10:15 A.M.

Plenary Session

SPEAKER:

William L. Taylor
Staff Director-designate
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

REMARKS:

Samuel J. Simmons

10:15 A.M. - 10:30 A.M.

Coffee Break

April 15

10:30 A.M. - 11:50 A.M.

Workshops

AGRICULTURE

Moderator - Courtney P. Siceloff
Regional Consultant
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Frogmore, South Carolina

Resource - Jac Wasserman
Field Director, National Sharecropper Fund, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS (OEO)

Moderator - Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Field Representative
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Resource - William Harry Bass
Washington Representative
Community Action Program
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

EDUCATION

Moderator - Samuel J. Simmons

Resource - Mrs. Ruby Martin
Education Specialist
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

EMPLOYMENT

Moderator - Douglas B. Sands
Field Representative
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Resource - Vernon Jordan
Assistant to the Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

April 15

10:30 A.M. - 11:50 A.M.

Workshops (Continued)

MEDICAL FACILITIES AND SERVICES

Moderator - John I. Binkley
Deputy Director
Field Services Division
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Resource - Clarence Coleman

PUBLIC FACILITIES

Moderator - Ozell Sutton
Regional Consultant
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Little Rock, Arkansas

April 15

12:00 Noon - 1:00 P.M.

Advisory Committee Meetings

State	Staff
Alabama	Louis L. Mitchell, Jr.
Florida	Douglas B. Sands
Georgia	John I. Binkley
Mississippi	Samuel J. Simmons
South Carolina	Courtney P. Siceloff
Tennessee	Ozell Sutton

2:00 P.M. - 3:00 P.M.

Consultation Sessions

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

May 4, 1965

file

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

We want to thank you for your participation and assistance in the Atlanta Conference and particularly for your persuasive and comprehensive speech at our State Advisory Committee dinner on April 13. So many people have remarked upon its excellence and scope and we are grateful to you for such an auspicious prelude to our first regional meeting.

It was good to see you and so many of your colleagues again. Please give them my kind regards.

With very best wishes and appreciation,

Sincerely yours,

Sam

Samuel J. Simmons
Director
Field Services Division

Rec'd 5/17/65

TA
AV
BP
LE
MJ

file

May 12, 1965

Mr. William L. Taylor
Director Designate
United States Civil Rights Commission
Washington, D. C.

We strongly request that there be an investigation by the United States Civil Rights Commission or the Florida Advisory Committee to the United States Civil Rights Commission, concerning violation of civil rights of Negroes and poverty people in North Florida.

We have complaints relating to discrimination and denial of economic opportunity regarding public facilities, regarding school desegregation, regarding public accommodations, regarding discrimination in employment, and regarding enforcement and administration of Federal Laws such as the Economic Opportunity Law and other welfare laws. Appreciate very much that you hold a meeting at the earliest convenience.

Yours truly,

Spiver W. Gordon
Florida Field Secretary
Congress of Racial Equality

Reverend Daniel L. Speed
President Tallahassee NAACP

by John D. Due, Jr.
CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund

May 12, 1965

cc: Paul L. Walker
Samuel J. Simmons
Louis Mitchell
Carl Rachlin
Leslie Dunbar

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

Rec'd 6/21/65 Janet, these files are under the "C" Section; ~~they should not be~~

B.B

MI-file

June 17, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I want to thank your organization for providing registrars for our Southeastern Regional Conference on Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, held in Atlanta on April 14. Without the invaluable assistance of these ladies, registration for such a large conference would not have proceeded so smoothly.

With our appreciation and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Caroline C. Ramsay

Caroline C. Ramsay
Social Science Analyst
Field Services Division

File

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425
Mid-South Region
Federal Office Building
Memphis, Tennessee

Area Code 901
534-3139

October 20, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. ~~Anthony:~~ Paul

I am replying herewith to your letter of October 14, 1965 informing me of a position with the Southern Regional Council.

I am very grateful to you for thinking about me in connection with this fine organization. However, Since I accepted my current position with the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights in June of this year, I cannot consider the opportunity at this time.

I trust that you will find the qualified individuals you are seeking and that your fine program will continue to push for equality in the South.

You have my best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Jacques

Jacques E. Wilmore
Director

File
Civil Rights Comm.

October 14, 1965

Mr. Jacque Wilmore
Director
Regional Office, Civil Rights Commission
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Jacque:

We need a couple of extra good men on our staff, and I have no doubt that you are a good man. Is there the remotest possibility that it would be worth our while to talk to each other about this?

Our treasury is pretty sad compared to that of the federal government, but we sure do have some fine fringe benefits.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Civil Rights Commission

November 8, 1965

Mr. Richard M. Shapiro
Assistant Director
Federal Programs Division
United States Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Dick:

Thanks for the arrangements. I'll be there at 9:15 A.M., Friday, November 19.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:mm

Rec'd 11/5/65

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

November 3, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation, I have arranged for you to meet with Bill Taylor on Friday, November 19th at 9:15 a.m. Following that meeting you will have an opportunity to meet with the appropriate Commission staff to discuss cooperative working relationships.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Dick

Richard M. Shapiro
Assistant Director
Federal Programs Division

File - ~~U.S. Government~~ Civil Rights Commission - general

November 29, 1965

Mr. Jacques E. Wilmore
Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Mid-South Region
Federal Office Building
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Jacques:

Thanks for your help.

We will look forward to seeing you and John Spence in several weeks.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

Mid-South Region
Federal Office Building
Memphis, Tennessee

Area Code 901
534-3139

November 10, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear ~~Mr. Anthony~~ Paul:

I regret that pressure of work has delayed my answer to your letter of October 14, 1965. My letter of October 21 was written for me by my secretary during an extended absence from the office (which explains the more or less formal tone).

We shall keep our eyes and ears open for the qualified individuals you are seeking for your staff, and I hope we shall be able to make some suggestions from time to time.

Emory Via will tell you that I have already referred one man for consideration. Emory felt that he would probably fit better into an employment operation such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Incidentally, I enjoyed meeting and talking with Emory.

John Spence and I are coming to Atlanta in mid-December (we will write you later giving the specific dates). I hope we can have the opportunity to chat with you at length.

Best wishes,

JE Wilmore
Jacques E. Wilmore
Director

Free
Civil Rights Commission
Gen. Corresp.
Rec'd
12/6/65

MJ - file

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

December 2, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

We appreciated the time you took to brief us on your new programs. As these activities are developed more fully, my staff will be able to provide assistance in those areas in which we have developed specialized resources.

We look forward to continued cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Walter B. Lewis
Director
Federal Programs Division

MJ - no to V
VS

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT
Clarence H. Hunter
Information Office
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Phone: 382-1228

Read 2/14/66

FOR RELEASE UPON RECEIPT

file

WASHINGTON, D.C. --- M. Carl Holman today was appointed Deputy Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

The appointment was announced by William L. Taylor, Staff Director of the Federal civil rights agency.

Holman joined the Commission as Information Officer in the summer of 1962 and was appointed Special Assistant to the Staff Director in June 1965. Before coming to the Commission, he was editor of the Atlanta Inquirer and Professor of English and Humanities at Clark College in Atlanta. A native of Mississippi, Holman was educated in the public schools of St. Louis, Missouri. He is a graduate of Lincoln University (Missouri) and received the M.A. Degree from the University of Chicago and the M.F.A. Degree from Yale University. He is married to Mariella Ama Holman and is the father of two sons --- Kerry, 16 and Kent, 11 and a daughter Karen, 14.

Holman succeeds F. Peter Libassi, who in December was appointed Special Assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare to coordinate that Department's activities in the administration of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

February 3, 1966

Free
Civil Rights Commission

February 15, 1966

Mr. William Taylor
Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

Last week Vernon Eagle, Director of the New World Foundation, raised with me the possibility of the Civil Rights Commission needing some private funds to do some of its needed work. I suggested to Vernon that it might be good if you, he and I could meet sometime in Washington or New York to discuss this.

Do you need such resources yet, and would you be interested in such a conversation?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

March 8, 1966

Mr. Sam Simmons U.S. Commission on Civil Rts.
~~Community Relations Service~~
~~U. S. Department of Commerce~~
Washington, D. C. 20230

Dear Sam:

The meeting at the New World Foundation will be held at Vernon Eagle's office (475 Riverside Drive) at 3:00 p.m. on Friday.

Look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

June 9, 1966

Mr. Carl Holman
Commission on Civil Rights
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

This is to confirm my trip to Washington on June 15. I am due to arrive at National at 3:05 P.M. Therefore, unless I hear from you ~~definitely~~ differently I shall be at your office around 3:30 P.M.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

See Commission on Civil Rights

June 29, 1966

Mr. M. Carl Holman
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
800 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

During the recent meeting in your office I promised to send up such voter registration figures as we had. They are enclosed along with a memorandum from Marvin Wall on the realiability of them. Would you please pass them on.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10
MAY 1962 EDITION
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

File U.S. Comm. on Civil Rights

TO : National Private Organizations DATE: June 26, 1967

FROM : U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

SUBJECT: Directory of National Private Organizations with Civil Rights Programs.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is revising its Directory of National Private Organizations with Civil Rights Programs.

Please make any necessary changes on the enclosed copy of your listing and return it to the Office of Information within the next five days. A return envelope is enclosed.

Thank you for your cooperation.

National with no corrections 6/28/67 mj

5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Bring up Nov. 6, 1967

(Paul — What do you do about Holman's ltr?)

File: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

September 29, 1967

Mr. M. Carl Holman
Deputy Staff Director
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D. C. 20425

Dear Carl:

Thank you for the advanced warning about your November 16-18 meeting. I will have some trouble with these dates, but will try.

Incidentally, do you know that these dates conflict somewhat with the annual meeting of NAIRO?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

STAFF DIRECTOR

SEP 26 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Paul Anthony:

In the near future you will receive a formal invitation to attend the Commission's National Conference on Race and Education to be held at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D. C. on November 16, 17, and 18.

We are bringing together a cross-section of about 500 people whose combined experience and interest in the race and education problem will contribute toward making the conference constructive and meaningful.

Since we are eager to have you participate in the conference, I wanted to write you before the official announcement so that you would have an advance opportunity to fit the conference into your schedule.

After I hear from you, I shall be in touch with you regarding your participation.

Sincerely yours,

Carl

M. Carl Holman
Deputy

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

STAFF DIRECTOR

file

SEP 24 1968

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As you know, the Federal Communications Commission is preparing to adopt a rule bearing on employment discrimination by broadcast licensees. We are enclosing a copy of the Comments filed by the Commission on Civil Rights upon the proposed rule. The deadline for filing Comments upon the proposed rule has passed. Under FCC rules, however, there is still time to file replies to Comments that have already been filed. Such replies must be filed by 5:00 p.m. on October 9, 1968. The reply should refer to RM-1144, Docket No. 18244. An original and 19 copies of the reply are required.

If we can be of any assistance to you, in this or in other matters, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Howard A. Glickstein

Howard A. Glickstein
Acting

Enclosure

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

STAFF DIRECTOR

SEP 9 1968

Honorable Rosel H. Hyde
Chairman
Federal Communications
Commission
Washington, D.C. 20554

Dear Chairman Hyde:

We are deeply interested in your Commission's proposed rule bearing on employment discrimination by broadcast licensees. The studies and hearings we have conducted across the country in the past few years confirm the accuracy of the conclusion, drawn by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, that the nation is "rapidly moving toward two increasingly separate Americas", 1/ and that this process will be very difficult to reverse if it is allowed to continue in the years ahead. As both your Commission and the National Advisory Commission have recognized, the practices of the communications industry have been an important factor in the development of this movement:

> "The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world. The ills of the ghetto, the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed. Slights and indignities are part of the Negro's daily life, and many of them come from what he now calls the 'white press' - a press that repeatedly, if unconsciously, reflects the biases, the paternalism, the indifference of white America." 2/

1/ Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (1968) at 225.

2/ Id. at 203.

Second, a Federal regulatory agency has little discretion, under the doctrine of Southern S.S. Co. v. N.L.R.B., 316 U.S. 31 (1942) to fail to use its powers to enforce a clearly defined national policy, even if that policy is somewhat collateral to the agency's normal tasks and statutes provide other means for its primary enforcement. Although the duty to enforce the policy declared by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. sec. 2000e et seq., is limited to ensuring that licensees do not discriminate in employment, the Commission's duty and authority are clarified and strengthened by the fact that such discrimination would almost certainly reflect adversely on the licensee's character, a factor 47 U.S.C. sec. 308(b) (1964) indicates the Commission is to consider.

Third, the Commission is under a statutory duty, backed by the same Constitutional requirements, to ensure that the programming of licensees serves the needs of all portions of the community. Its recognition of the causal relationship between underutilization of members of minority groups at various levels of the broadcasting industry and programming of the type described by the National Advisory Commission, which is oriented exclusively to members of the white race in the community, imposes upon it the duty to enforce these statutory and Constitutional requirements by ensuring that each licensee utilizes representative numbers of members of minority groups at all levels of employment.

PAGE (s) MISSING

These requirements extend far beyond the simple duty not to discriminate imposed by Title VII and relevant to a determination of the licensee's character; they require each licensee to take every action that is necessary to ensure that he utilizes enough members of minority groups at all levels of employment to enable him to serve those portions of the community. A licensee's employment pattern should reflect the population of the community it serves.

Rather than resting upon the implications of the law, clear though they may be upon reflection, the Commission should embody these requirements in a rule. Licensees and the public would be benefitted by an explicit statement of what is expected of the industry, sufficiently clear that "he who runs may read." Additionally, adoption of a rule would make the Commission's cease-and-desist power available. The National Advisory Commission recognized the importance of such a power, and recommended that it be given to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. 4/ The sanction of refusal to renew a license is strong, so strong that a licensee might reasonably expect it to be used only as a threat, and never to be invoked. If the Commission restricts itself entirely to this penalty, the sanction's strength itself may quite naturally lead the Commission to a finding that a licensee has fulfilled its requirements when another finding would have been made if a lesser penalty were available. 5/

4/ Report at 234.

5/ Additional considerations are discussed in Appendix C, part B.

The Commission should make it clear to licensees that these requirements are a continuing obligation, not a matter to deserve attention only at license renewal periods. The availability of the cease-and-desist power and its use are geared to handling violations of these requirements between renewal periods. If the requirements are not embodied in a rule, the exclusiveness of the sanction of refusal to renew a license may tend to suggest to licensees that their obligation is merely a periodic and formal one. Similarly, licensees should be required to furnish copies of EEO-1 forms annually, not just during license renewal periods. Annual submission of such forms seems also to be the only feasible way to gauge the progress of each licensee and of the industry. Submission of reports by a different third of the industry each year would seem to have little value in the preparation of an accurate racial profile and in the measurement of the success of the Commission's efforts in this field.

Each licensee should be required to establish compliance with these requirements. It is not enough that no one comes forward to complain of its noncompliance, for that may leave discriminatory practices undisturbed, much as all other complaint-oriented procedures for enforcing State and Federal FEP requirements have had only a minor impact upon the widespread discrimination the National Advisory Commission has found still exists. 6/ The New

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6/ Id. at 91.

Jersey Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder stated earlier this year:

> "If the enforcement of equal opportunity laws on the State level is predicated upon individual complainants, it is bound to be weak and ineffective." 7/

As Appendix B to these comments indicates, there is substantial unanimity among FEP commissions and professional sources, including a number of persons who have specialized for a lifetime in problems of administrative law, that complaint-oriented procedures to enforce nondiscrimination requirements, for various reasons, do not work. They cannot, in the light of two decades of experience, be expected to work.

In its Memorandum Opinion and Order, the Commission has recognized the urgency of the need, backed by Constitutional and statutory requirements, for licensees to begin to fully utilize members of minority groups at all levels of employment, and the appropriateness of Commission action to ensure that this need is met. Waiting for complainants is not an appropriate way to meet this urgent national need, or to fulfill the Commission's statutory and Constitutional obligation. The Commission does not rely upon private parties complaining of electrical interference before it requires a licensee to use Commission-approved equipment. Still less would it cast the burden of proof upon such a private party. Other regulatory and administrative bodies, such as State and Federal bank examining agencies and the Internal Revenue Service,

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7/ Report for Action (1968) at 73.

would rightly regard a suggestion that they rely upon private complainants, and cast the burden of proof upon them, as a suggestion that they abdicate their functions. The public interest is not normally required to depend solely upon private initiative for its vindication. 8/

More importantly, such a procedure leaves untouched the licensee's legal obligation to employ, at all levels, representative numbers of members of minority groups. This obligation can only be enforced by a licensee's positive showing of its employment patterns and of the affirmative actions it has undertaken to bring itself into compliance with the requirements it must meet.

8/ It should be noted that we regard enforcement of the fairness doctrine by a complaint-oriented procedure, where the burden of proof is placed upon the complainants, to be as inappropriate and as much as abdication of the Commission's functions as enforcement of nondiscrimination requirements in employment by a complaint-oriented procedure, where the burden of proof is similarly placed.

For these reasons, we urge the Commission to enforce these requirements by its own action. Cooperating with and utilizing the expertise acquired in this area by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, it should analyze the EEO-1 forms submitted annually by each licensee, including those with less than 25 employees, 9/ to determine areas of a licensee's operations with significant underutilization of members of minority groups, or patterns of such underutilization common to several licensees in an area. Where such an underutilization has been found, the licensee or licensees involved should be directed to develop an affirmative program broad enough in scope to remedy the condition. The expertise of the EEOC and of the OFCC would be useful at this stage as well.

The existence of affirmative programs to correct such a condition or pattern should not in itself be considered proof of compliance unless the programs are actually producing results, quickly enough so that the licensee or licensees involved is likely to correct the condition or pattern within a reasonable

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9/ Although they are not covered by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Constitutional and other statutory requirements apply as fully to them as to licensees covered by Title VII. Their exclusion would seriously distort the racial profile of the broadcasting industry. Only 10% of radio licensees are covered by the Act, according to the Commission's Memorandum Opinion and Order, and the uncovered stations are important both for the broadcast coverage they provide themselves and for their potential role as entry centers, training beginners and providing their opportunity for entry into various levels of employment in larger stations covered by Title VII, and into television.

time. When the results of a licensee's affirmative program are not yet known during a license renewal period, any renewal should be conditional, contingent upon the success of the program and correction of the condition.

The necessity of affirmative programs to correct the conditions described by the National Advisory Commission also should be recognized in proceedings to determine the initial grant of a license. Sec. 307(a) of the Communications Act of 1934 provides that station licenses will be granted if the "public convenience, interest, or necessity will be served thereby ... ." 10/ In weighing the merits of a single application or of competing applications for licenses, the FCC ordinarily compares and balances the applications in several specific areas. These have traditionally included local ownership, civic participation of the applicant and its principals, diversification of the principals' occupations, their broadcast experience, integration of ownership with management, past broadcast records, program proposals, staff, studios and equipment, and diversification of the media of mass communications. 11/

10/ 47 U.S.C. sec. 307(a) (1962).

11/ The FCC gave this listing in WHDH, 13 P. & F. Radio Reg. 507 (1957).

The Memorandum Opinion and Order and Notice of Proposed Rulemaking set forth at length the close identification between the public interest, generally and as affecting programming and other operations of the broadcasting industry in particular, and affirmative programs, such as on-the-job training, special recruitment drives, a re-orientation of programming, etc., directed towards increasing the participation of minority groups in broadcasting. Including this factor, and according it heavy weight in the determination of which competing applicant would best serve the "public convenience, interest, or necessity" or of whether a single applicant would meet this standard, would seem to be singularly appropriate.

We share the Commission's recognition of the scope and seriousness of the problems involved, and fully agree that the need for their solution is immediate. We believe, however, that the modifications we suggest are essential if the Commission's action is to be effective in resolving these problems.

Sincerely yours,

Howard A. Glickstein

Howard A. Glickstein
Acting Staff Director

APPENDIX A

The Duty of the Commission to Enforce Nondiscrimination Requirements

Page

A. Licensees are Under a Constitutional Duty Not to Discriminate in Employment or in Programming A-2

B. The Commission is Under a Duty to Enforce the Constitutional and Statutory Duties of Nondiscrimination Imposed Upon Licensees A-5

A. Licensees are Under a Constitutional Duty Not to Discriminate in Employment or in Programming.

Mere status as a "private party" does not exempt an actor from Constitutional requirements of nondiscrimination, since these requirements extend to all private action that has a substantial tinge of governmental involvement. The substantiality of governmental involvement in any private act of discrimination is weighed by the courts' evaluation of the contacts between the governmental unit and private act of discrimination, or between the governmental unit and the private actor.

In Burton v. Wilmington Parking Authority, 365 U.S. 715 (1961), the Supreme Court relied upon both. The Parking Authority there involved was unquestionably a public agency. 1 / It leased space to Eagle Coffee Shoppes, Inc., a commercial tenant. When Eagle refused service to a Negro because of his race, the Court held that the Authority was sufficiently involved with Eagle and with Eagle's discriminatory act for the discrimination to be unconstitutional "state action". In so holding, it relied upon the following contacts:

a) The Authority's decision to lease space to commercial tenants was necessary to make the revenue bonds for the financing of the facility marketable.

b) The lease with Eagle contained normal landlord-tenant provisions, but did not require Eagle to serve all members of the public on a nondiscriminatory basis, despite the fact that § 511 of the statute gave power

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1/ Authorized by statute, it was declared to be in the public interest and to be an agency of the State. It has powers of eminent domain and limited powers of property taxation. Its power to lease space for commercial facilities was limited to those instances in which, "in the opinion of the Authority, such leasing is necessary and feasible for the financing and operation of such facilities ... ." 22 Delaware Code secs. 501 et seq. (1953), 504 (a) (Supp., 1966).

to the agency "to adopt rules and regulations respecting the use of its facilities except any as would impair the security of its bandholders." 2/

c) Eagle's landlord was a public agency.

d) There was a mutual convenience in the juxtaposition of public and private facilities - access to the restaurant and availability of parking.

e) Eagle's improvements in the leasehold which became part of the realty are exempt from property taxation because the fee is in a State agency.

Of these contacts, only two seem substantial - the fact that Eagle's tenancy indirectly served the public interest, and the fact that the Authority had power, although unused, to regulate Eagle's action in this matter.

The Fourth Circuit rested upon similar grounds in Simkins v. Moses H. Cone Memorial Hospital, 323 F.2d 959 (4th Cir., 1963)(en banc), cert. den. 376 U.S. 938 (1964). This was a class action by Negro physicians, dentists, and patients against two private hospitals which had racially discriminated in denying staff privileges to Negro doctors and in denying or limiting admission of Negro patients. Each hospital had received substantial sums under the Hill-Burton Act. 3/ The court of appeals stated its approach as the Supreme Court had outlined it in Burton:

> "In our view the initial question is, rather, whether the state or the federal government, or both, have become so involved in the conduct of these otherwise private bodies that their activities are also the activities of these governments and performed under their aegis without the private body necessarily becoming either their instrumentality or their agent in a strict sense." 4/

2/ 365 U.S. at 720.
3/ Codified in part as 42 U.S.C. secs. 291 - 291o (1964).
4/ 323 F.2d at 966.

The court, in holding that the necessary amount of state participation, "in the broad sense, including federal", 5/ was present, relied upon contacts additional to the involvement of substantial amounts of federal funds. The distribution of Hill-Burton funds within a State was pursuant to a publicly made survey of all the health needs of all areas within the State. The hospitals participating did so in fulfillment of this public assessment of a public need, thus discharging a public function. Their participation subjected them "to an elaborate and intricate pattern of governmental regulations, both state and federal ... ." 6/

As these decisions indicate, the two primary contacts sufficient to render the Constitutional right to be free from discrimination applicable to private conduct are the finding that the private activity in which the discrimination took place is directly or indirectly serving a public function, and the ability of some governmental unit to regulate the conduct of the private actor.

5/ Id. at 967.

6/ Id. at 964. The Act requires that State plans, which must be approved before Federal funds can be distributed to hospitals within a State, include a provision requiring the appropriate State agency to provide and enforce minimum standards for the maintenance and operation of a recipient hospital's inpatient facilities. 42 U.S.C. sec. 291d (1964). The hospitals involved in Simkins were located in North Carolina, and that State's implementing legislation provided for the North Carolina Medical Care Commission's issuance of regulations to effectuate a provision calling for, inter alia, the development and enforcement of basic standards for the care and treatment of hospital patients. Gen. Stat. N. Car. secs. 131-126.2 and 131-126.7 (1964).

Both of these contacts clearly seem present in the broadcasting industry. Licensees seem therefore to be under a clear Constitutional duty not to discriminate on the basis of race in either their employment practices or their programming.

B. The Commission is Under a Duty to Enforce the Constitutional and Statutory Duties of Nondiscrimination Imposed Upon Licensees.

Although cases in which an agency with power to aid in the enforcement of a national policy while carrying out its normal duties has refused to do so are rare, the matter has come before the Supreme Court. In Southern S.S. Co. v. N.L.R.B., 316 U.S. 31 (1942), the Court held that the Board could not use its powers under the National Labor Relations Act to order the reinstatement of employees who had been discharged by an employer guilty of an unfair labor practice where the employees were seamen and their strike had violated the anti-mutiny provisions of then 18 U.S.C. secs. 483 and 484 7/:

> "It is sufficient for this case to observe that the Board has not been commissioned to effectuate the policies of the Labor Relations Act so single-mindedly that it may wholly ignore other and equally important congressional objectives. Frequently the entire scope of congressional purpose calls for careful accommodation of one statutory scheme to another, and it is not too much to demand of an administrative body that it undertake this accommodation without excessive emphasis upon its immediate task." 8/

Similarly, the Court stated in McLean Trucking Co. v. United States, 321 U.S. 67, 79-80 (1944) that the Interstate Commerce Commission, while it did not have the primary duty of enforcing the antitrust laws and could not decide definitively whether a given transaction violated those laws, cannot ignore the antitrust laws when they seem to conflict with the policies of the Interstate Commerce Act, unless there is some indication that Congress intended the Commission to ignore the overlapping policies of the antitrust laws while carrying out the policies of the Interstate

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7/ In the revision of Title 18, these sections were recodified, with modifications, as 18 U.S.C. secs. 2192 and 2193 (1964).

8/ 316 U.S. at 47.

Commerce Act. 9/

More frequently, the question of an agency's aid in enforcement of a collateral national policy has arisen in cases upholding the agency's enforcement action. In F.C.C. v. American Broadcasting Co., 347 U.S. 284, 289 (1954), for instance, the Court upheld the Commission's regulations intended to enforce the provisions of 18 U.S.C. sec. 1304 (1964) a criminal anti-lottery statute which applied to broadcasting stations:

> "Like the court below, we have no doubt that the Commission, concurrently with the Department of Justice, has power to enforce sec. 1304. Indeed, the Commission would be remiss in its duties if it failed, in the exercise of its licensing authority, to aid in implementing the statute, either by general rule or by individual decisions." 10/

And in National Broadcasting Co., Inc. v. United States, 319 U.S. 190 (1943), the Court upheld the Chain Broadcasting Regulations, holding that the FCC could consider a licensee's conduct in violation of the antitrust laws, for which he had not yet been proceeded against and convicted, 11/ and determine that it was not in accord with the "public interest, convenience, or necessity." 12/

The policy of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 directly affects matters - such as the requirement that licensees serve all groups in their community - the Communications Act of 1934 requires the Commission to consider. It cannot ignore the overlapping of this policy, particularly since it is consistent with the policy of the Communications Act.

9/ See also City of Pittsburgh v. Federal Power Commission, 237 F.2d 741, 754 (D.C. Cir., 1956):

> "... the Commission cannot ignore that fact merely because it is an antitrust factor and such factors have been placed within the ken of the Attorney General. That he is specially competent as to the antitrust laws does not make all other officers or agencies of the Government incompetent."

10/ Footnote omitted.

11/ Sec. 311 of the Communications Act of 1934, 48 Stat. 1086, at that time authorized the FCC to withhold licenses from persons convicted of antitrust violations.

12/ See also Metropolitan Television Co. v. FCC, 289 F.2d 874, 876 (D.C. Cir., 1961) (dictum); Mansfield Journal Co. v. FCC, 180 F.2d 28, 33 (D.C. Cir., 1950).

The Commission is under an even stronger duty to enforce the Constitutional requirements discussed above. To fail to enforce the Constitutional requirements imposed upon licensees by their exercise of a public function and their relationship with the Commission would make the Commission itself a participant in their unlawful discrimination.

APPENDIX B

Reliance Upon Complaints as a Means of Enforcing Nondiscrimination Requirements

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A. The Anomaly of Widespread FEP Coverage and Widespread Discrimination.

The substantive provisions of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 have been in operation for over three years. 1/ Over 30 States have FEP legislation of one type or another. 2/ Yet the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders was able to speak of "the continuing exclusion of great numbers of Negroes from the benefits of economic progress through discrimination in employment" and other fields. 3 /

This phenomenon has been noticed by commentators upon FEP laws. An analyst of the New Jersey Law Against Discrimination 4/ stated:

> "For nearly two decades, racial discrimination has been proscribed by law in many northern states. None the less it persists ... ." 5/

Michael Sovern has similarly written:

> "Nevertheless, racial discrimination in employment remains common, not merely in the South, not merely in states without fair employment practices laws, but in the very states that have outlawed it. Why?" 6/

1/ Sec. 716(a), 78 Stat. 266.

2/ F.C.C. Memorandum Opinion and Order, and Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, F.C.C. 68-702, at 4.

3/ Report (1968) at 91.

4/ N.J. Stat. Ann. Sec. 18:25- 1 to -28.

5/ Alfred W. Blumrosen, "Antidiscrimination Laws in Action in New Jersey: A Law - Sociology Study", 19 Rutgers L. Rev. 189 (1965).

6/ Legal Restraints on Racial Discrimination in Employment (1966) at 31.

B. Reliance Upon Complaints is an Ineffective Means of Enforcing FEP Legislation.

The New Jersey Governor's Select Commission on Civil Disorder stated earlier this year:

> "If the enforcement of equal opportunity laws on the State level is predicated upon individual complainants, it is bound to be weak and ineffective." 7/

In hearings conducted by a Senate subcommittee considering proposals for Federal FEP legislation in the summer of 1963, two administrators of State FEP laws took similar positions. Edward Howden, Executive Officer of the California State Fair Employment Practices Commission, said in his prepared statement:

> "Most State and city FEPC's have similarly concluded that the individual, case-by-case method alone falls far short of solving the massive problem they face." 8/

James McDonald, Executive Director of the Minnesota State Commission Against Discrimination, testified:

> "The case-by-case approach, as Mr. Howden points out, is quite ineffective and totally inadequate." 9/

The dissatisfaction with complaint-oriented enforcement procedures is not limited to FEP Commissions and governmental Commissions investigating urban unrest. Herbert Hill, the N.A.A.C.P.'s chief labor specialist, has stated briefly:

> "The record proves that the individual complaint approach is totally inadequate ... ." 10/

7/ Report for Action (1968) at 73.

8/ Hearings on S. 773, S. 1210, S. 1211, and S. 1937 before the Subcommittee on Employment and Manpower of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., (1963) at 229.

9/ Id. at 261.

10/ "Twenty Years of State Fair Employment Practice Commissions: A Critical Analysis With Recommendations" , 14 Buff. L. Rev. 22, 40 (1964).

Prof. Robert A. Girard of the Stanford University Law School and Prof. Louis L. Jaffe of the Harvard Law School have co-authored a study of State FEP laws and their administration by the various State FEP Commissions. They concluded:

> "It is no longer adequate for them to proceed wholly, or even principally, on the basis of complaints filed by private parties." 11/

Stating that the number of complaints coming before such Commissions is small, they continued:

> "... even if the number could be multiplied several fold, this does not seem the best approach." 12/

1. --Because Many Victims of Discrimination Fail to File Complaints.

There is widespread agreement that few such victims ever file complaints. Profs. Girard and Jaffe state:

> "From the beginning the number and quality of complaints received by the commissions has been disappointingly low." 13/

Herbert Hill speaks of the "very small fraction" of victims who complain. 14/ One commentator was more graphic:

> "In the midst of a sea of discriminatory acts, however, state human relations commissions are receiving no more than a trickle of complaints." 15/

11/ "Some General Observations on Administration of State Fair Employment Practices Laws", 14 Buff. L. Rev. 114 (1964).

12/ Id. at 115.

13/ Id.

14/ Supra note 10, at 24. Accord: Sovern, supra note 6, at 33; Note, "The California FEPC: Stepchild of the State Agencies", 18 Stan. L. Rev. 187, 203 (1965).

15/ Joseph P. Witherspoon, "Civil Rights Policy in the Federal System: Proposals For a Better Use of Administrative Process", 74 Yale L. J. 1171, 1190 (1965) (footnote omitted).

In part, the low number of complaints received may be attributable to the victim's ignorance that he has been discriminated against. 16/ This would be particularly true for all those types of cases in which proof of discrimination is difficult, and would above all be true where subjective evaluation of an applicant's qualifications are important. Employment within the broadcasting industry may well fall partially or perhaps even primarily within this grouping.

Many victims are fully aware that they have been discriminated against but, for various reasons, choose not to file complaints. 17/ This does not indicate that such victims are uninterested in the matter. 18/

16/ Witherspoon, supra note 15 at 1192, addressed himself to this possibility.

17/ Cf. Report for Action at 73: "Victims of discrimination are not likely to complain to civil rights agencies." Accord, Blumrosen, supra note 5, at 190.

18/ Cf. Blumrosen, supra note 5, at 200: "Reliance on complaints of aggrieved parties to invoke the law is part of our ancient legal tradition. Failure to complain is taken as demonstrating at least a minimum of contentment with the status quo.

"The Zeitz sociological study demonstrated that reluctance or unwillingness of the Negro to complain results not from satisfaction with the situation, but from a hesitance about entering discriminatory situations, followed by a great reluctance to take any action if faced with discrimination."

There may, for instance, be a variety of psychological reasons why a person who knows that he has been discriminated against because of his race or national origin may be unwilling to file a complaint. 19/ Failure to file complaints may frequently reflect skepticism that anything good could come from the filing. 20/

19/ The Stanford Law Review Note, supra note 14 at 203 n. 120, lists a variety of such psychological factors. Their information was obtained in interviews with officials of the California FEPC.

There is some indication that Spanish-Americans as a group are particularly reluctant to file complaints, even where discrimination "clearly occurs". Id. Accord: Note, "The Right to Equal Treatment: Administrative Enforcement of Antidiscrimination Legislation", 74 Harv. L. Rev. 526, 531-32 (1961); Richard B. Dyson and Elizabeth D. Dyson, "Commission Enforcement of State Laws Against Discrimination: A Comparative Analysis of the Kansas Act", 14 Univ. Kans. L. Rev. 29, 34 (1965).

20/ After the passage quoted supra note 18, Blumrosen continued:

"Under these circumstances, the persistence of discrimination may lead the Negro not toward the conclusion that the law should be used, but that it is useless, and that the claim for decent treatment must be pressed, if at all, in some other way."

He concluded at 205:

"The sociological study demonstrated that the complaint process could not possibly be an effective basis for law enforcement because the bulk of the Negro community will not utilize it. Only about 30 percent believed that the adoption and enforcement of laws could be effective in securing equality." (Footnote omitted).

Dyson and Dyson, supra note 19 at 34, have stated:

"Often minority groups are ignorant of the remedies they might invoke by seeking commission assistance, or skeptical about the sincerity of the wish of a middle-class government to right their wrongs."

Michael Sovern, supra note 6 at 33, reached similar conclusions:

"Many victims of racial discrimination, coming as they do from one of the disadvantaged groups in our society, are frequently ignorant of their legal rights or cynical about the prospect of their rights being enforced against whites by white authority. ... [T]here are no complaints from the unknowing and disbelieving."

The low number of complainants may also be the result of objective factors. Profs. Girard and Jaffe have concluded that:

> "For the most part, however, this dearth seems inherent in the plight of minority groups, the law's inevitable delays and burdens, and the inability of the commissions fully to protect complainants." 21/

The Governor's Commission on Civil Disorder found that the time required to resolve complaints, "normally exceeding one month, discourages the complainant, particularly in employment cases." 22/ That the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission normally takes 12 to 16 months to dispose of a complaint 23/ adds point to this evaluation.

2. --Because Those Complaints That are Filed are Too Haphazard for Effective Enforcement.

Edward Howden, Executive Officer of the California FEPC, said in his statement prepared for the Senate subcommittee:

> "There is, I believe, a broad consensus among the State and local FEPC's and students of their work to the effect that limitation of such an agency to a compliance program stemming only from the receipt of miscellaneous individual complaints is to hold it to a haphazard, piecemeal, and wholly inadequate method of operation." 24/

Similarly, Joseph Minsky concluded in his analysis of FEP legislation in Illinois:

> " ... [E]ven with a policy of enforcement, the question arises whether an effective change can be made in the employment pattern as long as enforcement is based on the filing of individual charges. Isn't the case method at best 'pebble-picking' by the FEP Commission?" 25/

21/ Supra note 11 at 115.

22/ Report for Action at 73.

23/ Telephone conversation with Gladys Uhl, of the Public Affairs Office of the E.E.O.C., August 9, 1968.

24/ Hearings, supra note 8 at 231. Accord: Dyson and Dyson, supra note 19 at 35; Girard and Jaffe, supra note 11 at 115.

25/ "FEPC in Illinois: Four Stormy Years", 41 Notre Dame Law. 152, 178 (1965).

Additionally, discrimination in many instances is not individualized with each incident of discrimination, but reflects organization-wide or industry-wide patterns; reliance upon complaints treats each incident in an ad hoc fashion, and places too little emphasis upon the existence and implications of these patterns. 26/

3. --Because There is no Relationship Between the Complaints Filed and the Value of Enforcement Proceedings in Terms of the Number of Jobs Opened Up to Members of Minority Groups.

This point largely speaks for itself, but others have also reached the same conclusion. The Notewriters for the Stanford Law Review, for instance, have stated that "no one doubts" that the number of jobs for minority workers resulting from Commission-initiated programs:

> " ... far exceed the number of jobs produced by the painstaking individual complaint process, in which respondents may control an insignificant number of jobs." 27/

4. --Because Complaints Filed do not Reflect the Incidence of Discrimination.

There seems to be widespread agreement that "the individual complaint system fails to reflect accurately the incidence of discrimination." 28/ Notewriters for the Harvard Law Review have stated:

26/ Arnold H. Sutin, "The Experience of State Fair Employment Commissions: A Comparative Study", 18 Vand. L. Rev. 965, 1046 (1965); Note, "The Right to Equal Treatment", supra note 19 at 537. See the discussion at B-16 to B-19, infra.

27/ Note, "The California FEPC, supra note 14 at 201-02. Accord, Herbert Hill, supra note 10 at 24:

"State commissions have become complaint taking bureaus that very slowly and laboriously - for as long as one or two years or more - attempt to 'conciliate' an individual complaint that may or may not result in new employment for one person and do not change the racial employment pattern of a company or an industry."

28/ Note, "The California FEPC", supra note 14 at 203 (footnote omitted).

> "It is generally agreed that neither the type nor the number of complaints initiated by private parties is an accurate barometer of actual discrimination." 29/

The corollary of their conclusion is that reliance upon a complaint system leaves large areas of employment discrimination untouched. 30/

29/ Note, "The right to Equal Treatment", supra note 19 at 531. Similarly, Gov. Endicott Peabody of Massachusetts discussed the experience of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination in his statement prepared for the Senate subcommittee:

"It has been our experience that there are many situations where discrimination may exist and yet no complaint may be forthcoming."

Hearings, supra note 8 at 282.

30/ Witherspoon, supra note 15 at 1191-92, stated:

"Unless state human relations commissions have authority to file complaints initiating their enforcement processes, these commissions will be unable to reach most discriminatory transactions."

Discussing the tendency of State FEPC's to rely upon complaints, the Harvard Law Review Note, "The Right to Equal Treatment", supra note 19 at 589, concluded:

"The effect of this policy has been to leave wide gaps in enforcement, especially in areas where individuals are generally reluctant to act."

Accord: Sutin, supra note 26 at 1046; Sovern, supra note 6 at 32.

In part, this is because members of minority groups are not likely to apply for jobs at a firm or in an industry with a reputation for discrimination. 31/ One commentator states:

> "The complaint pattern in employment cases, for example, is inversely related to the actual incidence of discrimination. The reason for this seeming anomaly is that members of minority groups, anxious not to be denied employment on racial or religious grounds, usually restrict their applications to concerns which already employ members of their group." 32/

31/ Note, "The California FEPC", supra note 14 at 203.

32/ Witherspoon, supra note 15 at 1190-91. Similarly, the Executive Officer of the California FEPC stated:

"There is no necessary correlation between the existence of restrictive practices in certain sectors of industry and the filing of FEP complaints; in fact, it is not uncommon for a fair employment agency to find that it is receiving few or no complaints concerning a firm which has a conspicuously discriminatory policy. The reason is simply that minority job-seekers are in the market for work, not to create cases, and they are rarely inclined to waste their time or subject themselves to the psychological wear and tear involved in knocking on the door of a firm they believe to be exclusionary."

Statement of Edward Howden, Hearings, supra note 8 at 231.

The legal and sociological analyses of the operation of the New Jersey Law Against Discrimination provide a thought-provoking additional reason why complaints filed fail to reflect the actual incidence of discrimination. Leonard Zeitz, who performed the sociological study, wrote:

> "In summary, there is a correlation between high income, high educational attainment, and small family constellation with use of the Division. Obversely, there is a correlation between low income, low educational attainment, and large family constellation with non-use of the Division. Since the Division users more closely approximate the white middle class than they do the majority of Negroes of New Jersey, and since, furthermore, the sample respondents who are non-users of the Division do represent the majority of the Negroes of New Jersey, then it follows that the Division on Civil Rights operates to the benefit of a very small portion of Negroes, and fails to reach, for a variety of reasons, the overwhelming majority of Negroes." 33/

In the context of this study, Prof. Blumrosen concluded:

> "The decision to await complainants, and not to initiate investigative and enforcement activity meant that the law was substantially not enforced, and was not enforced at all for the majority of the Negro community." 34/

33/ "Survey of Negro Attitudes Toward Law", 19 Rutgers L. Rev. 288, 307 (1965).

34/ Supra note 5 at 218-19.

C. Reliance Upon Complaints Reflects Primarily the Private Interest of the Complainant, and Attaches Too Little Significance to the Public Interest in Ending Employment Discrimination.

> "Although the statutes make it clear that discrimination is regarded as a public wrong and not merely the basis for a private grievance, most commissions have ... directed their regulatory energies only upon particular complaints brought before them by private individuals. The effect of this policy has been to leave wide gaps in enforcement ... ." 35/

Michael Sovern agrees:

> " ...[I]f a social program is to be vigorously implemented, the agency charged with that function should not be waiting for cases to come to it. It should be devoting a major part of its energy to discovering those who are subverting the program." 36/

35/ Note, "The Right to Equal Treatment", supra note 19 at 589.
36/ Supra note 6 at 39. Accord, Sutin, supra note 26 at 1045:

"However, in order to achieve greater employment equality directly through enforcement,it has become increasingly clear that commissions will be forced to take more of an initiatory role than heretofore required. This is in harmony with the view that discrimination is a public wrong, not merely a private grievance."

Much of the assumed similarity between judicial proceedings and complaint-oriented systems of enforcing FEP legislation does not in actuality exist.

> "Reliance on complaints of aggrieved parties to invoke the law is part of our ancient legal tradition. Failure to complain is taken as demonstrating at least a minimum of contentment with the status quo." 37/

The author concluded that failure to complain was likelier to represent discontent with the law and its processes. 38/ Such discontent is not entirely misplaced, as the preceding discusssion indicates.

Complaint-oriented systems of enforcement place the burden of enforcing the law upon the private individuals discriminated against. Dyson and Dyson recognized this problem:

> "Although our civil legal system depends upon the energy of potential plaintiffs to start the wheels of justice rolling, less reliance can be placed on the class of persons that anti-discrimination laws are designed to protect." 39/

One author concluded that placing the responsibility for invoking the enforcement process upon the individuals discriminated against is "burdensome and undesirable". 40/

37/ Blumrosen, supra note 5 at 200. This passage is quoted more fully, supra note 18.

38/ See note 20, supra.

39/ Supra note 19 at 34.

40/ Sutin, supra note 26 at 1046.

D. Agency-Initiated Actions Are the Most Productive Type of Enforcement Activity.

Again, there is general agreement on this point. The authors of the Stanford Law Review Note have written:

> "Opinion is nearly unanimous that the most productive FEPC compliance activities are section 1421 [Commission-initiated] investigations and affirmative actions." 41/

Accordingly, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders recommended that:

> "Federal, state, and local efforts to insure equal opportunity in employment should be strengthened by:
>
> ...
>
> (d) Undertaking, through the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, an industry and areawide enforcement effort based not only upon individual complaints but upon employer and union reports showing broad patterns of discrimination in employment and promotion." 42/

Profs. Girard and Jaffe have made a similar recommendation. 43/

41/ Note, "The California FEPC", supra note 14 at 201. Accord: Comment, "Enforcement of Fair Employment Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964", 32 U. Chi. L. Rev. 430, 437 (1965); Norgren and Hill, Toward Fair Employment 251 (1964); Sutin, the passage cited supra note 26.

The New York Commission Against Discrimination is reported to discover "unlawful discriminatory practices in a much higher percentage of cases when it initiates investigations of employment practices on its own motion." Witherspoon, supra note 15 at 1185 (Footnote omitted).

42/ Report at 234 (1968).

43/ Supra note 11 at 114-15. Accord, Gary L. Bryenton, "Employment Discrimination: State FEP Laws and the Impact of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964", 16 W. Res. L. Rev. 608, 619 (1965).

Agencies that lack the power to initiate enforcement action are widely considered to be hamstrung in their efforts. After noting the coexistence of widespread FEP coverage and continued widespread discrimination, Michael Sovern asked "Why?" 44/ He continued:

> "A frequently repeated answer has been that the commissions cannot do their jobs effectively because they lack the power of initiation." 45/

Richard Berg, in his analysis of Title VII, noted that the EEOC is not authorized to conduct an investigation in the absence of a formal charge, and called this a "serious lack". 46/ More elaborately, one commentator wrote:

> "A major structural defect of most state human relations commissions is that although they may initiate investigations, they have no authority to file complaints for the purpose of instituting enforcement proceedings. Surely no more disabling requirement, or one less consistent with their mission, could have been imposed upon these agencies." 47/

44/ See the passage quoted at B-2 supra.

45/ Supra note 6 at 31 (Footnote omitted).

46/ "Equal Employment Opportunity Under the Civil Rights Act of 1964", 31 Brooklyn L. Rev. 62, 82 (1964).

47/ Witherspoon, supra note 15 at 1191 (Footnote omitted). The Executive Officer of the California FEPC agreed:

"Without the power to initiate action where needed, a fair employment commission is obliged to close its eyes to practices which flout the law. Under such circumstances the law will, of course, fail to gain respect ... ."

Hearings, supra note 8 at 231.

1. --Because Such an Approach Takes Advantage of the Traditional Benefits of Entrusting Enforcement of a Body of Legislation to an Administrative Agency Rather Than to the Courts.

Speaking of the distinctions between the complaint-oriented and the self-initiated approaches to the enforcement of FEP legislation, the Harvard Law Review Note states that these reflect differences in the commissions' conception of their roles:

> "For those to whom the anti-discrimination commission is a quasi-judicial agency established to adjudicate disputes between aggrieved complainants and respondents, in the manner of a court of law, the self-instituted complaint is an extraordinary weapon, to be used only in extreme cases. If, however, the commission is regarded as an independent force created to combat discrimination affirmatively, it should make more frequent use of its initiatory powers to formulate a coherent program." 48/

The conception of such an agency as an "independent force" seems clearly preferable.

> "One of the central features of modern administrative process is its capacity to shape the litigation which gives form to the statutes administered and to regulate the emphasis and momentum developed in enforcement actions." 49/

48/ "The Right to Equal Treatment", supra note 19 at 531.
49/ Witherspoon, supra note 15 at 1191 (Footnote omitted).

The power to shape the enforcement of nondiscrimination requirements, largely lacking in complaint-oriented procedures, is one of the chief virtues of a self-starting procedure. It allows a systematic use of the agency's resources based upon the factors the agency considers most important. 50/

A systematized enforcement approach makes a job-oriented program possible:

> "By dealing with large employers and unions in cases that will result in wide-ranging plans for equal employment opportunity, the Agency can open up whole plants, firms, and industries. The number of jobs for minority workers that result from such programs can probably never be measured with any degree of precision; but no one doubts that they far exceed the number of jobs produced by the painstaking individual complaint process, in which respondents may control an insignificant number of jobs." 51/

50/ Profs. Girard and Jaffe consider the systematization of the agency's enforcement program to be a "vital reform". Supra note 11 at 115. Accord, Dyson and Dyson, supra note 19 at 35-36.

51/ Note, "The California FEPC", supra note 14 at 201-02. Witherspoon, supra note 15 at 1192, stated:

"The peculiar virtue of complaints initiated by commissions is that they can be directed against the worst offenders."

2. --Because Such an Approach Makes It Possible to Engage in Pattern-Oriented Enforcement Activities.

Commentators upon the administration of FEP legislation seem agreed that pattern checks - surveys "of the percentage and distribution of minority employees" 52/ - are a more effective means of discovering discrimination than are complaints. Norgren and Hill, for instance, have stated:

> "Yet our study of commission experience has shown that commissions can achieve far greater results by emphasizing pattern-centered compliance activities than by concentrating on the adjustment of individual complaints." 53/

In each investigation of a complaint, the California FEPC also conducts a pattern check. 54/

52/ Note, "The California FEPC", supra note 14 at 192.

53/ Supra note 41 at 251. Accord: Note, "The Right to Equal Treatment", supra note 19 at 537; id. at 589; Comment, "Enforcement of Fair Employment", supra note 41 at 437; Sutin, supra note 26 at 1046.

54/ Note, "The California FEPC", supra note 14 at 192.

Apparently summarizing the attitude of the California Commission to the use of pattern checks, the Stanford Law Review Note stated:

> "While never conclusive, the pattern check is a highly relevant indicator of the extent of conscious or unconscious discrimination." 55/

While it may well be possible, with pattern checks involving some large employers, to use them as direct proof of discrimination, by analogy to the use of solely statistical evidence to prove discrimination in the selection of juries, 56/ this may well be impossible with broadcast licensees.

The California FEPC, does, however, use statistics gleaned from pattern checks as a factor in the determination of probable cause. 57/ Given the great potential of this device, and the faults of any enforcement system largely dependent upon complaints, it would seem reasonable to use pattern checks of broadcast licensees, individually or in functional groups, to trigger general investigations of employment practices.

Bank examiners and the Internal Revenue Service are well known for their practice of making spot checks of compliance with various regulations. The regulations of the F.C.C. empower it to conduct spot investigations of broadcasting stations "at any reasonable hour". 58/ Reliance upon complaints may well be an atypical means of enforcing an administrative regulation. 59/

55/ Id. (footnote omitted).

56/ See Michael O. Finkelstein, "The Application of Statistical Decision Theory to the Jury Discrimination Cases", 80 Harv. L. Rev. 338(1966).

57/ Note,"The California FEPC", supra note 14 at 192.

58/ 47 C.F.R. Part 21.200 (1967).

59/ This suggestion was made by Sovern, supra note 6, at 39. Similarly, Witherspoon noted that the N.L.R.B. and the F.T.C. permit only officials of the agencies to file complaints "instituting their adjudicative processes." Supra, note 15 at 1191 (footnote omitted).

E. Conclusions.

Reliance upon complaints as a means of enforcing nondiscrimination requirements causes "dissipation of commission resources on unrelated, relatively insignificant, less tractable" 60/ and unrepresentative aspects of discrimination.

Every point discussed above seems to support the essential accuracy of the conclusion drawn by Prof. Blumrosen:

> "This administrative decision to await complainants meant in fact that the law would not be generally enforced. The sociological study demonstrated that a decision which appeared to be only procedural was in reality a decision not to enforce the laws extensively." 61/

60/ Profs. Girard and Jaffe, supra note 11 at 115. Accord, Note, "The California FEPC", supra note 14 at 202, 203.

61/ Supra note 5 at 190.

APPENDIX C

TECHNICAL COMMENTS

A. The F.C.C. Should Conform to the EEOC's Policy of Not Referring Complaints to Some State and Local Agencies C-2

B. The Nondiscrimination Policy Should be Formally Embodied In a Rule C-3

C. The Delay Between Receipt of a Complaint and Enforcement Action Should Be Shortened C-4

D. Employment Advertisements Placed By Licensees Should Be Required to Include an "Equal Opportunity" Notice C-5

APPENDIX C

Technical Comments

A. The F.C.C. Should Conform to the EEOC's Policy of Not Referring Complaints to Some State and Local Agencies.

Sec. 706(b) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 1/ delays the filing of a charge with the EEOC, where the discrimination is covered by State or local law and a State or local authority has been empowered to enforce it, until proceedings have been commenced under the State or local law and a certain period of time has passed.

The EEOC has taken the position that this section is operative only when the State agency has a budget and a staff and is prepared to carry out its responsibilities, and is inoperative where the State procedure is too cumbersome and provides no meaningful remedy. 2/

Though this seems likeliest to occur when local FEP agencies are involved, there are some States with agencies the EEOC does not consider complainants to be required to file charges with. A listing is contained in the B.N.A.'s FEP service. 3/ There seems no reason why the FCC should refer complaints to such agencies.

1/ 42 U.S.C. sec. 2000e-5(b) (1964).

2/ EEOC General Counsel Opinions 12/2/65, 12/8/65, and No. 667-65, B.N.A. Labor Policy and Practice: Fair Employment Practices 401: 50-50b.

3/ Id.

B. The Nondiscrimination Policy Should be Formally Embodied In a Rule.

Voluntary compliance with the nondiscrimination policy would simplify matters greatly, but the scope of voluntary compliance may well be a function of each licensee's assessment of the intensity and permanence of the FCC's interest in this matter. From this aspect, formal adoption of a rule could well be beneficial, while failure to adopt one could lead licensees to draw conclusions unfortunate for the success of the policy.

The availability of cease-and-desist powers, attendant upon the adoption of the rule, and the FCC's vigorous use of such powers would provide strong incentives for licensees to comply voluntarily. Such powers and their prompt use would also give victims of discrimination a strong incentive to complain of their treatment. Under the proposed plan, the FCC's interest with a licensee's discriminatory acts will be strong primarily when considering the licensee's application for renewal - once every three years. Such periodic attention is not likely to draw complainants.

One of the merits of the proposal is that it would utilize the expertise the F.C.C. has developed in the course of regulating the broadcasting industry. A far stronger merit, however, lies in the F.C.C.'s potential power to enforce its policies. That power is not effectively utilized by the proposed arrangement. The sanction of refusal to renew a license is a strong one, and therefore likelier to be used as a threat than to be invoked. Like penalties for the possession of marijuana, the sanction may be too stiff to be credible to the wrongdoer, or to actually impose when a finding of guilt would have otherwise been made, but in view of the punishment is not.

The cease-and-desist power, if promptly invoked and if it required enough specific affirmative action, would be likelier to be effective. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders recognized its importance:

> "Federal, state, and local efforts to insure equal opportunity in employment should be strengthened by:
>
> ...
>
> "(b) Granting to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Federal enforcement agency under Title VII, cease and desist power comparable to the enforcement power now held by other Federal agencies administering regulatory national policies." 4/

4/ Report at 234.

It would be anomalous for the FCC, which can have the power by adoption of the rule, to fail to do so.

C. The Delay Between Receipt of a Complaint and Enforcement Action Should be Shortened.

If the FCC adopts a rule embodying its nondiscrimination policy, cease-and-desist powers would be available to enforce the policy. To be credible, however, these powers must be capable of invocation fairly promptly. The 12 to 16 months' average period from the EEOC's receipt of a case to its final disposition seems to indicate the delay that can be expected by the FCC's proposed referral of complaints to the EEOC. Such a delay would be likely to impress neither potential complainants nor licensees that a meaningful remedy for discrimination had been made available.

The proposal indicates that the primary reason for referring complaints to the EEOC is to utilize the EEOC's expertise in determining whether a complaint presents a "substantial issue". This function could be more effectively discharged by reliance upon the report of the EEOC investigation in determining the presence of a "substantial issue". Where the investigation report indicates that such an issue is present, enforcement action by the FCC could begin much earlier. The "conciliation" stage in the processing of a complaint by the EEOC could be more effectively handled by the traditional process of settlement of various issues during the course of administrative enforcement proceedings. Because the proposal could well result in two "conciliation" processes, one during the EEOC's processing of a complaint and the other, which would almost necessarily occur during the FCC's enforcement proceedings, this modification would more effectively conserve the resources of both agencies. Liaison with the EEOC at this stage would make the expertise of both agencies simultaneously rather than consecutively available in the settlement process.

The arrangement with the EEOC should provide that, when the EEOC is the agency initially receiving a complaint involving a licensee, it should refer the complaint to the FCC immediately upon the completion of the investigation report.

Most, if not all, of the above suggestions would also apply where State or local FEPC's are involved.

Should the FCC decide not to embody the nondiscrimination policy in a rule, the resulting lack of cease-and-desist powers throws the problem of the policy's credibility, and hence its effectiveness, into even sharper focus. Because of the newness of the FCC policy and because the EEOC has recently investigated some employment problems in broadcasting in New York, it may well be advisable, for the time being, for the EEOC to grant priority to complaints involving broadcast licensees until the enforcement policies of both agencies begin to have some effect.

D. Employment Advertisements Placed By Licensees Should Be Required to Include an "Equal Opportunity" Notice.

As the discussion above indicates, few potential victims of discrimination are likely to apply for employment with firms they think might discriminate. If there are presently few members of minority groups employed by licensees, few or none will apply. If the FCC should decide to rely upon a complaint procedure, it must ensure that discriminatory licensees are not able to flout the requirement for no other reason than that their discrimination is so well know that no one bothers to apply.

Requiring such a notice to be included prominently within such advertisements and recruitment materials, as well as on application forms, may help to overcome this presumption of the potential applicant, and meet the danger.

File

File
"Carl Holman"

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

November 9, 1967

Dear Conference Participant:

By this time you should have received further information about the Commission's forthcoming Conference, Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities. I hope that you have returned to us your choice of Workshop assignments.

The purpose of this National Conference is the search for solutions to what is perhaps the most important domestic problem in America of the 1960s--the underachievement of minority group children and the racial isolation of both majority and minority children in our urban public schools. This Conference is being held pursuant to the Commission's report, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, which was requested by President Johnson. In his letter to the Commission of November 1965, the President said:

> "It has become apparent that such isolation presents serious barriers to quality education. The problems are more subtle and complex than those presented by segregation imposed by law. The remedies may be difficult. But as a first and vital step, the Nation needs to know the facts."

The purpose of this Conference is to promote the active search for remedies to racially isolated education. Inevitably, there may be disagreement among participants--especially those who differ on the solutions required for remedying school problems in their own cities. But such intra-city disputes are not the focus of this Conference, and we think we have already detected considerable agreement on the proposition that the crisis in our schools has so far shown no signs of yielding to panaceas or to pronouncements, however passionate. The central theme of Conference sessions will be techniques and strategies for change which will hasten the achievement of educational equality by minority group children in America's cities. It is our hope that this Conference will offer practical solutions to the problems we face and that its participants will return to their communities ready to put some of these practices into effect.

The Conference begins formally at noon on Thursday, the 16th of November at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C. Registration begins at 10:00 a.m. If you have any questions, do not hesitate to phone the Conference headquarters anytime: (202) 382-1118. The Commission Staff looks forward to meeting you next Thursday.

Sincerely yours,

M. Carl Holman

M. Carl Holman
Conference Director

File
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
(Mr. Hector Rotolo of Cal.)

January 18, 1968

Mr. Samuel J. Simmons
Director
Field Services Division
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
801 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sam:

At the request of Jacques Wilmore this is to give the Commission permission to quote from the SRC publication, "A Guide to Programs for Better Homes and Neighborhoods."

We are more than happy to do this.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Jacques E. Wilmore

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

MID-SOUTH FIELD OFFICE
167 North Main Street, Room 30
Memphis, Tennessee 38103
Telephone: (901) 534-3139

January 16, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

The report of the Georgia State Advisory Committee on its Open Meeting on Housing in Atlanta is in the final stages of preparation in Washington. As part of this report, as an appendix, we would like to quote directly from the following Southern Regional Council publication:

A Guide to PROGRAMS FOR BETTER HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

by Susan Bresler
Urban Planning Project
Southern Regional Council
1967
pages 4-6 and pages 14-15.

Full credit will be given to the Southern Regional Council.

I have already received oral permission from Ed Stanfield, but I would appreciate it if you would send a letter to Mr. Samuel J. Simmons, Director Field Services Division, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, 801 19th Street, NW, Washington, D. C., granting permission to quote directly the above portions of your report.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

Jacques E. Wilmore
Director, SFO

cc: Edwin Stanfield, SRC
Richard Avena, FSD-CCR

See Civil Rights Commission

VIA AIR MAIL June 17, 1968

Mr. Carl Holman
U. S. Commission on Civil Rights
800 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

While I will be in Washington on June 19th it is necessary that I return to Atlanta that evening. So, I will not be able to make your meeting on the 20th.

However, I am very interested in the Mississippi Black Angus Project, and hope you will keep me informed.

Perhaps I will see you on Wednesday.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425

June 13, 1968

MEMORANDUM

FROM: M. Carl Holman
Deputy Staff Director

SUBJECT: Mississippi Black Angus Project

This is in regard to Tom Karter's Mississippi Black Angus Project.

I am to discuss with Marian Wright and Messrs. Dunbar, Taylor, and Gibson, and others, the possibility of a meeting tentatively scheduled for the morning of June 20 at the Potomac Institute on the firming up of plans for a Black Angus Project in Mississippi. Mr. Tom Karter is reputed to be one of the Country's leading breeders of Black Angus cattle, and influential both with FHA (USDA) and with other cattle farmers. He has made several trips to Mississippi in an effort to set up experimental projects which will permit black farmers to achieve economic security by turning from traditional crops to the breeding of Black Angus cattle. He and others are willing to provide technical assistance and "starter" stock at nominal prices so that groups of farmers in Holmes, Issaquena and Sharkey counties can launch pilot projects. Among those who have been working with him on this are Robert Clark of the Mississippi Legislature and Ed Brown of CCAP.

In addition to the Federal funds which may be made available, Mr. Karter estimates that for the first year it will be necessary to secure some $460,000 in private funds. Of this amount $200,000 would be used for a revolving loan fund to provide for land, cattle and pasture improvement in cases where FHA loans may not be available; funds would also be required for administrative costs--staff, travel, etc.; an additional $90,000 in scholarship money would provide 90 black farmers at $1,000 each, the security they would need while being trained to raise and market the cattle.

Mr. Karter would like to bring Mr. Clark and Mr. Brown to the June 20 meeting and would be interested in having invited to that meeting others whose support might be forthcoming.

cc: William Taylor
Marian Wright
Jim Gibson
Leslie Dunbar
Paul Anthony
Harold Fleming

THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

What It *Is*

How It *Operates*

What It *Must* Do

What It *Can* Do

What *You* Can Do

"We must do something about the Constitutional rights of the individual. To my mind, every American whatever his religion, his color, his race or anything else, should have exactly the same concern for these matters as does any individual who may have felt embarrassment or resentment because those rights have not been properly observed."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower,
May 12, 1958.

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ROBERT G. STOREY, Vice Chairman, Dean of Southern Methodist University Law School, Dallas, Texas.

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REV. THEODORE M. HESBURGH, C. S. C., President of the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana.

J. ERNEST WILKINS, Assistant Secretary of Labor for International Affairs, Chicago, Illinois.

STAFF DIRECTOR

GORDON M. TIFFANY, former Attorney General of New Hampshire, Concord, New Hampshire.

CREATION OF THE COMMISSION

Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which was signed into law by President Eisenhower on September 9, 1957, established the bipartisan Commission on Civil Rights.

In November and December, 1957, the President sent to the Senate the nominations of six citizens to serve as Members of the Commission. Their approval was voted by the Senate on March 4, 1958. Three are Democrats; two are Republicans; one is an Independent.

The nomination of the Staff Director, made in February, 1958, was approved by the Senate on May 14, 1958.

HOW THE COMMISSION OPERATES

The Commission operates as an independent, fact-gathering government study group to advise the President and the Congress on conditions which deprive U. S. citizens of equal justice because of their color, race, religion or national origin.

The Commission names in each state an Advisory Committee, which serves without compensation to help in this job.

The Commission may receive help in its fact-gathering duties from other Government agencies.

Congress also gave the Commission the power to hold hearings in carrying out its functions and carefully indicated the rights of any individuals appearing before a Commission hearing.

WHAT THE COMMISSION MUST DO

The Commission is directed by the Act to investigate denials of voting rights based upon color, race, religion or national origin.*

The Commission studies and collects information on other legal developments "constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution" because of color, race, religion or national origin.

The Commission is also directed to see how federal laws and policies are carried out in this regard.

While the Commission has no power to enforce a law or act as a police agency, it must report its findings to the President and Congress and make recommendations for governmental action.

WHAT THE COMMISSION CAN DO

The Commission can choose particular areas of study. In addition to voting, the fields of housing and education have already been selected. Other fields where equal

---

* In regard to voting complaints, the Act states that the Commission shall "investigate allegations in writing under oath or affirmation that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin; which writing, under oath or affirmation, shall set forth the facts upon which such belief or beliefs are based."

justice is being denied because of race, color, religion or national origin may be selected in the future.

Similarly, the State Advisory Committees may select areas of study which are of particular concern to their States.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

You can write to the Commission stating the facts which you believe show that certain citizens are being denied their right to vote or their right to equal protection under the law because of race, color, religion or national origin. This will help the Commission collect information about such legal developments.

If you file a voting complaint, please do it in the way required by the Act, as stated in the footnote on page 5.

HOW IT AFFECTS EVERY AMERICAN

For the first time in history, Congress has set up a Commission to study the application of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted almost 100 years ago.

The solid collection of facts which the Commission gathers, studies, appraises and reports to the President and the Congress paves the way for future laws and governmental action in the broad field of civil rights.

Members of the Commission and enlightened citizens throughout the country regard its work as a major step toward bringing true equality to every American.

FURTHER INFORMATION

In addition to contacting the appropriate State Advisory Committee, those wishing further information about the Commission may write:

Commission on Civil Rights
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington 25, D. C.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1958 O—471807

file

MJ - please make such notes of name & address as you wish - or file all

UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

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HOUSING - ROUND TABLE NUMBER 1

SOME SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

This Commission held three hearings on discrimination in housing, in New York, Atlanta, and Chicago. The testimony indicated that there is a great need for housing in general, particularly for low and middle income people; that discrimination in housing,particularly against non-whites, is a nation-wide problem; that the housing supply for non-whites is inferior proportionately in quality and quantity to that of the white population; that discrimination in housing leads to de facto segregation in schools, the breakdown of family life, and higher rates of crime, juvenile delinquency, disease and fire; and that lack of understanding, mutual ill-will and sometimes violence are fostered under these conditions.

The Commission heard many recommendations which were designed to achieve equal opportunity in housing for all Americans. It would like to hear your comments on some of these proposals and any suggestions you may have for further action by city, State, and Federal Governments and by business and private citizens.

1. Is discrimination in housing a major problem in your community?

2. What steps have been taken by your city, and State governments to assure equal opportunity in housing?

3. Is there any official city or State agency working to assure equal opportunity in housing? If so, what has been its experience? Should all States and cities have some such agency working on this problem?

4. Should cities and States be encouraged to enact legislation banning discrimination in publicly assisted housing? In private housing?

5. What other specific steps can State and local governments take to make equal opportunity in housing a reality?

6. What would be the effect of a Federal policy banning discrimination and segregation in all Federally assisted housing programs, including the Public Housing Administration, Federal Housing Administration and Urban Renewal Administration?

7. In your area is Urban Renewal being used to establish new or accentuate old patterns of racially separate residential areas?

8. In your area is public housing considered or is it becoming predominantly housing for non-whites? If so, would the selection of sites outside predominantly non-white neighborhoods counteract this trend?

9. Should the Federal Housing Administration require that lending institutions participating in its program of mortgage insurance offer their resources to all qualified borrowers? Should FHA aid builders who refuse to sell to members of minority groups?

10. To what extent is the lower income of non-whites the obstacle to equal opportunity in housing?

11. Would a racial quota be an appropriate measure to consider in some circumstances?

(a) Would a voluntary neighborhood quota be useful in opening housing opportunities to non-whites in the whole metropolitan area?

(b) Would a voluntary quota be useful in stabilizing neighborhoods that are adjacent to non-white neighborhoods and fear an inundation by non-white home purchasers and renters?

(c) In public housing projects should a quota on non-white occupancy be used to prevent a project from becoming all non-white?

12. To what extent are patterns of residential segregation the result of voluntary choice?

(a) Do new migrants tend to locate in established groups of the same race or national origin?

(b) Do persons generally like living in homogeneous communities?

(c) Is heavy concentration of a particular ethnic group in a fixed area good or bad?

(d) If all racial restrictions were removed, how much segregation would continue on a voluntary basis?

13. What part does panic play in the transition of a white neighborhood to a Negro neighborhood?

14. In your cities and States, is there desirable land left for housing sites and developments convenient to town for non-whites who could afford new homes?

15. Do you think non-whites have the power to develop financing of homes without governmental help?

16. What devices, if any, are used in your area to prevent the sale of real estate to minorities?

17. If Negroes get a corridor to the suburbs, as in Atlanta, Georgia, would it help relieve pressure of Negro expansion into white areas? How could such access to outlying areas be promoted?

18. Are schools available to slum dwellers inferior to other schools?

19. What commodities other than housing are not available on equal terms to minority groups?

20. Is life in a slum area -- or an area restricted to members of a minority group -- an affront to human dignity?

21. To what extent is discrimination in housing a problem for national and religious minority groups, as well as for non-whites?

22. Can we now say that there is "a right to housing," i.e., equal opportunity to decent housing in good neighborhoods?

VOTING - ROUND TABLE NUMBER 2

SOME SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

1. In many areas Negroes are denied the right to vote because of what appears to be unreasonable tests and requirements for registration under local laws. Would you favor Federal legislation or a Constitutional amendment, if necessary, to establish uniform maximum voter requirements in National elections?

2. Congressional apportionment is now made on the basis of census population which has no relationship to the number of eligible voters in many states where the franchise is denied to a large segment of the population. Even this is seldom carried out as required. Would you favor a strict and enforceable amendment requiring reapportionment every four years based on the votes cast in each state in the preceding Presidential election?

3. Taxation without representation is as abhorrent today as it was when this Nation was founded. Yet, many of our citizens are being denied the right to vote on account of their color. These people have no voice in our representative form of government. On that basis, should they not be exempt from all taxes? Should they not be exempt from the draft for the same reason?

4. Would you favor legislation or a Constitutional amendment, if necessary, to guarantee veterans the right to vote regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin inasmuch as aliens can acquire citizenship status by such military service?

5. Investigation of voting complaints by representatives of the Commission has disclosed a great amount of fear - for their lives, property and employment - on the part of Negroes, especially in certain states. This matter is not known to the people of the Country as a whole. Do you think that if a voting hearing is held in any of these states that the publicity thus received would help the cause of the Negro or would put them in greater jeopardy?

6. Is there any evidence that economic reprisals are being taken against Negroes who aggressively attempt to register to vote in your state? If so, what specifics can you give?

7. What effect has the Alabama Hearing on Voting had in encouraging unregistered but qualified individuals to attempt to register to vote?

8. Do you feel if the right to register and vote were protected for each eligible individual that this would help in solving the Housing and Education problems?

9. In order to secure the right to vote without discrimination is it necessary to have some kind of Federal tribunal or agency with power not only to investigate allegations of discrimination but power also in cases

where it finds such discrimination to step in and register qualified voters, pursuant to state laws, until state officers are prepared to register without discrimination?

10. There has been evidence of systematic exclusion from jury service in some areas based on color, race, religion, or national origin.

a. Is there any indication that such exists in your state?

b. Where this tendency exists, how may it be combatted?

c. What steps would you recommend to enforce unbiased selection of juries and yet remain within the bounds of proper juror challenge?

11. Assuming that the Commission should find that it is a fact that people are being denied the right to vote and have that vote counted under explicit provision of State law, what action should be taken to remedy this situation?

12. Assuming that this is brought about by the administration of State laws which do not appear discriminatory upon their face, how could such practices be eliminated and by whom should they be eliminated?

13. What qualifications do you think should be required of persons to entitle them to secure the right to vote?

14. Based upon observation, experience, and knowledge, are there fixed patterns of voting on the part of minority groups in your state?

15. Based upon observation, experience, and knowledge, what is the extent of such minority groups participation in elections as compared to the extent of participation of the non-minority group population of your own state?

16. Should the Department of Justice or some other agency of the Federal Government be given subpoena powers to examine registration and voting records? If so, which agency?

17. Should all documents relevant to the registration of electors be made matters of public record, open to inspection by any interested citizen of the United States?

EDUCATION - ROUND TABLE NUMBER 3

SOME SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

1. Only about one-fourth of the 2,976 bi-racial school districts in the Southern States (including the District of Columbia) have initiated desegregation since the decision of the Supreme Court in Brown v. Board of Education.

At the present rate of progress and under prevailing conditions and methods of enforcement, do you think there is a reasonable prospect that the mandate of the Court will be complied with in the foreseeable future?

2. The closing of Negro schools in the desegregation process has caused the dismissal of hundreds of Negro teachers. In many schools districts Negro teachers have not been assigned to desegregated schools.

(a) Assuming substantially equal ability, training, and other qualifications, are white parents nevertheless reluctant to have their children taught by Negro teachers? If so, what, in your opinion, is the reason for this attitude and how can it be changed?

(b) What is the responsibility of the community to the Negro teacher in this situation?

3. It has been repeatedly asserted, often by persons in position of high authority, that the Supreme Court's desegregation decision was without legal basis and an act of "naked judicial power" in contravention of the Constitution.

(a) In your opinion what, if anything, has been the effect of this charge on the general public attitude toward law observance in your State?

(b) Is there evidence of a change of attitude on the part of leadership in your State with respect to this problem?

(c) What is the responsibility of the executive or legislative branches of the Federal Government, if any, to counteract this belief?

4. Some communities that have desegregated their school systems have been put to extra current and capital expense in implementing their programs. Where violent opposition to the program has existed such expense has in some cases been great. Typical extraordinary expense has included additional teachers and guidance counsellors, special guards of school property, materials and equipment for special testing of pupils and scoring of such tests, renovation and additions to school buildings.

(a) Does the Federal Government have a moral obligation to provide financial assistance to school districts incurring extra expense in connection with the desegregation of their schools?

(b) If so, what type of expense should be covered and how should the assistance be provided?

5. The Commission has been handicapped in its study of equal protection of the laws in the field of public education by the lack of a central source of information on public school enrollment by race. Northern and western States have not recorded the race of pupils for many years and some of the States that maintained racially segregated schools in 1954 have discontinued keeping a record of race.

(a) Is the maintenance of a record of the race of public school pupils a possible source of discrimination against members of a minority group?

(b) If so, is there any other way that the information needed to study the problem of equal protection in this field can be obtained?

6. It is generally agreed that scholastic achievement of large numbers of Negro children is lower than large numbers of white children due to such factors as unequal educational opportunities, their comparatively low socio-economic status and a lack of motivation resulting from limited opportunities.

(a) To ease the problem of assimilating the educationally disadvantaged Negro into desegregated schools without adversely affecting the educational opportunities of white students, should the Federal Government assume any responsibility for a remedial program to overcome the educational deficiencies of the Negro?

(b) If so, what should that program be?

(c) Should the program precede or be a part of the desegregation program?

7. It has often been stated that one of the most serious effects of recent controversies over civil rights, especially concerning the matter of school desegregation, has been the breakdown of "communication between the races. It is also the opinion of many that it is essential for "lines of communication" between the races to be established or re-established before progress is possible in the solution of the problems involved.

(a) Is it true that there has been a loss of communication between the races in recent years as the result of civil rights controversies?

(b) If so, is this presently a worsening condition, or are the "lines of communication" being established or re-established?

(c) Specifically what, if anything, is being, or can be, done to improve the situation?

(d) How important is the participation of all elements of the community to the local solution of school desegregation problems?

(e) Have recent civil rights controversies, and the publicity given them, affected adversely relations with and among minority groups other than the Negro?

8. Once there has been recognition and acceptance of the fact that the school segregation decision of the U. S. Supreme Court represents the law of the land, and that the law must be obeyed, there remain serious fears and concerns of people of both races of what the effect of school desegregation will be on them and on their children. These fears and concerns greatly complicate the problems of desegregation and are factors that must be dealt with and considered by school officials in the development of desegregation plans.

(a) What are the basic fears of the white race? Are they valid? How can they be dealt with in planning or implementing school desegregation?

(b) What are the basic fears of the Negro race? Are they valid? How can they be dealt with in planning or implementing school desegregation?

9. It has been suggested that apparent inconsistencies in the decisions of lower Federal courts have confused and frustrated local school authorities who have attempted to develop desegregation plans. It has also been charged that local officials have had no place from which to get reliable information and advice in this regard.

(a) Do these feelings prevail?

(b) Has the willingness or ability of school districts to comply with the law been affected by a feeling that they don't know and can't find out what the law requires, short of litigation?

(c) Would it be desirable and helpful if there were a place where school officials could go for dependable information and advice, and where desegregation plans could be submitted for approval?

10. Is the Nashville Plan of desegregation, beginning at the first grade and going up a grade a year, with a voluntary transfer system that permits parents to transfer their children to schools where their own race is a majority, a good and practical way to comply with the requirements of the school decisions?

11. Would separate schools for girls and boys at some or all levels of public education make the transition to desegregation easier?

12. Since the provision for gradual transition by "all deliberate speed" has not been applied by the Court to higher education but instead the Court requires immediate admission without discrimination in State colleges and universities, would it be appropriate for the Federal Government to require such non-discriminatory policies in <u>higher education</u> as a condition for granting Federal aid to such universities or colleges?

13. What would be the best way of enlisting community support for desegregation?

14. Would the use of a vote by secret ballot on desegregation among the white high school students be of any aid to the local school board in planning initial moves of desegregation?

15. What, in your opinion, would be the best method of insuring that the administration of Pupil Placement Procedures in the various States will not be racially discriminatory without overburdening the Federal Courts with litigation involving the placement at each term of hundreds of thousands of individual pupils?

16. Do you believe that the ease with which desegregation can be used as a political issue complicates the solution? If so, is there any way, or is it desirable, to remove this complication?

GENERAL (Employment, Administration of Justice,
Public Accommodations, etc.) --

ROUND TABLE NUMBER 4

SOME SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

1. Should there be strong Federal anti-lynching and anti-bombing provisions covering schools, homes, and factories?

2. Should the Federal Government attempt to desegregate all public facilities such as public utilities and transportation?

3. In areas which have state or municipal civil rights laws, how are such laws administered and enforced? What have these laws accomplished?

4. What role has the Department of Public Welfare social worker played in your area in working toward better race relations?

5. Should strong subpoena and enforcement authority be given to the President's Committee on Government Contracts?

6. Have the admissions of Alaska and/or Hawaii to the Union changed or will they cause a change in the status of civil rights in the United States? If so, in what respect?

7. In what ways do persons of all races participate in your community activities and political activities?

8. What can be done to encourage community leaders to set good examples during times of racial conflict?

9. What can the clergy, bar, educators, news media personnel and others do to make race relations better?

10. Must a minority be large to be discriminated against?

11. Has the current racial situation in your area affected its economic growth and development?

12. Can you estimate the cost of segregation and/or integration on a community? If so, what standards would you use?

13. Is the term "civil rights" repugnant to the general populace of your section? Why?

14. Would you consider your area heterogenous -- i.e., a diversity of races, religions, ethnic groups and cultural backgrounds. If "Yes," do you believe such a condition tends to lessen racial differences because there is no single large minority but a variety of minorities, or is there a problem because of the diversity?

15. Has the dissemination of "hate" literature had any effect on your area?

16. Are national guard units in your state racially integrated? If the answer is Yes, are they racially integrated on both the enlisted and commission levels? If the answer is No, are there separate national guard units for the residents of your state?

17. Assuming some unions engage in employment discrimination, what should be done to prevent such practices? Would you favor denying these unions legal standing before the National Labor Relations Board?

18. Do any unions in your area engage in racial discrimination either in membership or employment? What effect has a Commission on Fair Employment Practices had in your state -- if you have one?

19. Is there discrimination in awards of jobs in your penal institutions? Are such institutions segregated?

20. To what extent is there employment discrimination in the following: (a) common labor; (b) other unskilled jobs; (c) skilled jobs; (d) administrative work; (e) executive positions.

21. Is there evidence in your state that "blue chip" firms have definitely side-stepped employing other than qualified white employees?

22. What priorities would you give studies of the following: voting; housing; education; local administration of justice; and public accommodations?

23. Have the public media industries in your area such as newspapers, television, radio and magazines made any substantial contribution toward better race relations?

24. Is there any effort made to either obtain outstanding Negroes, Indians, Nisei, or Mexican-Americans on city, county, or state boards, or prevent their selection to these policy or enforcement positions?

25. Does your state and/or city have non-white state policemen? If the answer is No, are there communities in your state which have non-white policemen and firemen?

26. Does your state employ non-whites as turnpike toll collectors, corporation commission officials, industrial commission hearing officers, alcoholic beverage control board investigating officers, or in an executive capacity with any state board?

27. Are there parole and probation officers of the various races within your state?

28. Are there any judges, attorneys, and district attorneys who are non-white? How many? Elected or appointed?

29. Do you have migratory workers? What is done to prevent exploitation?

30. What are the health, housing, transportation and education problems germane to migratory workers?

31. Have there been any transportation problems in your vicinity -- train, bus or plane? What about buses during rush hours?

32. Are motels, hotels, service station rest rooms open to all who care to use them? Swimming pools? Churches? Hospitals?

33. Do cemeteries in your area allow interment of only one race or religious group?

34. As a fact-finding body, we are charged with the responsibility to gather data with respect to denials of equal protection of the laws. In cases involving the local administration of justice, how can we develop factual data on such complaints without interfering with local legal machinery?

35. Charges have been made that certain law enforcement groups engage in discriminatory practices. Is this so in your community or state?

36. Would policemen of a minority group dealing with minority group offenders appreciably eliminate alleged racial brutality?

37. Would the inclusion of Indians, Mexican-Americans, or Negroes on juries be a better guarantee of a fair trial for the accused when he is a member of one of the minorities?

PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE ROLE OF STATE ADVISORY

COMMITTEES - ROUND TABLE NUMBER 5

SOME SUGGESTED QUESTIONS

1. What is the reaction, in your State or community, toward your Advisory Committee? What favorable and unfavorable comments have come to your attention?

2. Have your relations with public media sources, such as press and radio, been good? If not, why?

3. Have we omitted representation of any significant and large minority group in your State from your Advisory Committee?

4. Is the size of your Advisory Committee a workable one?

5. What procedure has your Committee followed when complaints, grievance letters and general information have been forwarded to it? Have you always advised the Commission of your conclusions and recommendations?

6. Has furnishing one set of Committee meeting minutes to this Commission been a burden to you?

7. How has your Committee managed to get minutes typed, and reports typed?

8. Have local school board officials and registrars been helpful to you in your voting and education studies? Have housing authorities, FHA and VA officials, realtors, and bankers been helpful to you in your housing studies?

9. If your Committee studied housing, did it contact the FHA's zone intergroup housing officer? Was he helpful?

10. Under the Civil Rights Act of 1957, there are no provisions enabling us to provide State Advisory Committees funds for petty cash, typing, hotel rooms for meetings, secretarial staff, staff for research and survey. Has this handicapped your Committee?

11. How much of your time has been consumed in your work for the Advisory Committee?

12. Have you met with interested State officials? With what results?

13. What is the most effective role of your Advisory Committee?

14. Have you held open symposia or panel discussions? Who suggested they be held? What is your opinion of the amount and type of publicity given them? Did they relate to a particular problem or locale?

15. Did your Committee contact, or was it contacted by, any of the human relations organizations? Were such organizations helpful?

16. Have you found our two Newsletters have been of help or interest to your Committee?

a. Would you like to furnish us items for insertion in future issues?

b. Is the Newsletter too long? Too brief?

c. How can it be improved?

17. Have you found your STATE ADVISORY COMMITTEES DIRECTORY helpful? How could it be improved? Have you contacted other Advisory Committees to check on similar conditions?

18. Frequent letters have been sent to Committee officers. Have they been too frequent?

19. At what Committee meetings has Washington representation been helpful?

20. Would there be value to regional meetings with Committees from several States?

21. Have the Race Relations Law Reporters been helpful to your Committee? Have you read any of the issues? How are they circulated?

22. Have you used the state handbooks? How? How might they be improved? Have you checked into the problems brought out in the handbook materials?

23. How can our Commission better assist you so you may more fully advise us?

24. Where has your Committee sought help and information in compiling its Report to this Commission?

25. Have you appointed subcommittees? If so, are such subcommittees composed of regular Committee members or have you enlisted other members? Have such subcommittees been effective?

26. If Congress extends the Commission's life would you accept reappointment to your Advisory Committee. What further studies do you believe your Committee should make?

27. In pursuing further studies, if any, to what extent would it be desirable to have the Commission furnish assistance:

a. Topical questionnaires?

b. Advisory Committee Newsletters for exchanging of thoughts?

c. Visitation by Washington representatives?

d. At what interval should "B & C" be furnished?

A MEMORANDUM ON RECOMMENDATION NO. 5
OF THE COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

Appointment of Temporary Federal Registrars

1. Opposition to the Commission's recommendation comes from several groups of people:

   - those who do not want the Southern Negroes to vote;

   - those who regard federal registration as a violation of constitutional principles;

   - those Southerners who, while sympathetic with the objective, regard federal registration as unwise and inflammatory tactics;

   - those who think federal registration is unnecessary in securing full voting rights.

2. There is no point in addressing arguments to the first group. Its adherents typically, however, profess (at least outside their home constituencies) one of the other objections.

3. This widely recognized practice should not cause the advocates of temporary federal registrars to assume that all opponents are insincere, or that the questions of principle, tactics, and policy need not be seriously met. The constitutional issue is raised seriously by what is, undoubtedly, only a small band of persons; but they are usually persons of stature and influence (e.g. ex-Commissioner Battle). A much larger number of Southerners are sincerely possessed of a mixture of ideas, vaguely defined, which they associate with "states rights." Another group of Southerners question the practical wisdom of the recommendation because of apprehensions as to public and official reaction, and a fear of further cramping the opportunities for Southern liberals to exert any influence; one representative example of this point of view would be the able chairman of the Georgia Advisory Committee to the Commission, Mr. Sylvan Meyer. Finally, some Southerners may share what is apparently the administration's attitude, that federal registration is unnecessary.

4. Granted the impossibility of penetrating the self-interest or prejudice of those who are fearful of Negro voting, advocates of the federal registration proposal should seek to meet the dissent on other grounds. In other words, nothing is achieved (at least as far as Southern opinion is concerned) by charging a Senator Russell with a desire to discriminate; everybody knows that is so. Something is to be gained by emphasizing and answering the objections which thousands of Southerners (including some Congressmen) do seriously hold. Quite likely, few if any votes of Southern Congressmen will be won for the proposal. But if it passes, the attitude toward it in the South will make all the difference in its enforcement. The following paragraphs attempt to identify the chief objections which would occur to thoughtful Southerners and other opponents, with suggestions as to how they can be met.

Constitutional Principles

5. It will be said that federal registration usurps a state function and responsibility. The rebuttal on legal grounds is clear, and the purpose and scope of Article I, Section 4 and other Constitutional provisions, such as Amendment 17, should be discussed.

6. Perhaps more effective as a reply will be insistence on two features of the recommendation:

   a. The temporary federal registrars will administer the state qualifications, as they have been enacted, and without discretion to alter;

   b. Persons certified by federal registrars will be free to vote only in elections of federal officers.

7. It will be said that federal registrars will be interfering outsiders. Given the prevalent Southern dislike of outside meddling in local affairs, this is likely to be the most deeply-felt objection; it should, therefore, be countered over and over again, by pointing out that:

8. The temporary federal registrars will be local residents, raised in the South and probably in the district affected, known to their neighbors and sympathetic with their backgrounds;

9. Moreover, their exercise of the powers of registrar will be only temporary.

10. It will be said that federal registration is a form of vindictive harassment of the South, dictated by "bloc voting" in Northern states. In large part, this reaction is beyond rational refutation (to point out that "bloc voting" exists in the South - by whites - as well as in the North is probably as ineffective as it is true).

11. The safeguards against abuse, written into the Recommendation, ought to be strongly emphasized; i. e., the requirement of nine sworn complaints; the limitation of the complaints to denials because of race, color, religion, and national origin; the requirement of CCR investigation; the temporary nature of the plan; the administration of it by local residents.

12. It will be said that any nine persons, for whatever frivolous cause, can subject a Southern county, etc. to federal investigation; or that eight frivolous complaints plus a single valid one can lead to federal registration.

13. The stature of the Commissioners, the requirement that they (and the Staff Director) be confirmed by the Senate, and the membership of prominent Southerners on the Commission can be emphasized. The attached selection of editorials from Southern Newspapers may help in defending the Commission's responsibility.

14. Also, it can be pointed out that the affiants must (a) have made an actual attempt to register and been refused; (b) submit sworn complaints.

Tactical Disapproval

15. For those who are worried that federal registrars may further disturb and inflame the political climate of the South, it should be made clear that the alternative to federal registration is not no federal action, but another variety of federal action. The demand throughout the country for free access of all citizens to the ballot will not abate. If necessary, it will lead to invigorated prosecution, which, whether successful or not, will keep the voting issue constantly alive. Federal registrars are an alternative to litigation; administrative action is an alternative to criminal charges; CCR investigations of sworn complaints are an alternative to FBI investigations of suspicious situations. Under this Recommendation, noone gets tried, no one gets punished, no court serves as a sounding board for reckless oratory, no community will writhe in the spotlight of prolonged news attention. Federal registration offers a quiet means for solving a problem ~~[illegible]~~ decisively, rather than interminable scrapping over it. Moreover, federal registration would apply only to particular localities. It would not be imposed on a state-wide basis, and no localities which administer their state's own registration laws equitably would be affected.

Policy Reservations

16. For those who, while sympathetic with the objective of Recommendation 5, question its necessity, the following facts can be adduced:

17. Negro registration in some Southern localities has been frustrated by the resignation of boards of registrars, by the delay in appointing successors, and by the infrequent, irregular, and often unannounced opening of the registration books. In Macon County (Alabama) there was no board, and therefore no one to register voters, for about 42 months between 1946-57, and at other times in that period the existence of a board was not generally known. The CCR specifically found similar practices in Bullock County (Alabama).

18. Temporary federal registrars, holding regular appointments as Postmaster, U. S. Attorney, or Clerk of District Court, would be in continuous service. Typically, registrars are unpaid, or nearly so, part-time officials; to resign such an office is not hard. The empowering of a federal officer or

employee to act as a temporary registrar would ensure that registration could not be denied by default. Nor is it the case that an inactive or non-existent board is, in fact, an equal hardship to whites and Negroes; as the Commission's Report notes (page 140), "In all such cases, the majority of the electorate already registered were white persons." This is something of an understatement: in the Alabama counties mentioned, only five Negroes are registered in Bullock; and in Macon, 1,218 Negroes and 3,102 whites were registered in 1958, when the population was 27,000 Negroes to 3,177 whites.

19. That many Southern counties prohibit or rigidly limit Negro registration, by intimidation or chicanery, has been abundantly proven. For example, the Southern Regional Council has, in published reports, described without being contradicted the discriminatory practices employed in dozens of counties.

20. At present, there is no effective way of coping with registrar discrimination, and a greatly expanded enforcement staff in the Department of Justice would be required even to proceed under the present weak criminal statutes. As an example of the ineffectiveness of civil action against registrars, the case of Randolph County (Georgia) could be cited. On July 15, 1954, 525 registered Negroes were challenged; about 225 accepted the invitation to take a re-test under the Georgia registration law, 175 of these failed. Before July, 700 or 800 Negroes were registered; ~~then~~ the purge cut the Negro registration to 225-325. On November 23, 1955 a federal district court ordered the names of 134 restored to the lists after a civil suit brought by 22 plaintiffs. But these 134 plus the others purged were prevented from voting in the September, 1954 primary and November 1954 general election. Damages were awarded to each of the 22 plaintiffs of $20 against each of two registrars; no damages were levied against the third registrar because he was "comparatively inactive." (Thornton v. Martin, Race Relations Law Reporter, 213.)

21. At least, however, the court in the above case permitted a class action. Under most circumstances, class actions are not allowed, and each Negro refused or deprived of registration must separately sue (see, e. g., Reddix v. Lucky, 152 F. 2d 930).

Shortcomings of Recommendation 5

22. In at least three respects, the Recommendation could possibly prove defective:

- where Negroes cannot register they frequently would not be safe if known to have sworn out a complaint;

- the Recommendation makes no provision against an immediate (or almost immediate) purge of voters certified by federal registrars;

- the Recommendation helps to enforce the right to register, but not necessarily the right to cast a ballot and have it counted.

23. Although sworn complaints are probably desirable, the CCR could be directed or authorized to keep the names of affiants confidential.

24. The statute could provide that only the federal registrar could receive a challenge of a registrant certified by him; or, alternatively, that the certification could not be revoked or challenged except in case of a revision of the states registration law.

25. The right to cast a ballot and have it counted in a federal election is not protected by this Recommendation. Recognising this to be so, the appointment of temporary federal registrars can still be seen to be a valuable contribution to equal citizenship.

File - C.R. Commission

	JAPANESE AMERICAN	JEWISH	AMERICAN INDIAN	NEGRO	MEXICAN AMERICAN	OVERALL
POPULATION	0.6% 1950 CENSUS 5,500 1959 ESTIMATE	1500 1959 ESTIMATE	0.6% 1950 CENSUS 4600 1959 ESTIMATE	0.4% 1950 CENSUS 4000 1959 ESTIMATE	(2) 5800 1959 ESTIMATE	98.2% White 1950 CENSUS 852,000 1959 ESTIMATE
CHAIRMAN	JAMES W. QUINN	EDWIN SHRIVER	REV. ALBRICNT	MRS. THOMAS W. RICHMOND	DAN BAKER	———
CO-CHAIRMAN	HENRY Y. KASAI	RABBI MORDECAI PODET		ELMER R. SMITH	FELIX LOBATO	———
EMPLOYMENT	DISCRIMINATION BY SEX. SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION.	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	DISCRIMINATION VARIES BY REGION (3) (6)	(6) (9) MARKED STATEWIDE DISCRIMINATION + LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED		RACIAL DISCRIMINATION EXISTS. LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED
HOUSING: HOME PURCHASE	SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION. LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED.	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	DISCRIMINATION VARIES BY REGION.			TREMENDOUS DISCRIMINATION EXISTS. LEGISLATION STONGLY URGED, PARTICULARLY IN AREA OF HOME FINANCING
APARTMENT RENTAL	SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION. LEGISTRATION RECOMMENDED	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	NO KNOWN APPLICANTS. VARIES BY REGION	SAME AS ABOVE	SAME AS ABOVE	GENERALLY GOOD
PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS: RESTUARANTS	GOOD RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION (3)	SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION. NO PATTERN	SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION.	GENERALLY GOOD
THEATERS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	GOOD RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	GOOD RELATIONS	GENERALLY GOOD
HOTELS-MOTEL	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION	STATEWIDE DISCRIMINATION. NO PATTERN	SOME DISCRIMINATION NO PATTERN	ONLY FAIR
PERSONAL SERVICE: MEDICAL, DENTAL, BARBER, ETC.	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EQUAL GOOD RELATIONS	SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION (7)	SOME DISCRIMINATION NO PATTERN	GENERALLY GOOD
TRANSPORTATION	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EQUAL GOOD RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT
OTHER	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EQUAL GOOD RELATIONS	SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATIONS	GENERALLY GOOD	GENERALLY GOOD
EDUCATION: PUBLIC SCHOOLS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EQUAL GOOD RELATIONS (4)	GOOD — NO DISCRIMINATION	GOOD RELATIONS	EXCELLENT
HIGHER EDUCATION	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS (6)	EXCELLENT (6)	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT
EMPLOMENT OF TEACHERS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	NO APPLICANTS	SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION	BELIEVED EQUAL	COULD BE IMPROVED
LOCAL ADMINST. OF JUSTICE	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	COURTS: EQUAL (3) LAW ENFORCEMENT: SOME MARKED DISCRIMINATION	COURTS: EQUAL LAW ENFORCEMENT: SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION	COURTS: EQUAL LAW ENFORCEMENT: SOME INCONSISTENT DISCRIMINATION	COULD BE IMPROVED
VOTING	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EQUAL (5)	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS	EXCELLENT
SOCIAL ACCEPTANCE	EXCELLENT RELATIONS EXCEPT FOR FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS	EXCELLENT RELATIONS EXCEPT FOR FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS	ONLY FAIR (3)	NOT GOOD	ONLY FAIR	IMPROVING

FOOTNOTES TO CHART:

(1) A distinction must be drawn, as the persons involved insist on the differentiation. A "Mexican" is a Mexican National, generally in Utah as a transient farm worker. This group experiences the most marked discrimination. The "Mexican-American" is the American citizen, whose progenitors came from Mexico. Finally, the "Spanish-Americans" are those whose progenitors came from some country other than Mexico, where Spanish was spoken. These persons take more pride in their origin and language and generally speaking, encounter somewhat less discrimination.

(2) This number is merely an estimate by informed persons, and includes all three groups discussed in (1) supra. Exact figures are impossible to obtain because Mexicans are generally classified as Whites or Caucasians, and this difficulty is compounded by a large number of Mexican Nationals who work in Utah for a short few weeks or months as farm labor during early Spring or Fall harvest, and then leave the state.

(3) Generally speaking, the Indian who is educated, well dressed and of light complexion is treated very well, even exceptionally well, as a source of pride to his White neighbors. An Indian is more apt to be treated badly if he is uneducated, or if he is poorly dressed, or if he is very dark skinned. Treatment also varies by region. An Indian in Monticello, Utah, or Roosevelt, Utah, close to reservations, is apt to receive poorer treatment than an Indian in one of the larger communities. On the other hand, police mistreatment is more apt to occur in the larger communities.

(4) Since 1952, all Indian children of school age are fully integrated into State Public Schools.

(5) By act of the 1957 Legislature, all Indians, whether or not residing on reservations, were given the franchise.

(6) Many Negroes and Indians commented that although they might be accorded equal opportunity for education in our state universities and colleges, the paucity of opportunity for employment for them once the skills and degrees were attained deterred their seeking further education. This claim explains, in part at least, the small number of Indians and Negroes in our institutions of higher education despite equal opportunities and full integration.

(7) Never served in barber or beauty shops; some mortuarys refuse service.

(8) Taverns consistently refuse service, unless accompanied by White companion.

(9) Discrimination also exists between the sexes. A Mexican American woman is more apt to be employed on an equal basis with her sisters than is a Mexican-American man apt to be treated equally in seeking employment in competition with other men.

[SAMPLE OF INDIVIDUAL VOTING COMPLAINT WHERE THE COMPLAINT ALLEGES REFUSAL OF REGISTERING OFFICIALS TO REGISTER THE COMPLAINANT]

THE HONORABLE COMMISSIONERS
COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
726 JACKSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

VOTING COMPLAINT

of

JOHN DOE

against

THE REGISTRAR, THE BOARD OF REGISTRARS, THE BOARD OF ELECTION COMMISSIONERS, THE COMMISSIONER OF ELECTIONS, (Use the applicable title and, if possible, name the person or persons involved) IN THE PRECINCT OF, ELECTION DISTRICT OF, COUNTY OF CITY OF, (Use applicable terms), IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

I, JOHN DOE, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

Pursuant to the provisions of Section 104(a)(1) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, Public Law 85-315, 71 Stat. 634-635, I, the undersigned, hereby invoke the jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights established in accordance with the aforementioned Act of Congress, and petition for an investigation of the deprivation of my right to vote and have that vote counted solely by reason of my race or color. In support of this complaint, I hereby, under oath, set forth the following facts upon which my allegation and belief are based:

1. I am a native born American citizen of Negro ancestry. I was born in Smith, Georgia on January 1, 1923. I have not been deprived of my civil rights because of conviction for a felony or for any other reason.

(If desired and true, the complainant may state that he has never been arrested.)

2. I reside at 100 South Jones Street, in the 13th Precinct, 8th Ward, 2nd Congressional District, 18th Election District (Use whichever terms are applicable), in the City of Smith, County of Mayo, State of Georgia. I have resided at the present address since on or about _____ (Give date).

3. On or about _____ (Give date), during the period for the registration of voters in the area in which I reside I went to the (Place of registration),(Registrar's Office), (Board of Elections, or other) (Use whichever is applicable), located at 500 North South Street, to register and the following events occurred:

I entered the building and asked for and received a registration form which I completed in accordance with the instructions printed thereon. I then took my place in line and when I was reached I presented it to the clerk, (registrar), (or designated official) (Use applicable term) who examined it and said (Put what he said), (If he gave you a test, put the questions asked, also point out whether your answers were checked by him against those appearing in a manual.) If told to come back, state what happened on your return. Give in the <u>fullest details</u> all that occurred. Tell how much time was consumed. If you observed any white applicants registering, state whether they were asked any questions and if you overheard them, what the questions were. Also state how much time it took to register them. Give the Registrar's name if you know it. Be as complete as possible.

4. Give complete details on your education, for example:

I graduated from public elementary school in Smith, Georgia on January 1, 1938, and from public high school in the same town on January 1, 1942. I received a Bachelor's of Arts degree from _____ college or university, on January 1, 1946.

5. (Give present employment)

6. Mention whether you are a tax payer and if you are a veteran, in which wars you participated, and any wounds and decorations received.

I believe that I am fully qualified to register and vote and have that vote counted under the laws of the state of Georgia, but was denied that right solely because of my race or color. Therefore, I respectfully pray that the Honorable Commissioners of the Commission will initiate an investigation of and conduct a public hearing into the facts surrounding the deprivation of my right to vote as set forth in this complaint.

I have read the foregoing allegations and facts in support thereof and to the best of my knowledge and belief they are truthful and accurate.

(The complaint should be notarized before a notary public.)

Where the complaint alleges that the complainant although a registered voter was denied the right to vote by election officials at a specific election, follow the attached sample complaint in all particulars with the exception of the paragraph numbered 3. In lieu of the paragraph numbered 3 follow the following:

3. I have been a registered voter in the 13th Precinct, 8th Ward, 2nd Congressional District, 18th Election District (Use whichever terms are applicable) in the city of Smith, County of Mayo, State of Georgia since _____ (Give date). I have not changed my residence since registration. On election day _____ (Give date), I went to the polling place designated for the District in which I reside and asked for a ballot. I was refused a ballot. (Here give stated reason for refusal and a description of all that occurred. If known, give the names of the individuals involved. Be as complete as possible.)

Where the complaint alleges that the complainant although a registered voter has been called for re-registration, follow the attached sample complaint in all particulars with the exception of the paragraph numbered 3. In lieu thereof follow the following:

3. I have been a registered voter in the 13th Precinct, 8th Ward, 2nd Congressional District, 18th Election District (Use whichever terms are applicable) in the city of Smith, County of Mayo, State of Georgia since _____(Give date). I have not changed my residence since my registration. On or about _____(Give date) I received a notice or read a notice in the newspaper (whichever applicable) to appear for re-registration. I went to the registrar's office and was told (Here put exactly what you were told). I then completed the registration form in accordance with the instructions printed thereon and returned it to the registrar. (Describe in detail exactly what occurred, for example: Did he give you a test? What questions were asked? Whether you were told to return, whether you did so return, and what happened on your return? Be as complete as possible.)

File
U.S. Govt. Dept. of Agriculture

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

J W
MS file

April 30, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

In February of this year, Woodrow Bankhead of my staff asked you, by phone, for changes that you felt might be desirable in the ASCS election procedures. It is regrettable that you did not respond to that request because this is an important part of correcting the problems of the past.

Currently, suggestions received from others are being evaluated and you will be informed of the changes adopted. I hope that changes in this year's election procedures will meet the needs of all voters.

We will continue to review and revise these procedures as required, in the hope that eventually they will provide the democratic results we all seek.

Sincerely yours,

"Bill"

William M. Seabron
Assistant to the Secretary

February 7, 1969

Mr. William M. Seabron
Assistant to the Secretary
Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bill:

Regrettably, I will be unable to attend the National Agricultural Outlook Conference. However, James N. Wood, of our staff, and who has a particular interest in this area, will be.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

February 3, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Each year the U.S. Department of Agriculture holds a National Agricultural Outlook Conference which is directed toward assessing the national economic situation and outlook for the coming year. It is attended, for the most part, by university personnel and agricultural economists.

This year in reviewing the preliminary program (copy enclosed), I noted the addition of subject matter dealing with Housing, Foods and Nutrition, and Low-Income Families which I thought would interest you (see page 9).

Please note the specific times and dates for these presentations, and review the balance of the conference content to assure you will want to attend.

I do hope you or someone on your staff will find these sessions, if not all of the conference, worth attending.

Sincerely yours,

Wm M Seabron

WILLIAM M. SEABRON
Assistant to the Secretary

Enclosure

file

ASCS
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE • WASHINGTON, D.C. 20250

May 21, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 20202

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of May 13 and for the publications that were enclosed.

I am enclosing the completed card and my check for payment for a one year's subscription to New South.

Sincerely,

Victor B. Phillips

Victor B. Phillips
Assistant to the Administrator
Civil Rights Coordinator

Enclosure

3.00
5-23-69
KM

See also: ~~U.S. Dept. of Agric~~ Internatl Self-Help Housing
Pa's speeches

(Note: Hand delivered to Athens by Warren Pritchard 50 copies. 7/24/69

U.S. Dept. of Agric. file

Statement by Paul Anthony, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia at "Listening" Conference by Secretary Hardin, Athens, Georgia, July 24, 1969.

May I first express my sincere appreciation at the opportunity to provide the following written statement for this Committee.

In presenting this statement I do so first on behalf of the Southern Regional Council. The Council has long had a particular interest in the development of the rural South as part of our broader effort in development of the Southeastern United States. On the basis of our experience we are more convinced than ever that not only does the rural, farm and non-farm, South need a great deal of assistance, it represents, too, a tremendous opportunity. There remain millions of persons living in the rural South as well as elsewhere in rural America, and while we rightly give much attention to our urban problems we ignore, at our peril, adequate development of rural America. This is, therefore, on behalf of the Southern Regional Council, to urge this Committee and the Department of Agriculture to place a high priority on rural development and, more particularly, human development. Such resources and information as the Council has available is at the disposal of USDA at any time.

Secondly, I should like to submit this statement to this Committee in my capacity as a member of the Committee of Sponsors

for the first National Rural Housing Conference which was convened only last month (June 9-12) at Airlie House, Warrenton, Virginia. Over one hundred selected participants from 27 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and Venezuela attended. Resolutions relevant to the U. S. Department of Agriculture adopted by that Conference are attached and we respectfully commend them to the attention of the Secretary.

We are pleased that Secretary Hardin has placed rural development on the agenda for his "Listening" Conference here in the Southeast. While we know that housing is only one of several elements in the total complex identified as "rural development" we believe that it is a tremendously important element, important to anyone committed to the proper development of rural America.

It should be noted that two-thirds of the occupied substandard housing in the nation is located in rural and small-town America; six million substandard houses, four million occupied by very low-income families; ninety per cent of which can be made standard only with public assistance of some degree.

The only potentially effective instrument of public assistance for rural low-income housing is the Farmers Home Administration of the United States Department of Agriculture. And that agency in that department is lost in the preoccupation the Department has

with commercial agriculture and its problems. It is an agency impoverished of funds, of personnel and of influence within the Department itself, and, hence, in the entire Executive Branch.

The National Rural Housing Conference concluded that the only solution was the establishment of a Department of Rural Affairs, believing that USDA could not extricate itself from its commercial-agriculture constituency and tradition. The creation of such a new cabinet office might take time, and time is a very precious element in the campaign which must be waged against rural degradation. In the meantime, without some drastic restructuring in the Executive Branch, it seems obvious that non-farm rural America, representing more than eighty per cent of all rural Americans, will continue to face its gargantuan problems without an advocate.

7/23/69

Attachment

ATTACHMENT

An Alternative to Public Housing

WE RECOMMEND CONSIDERATION BY CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT OF A NEW APPROACH TO THE RURAL AND SMALL TOWN HOUSING NEEDS OF LOW-INCOME FAMILIES -- THE PROVISION OF NON-PROFIT HOUSING DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS TO CONSTRUCT AND ADMINISTER RENTAL AND RENTAL/OWNERSHIP HOUSING, OPERATING AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO LOCAL HOUSING AUTHORITIES. WE RECOMMEND THAT ALL FEDERAL LOW-INCOME HOUSING LEGISLATION BE AMENDED TO PERMIT SUCH NON-PROFIT CORPORATIONS OR COOPERATIVES TO BORROW FUNDS AND RECEIVE SUBSIDIES UNDER THE SAME TERMS AS THEY ARE AVAILABLE TO PUBLIC AGENCIES SUCH AS HOUSING AUTHORITIES. IN ENACTING SUCH LEGISLATION, THE CONGRESS SHOULD DECLARE THAT ITS INTENTION IS TO CREATE ORGANIZATIONS OWNED BY THOSE THEY SERVE, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO ARE RENTING OR ACQUIRING OWNERSHIP THROUGH SUCH DEVICES AS THE TURNKEY III PROGRAMS.

The failure of the Housing Assistance (public housing) programs in rural and small town areas is a matter of record. The reasons are varied, but not the least of them include restrictive state legislation (e.g. referendums on bond issues to finance housing authority construction) and the failure of local governments to take advantage of the program for the benefit of their residents. The failure of local governments may sometimes have been the result of unrealistic policy barriers such as "workable programs," but it has also frequently been the result of a lack of concern, of the opposition of slum landlords and shortsighted real estate interests, and, not infrequently, has been the result of race prejudice, however subtle.

State and local governments should not be permitted to stand between residents of their areas and Federal benefits, as has been true in both the food and housing programs. If state and local governments do not utilize the resources available, channels must be built around them for quasi-public, i.e., non-profit private groups, to do the job. This is only rational public policy and simple justice. Whether such agencies should be local in nature, cover wider areas, be statewide -- even regionwide -- should be left to the administrative agency, which can determine which type of agency is required to meet the need.

The manner in which the Rural Electric Cooperatives electrified rural areas where private enterprise and governmental initiative had failed is one of the great examples of a partnership between the Federal government and local citizens. The plan

was greeted with jeers, and was viewed as a threat to private ownership of the electric industry. Neither the jeers nor the fears proved to have any real foundation.

We see no reason, legal, economic or administrative, why this example cannot be followed in permitting rural people to meet a need more important than electricity, housing.

* * * *

The Right to Build One's Own Home

WE URGE THAT PRESENT PROCEDURES AND PRACTICES OF THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION BE CHANGED IN ORDER TO ENABLE LOW-INCOME FAMILIES TO PARTICIPATE IN SELF-HELP HOUSING PROGRAMS IF THEY SO CHOOSE, REGARDLESS OF THEIR ABILITY TO PAY FOR CONTRACTOR-BUILT HOUSING.

Existing practices of FmHA deny interested families the opportunity to participate in self-help programs if it can be demonstrated that, through whatever series of subsidies and grant programs, those families can afford a conventionally built home by the contract method. This often means that the family must accept a smaller and even less attractor-built home than it might be able to build on its own through an organized self-help housing program. If a family is determined to be eligible for a loan from the Farmers Home Administration, we strongly believe that the choice as to whether it will hire a professional contractor or build its own home through the self-help technique should be left to the individual family. The right to build one's own home should be clearly specified by the Farmers Home Administration.

* * * *

Department of Rural Affairs

WE RECOMMEND THE CREATION OF A NEW FEDERAL DEPARTMENT, THE DEPARTMENT OF RURAL AFFAIRS, TO HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MEETING RURAL NEEDS, INCLUDING HOUSING, COMMUNITY FACILITIES, FOOD AND NUTRITION, HEALTH SERVICES, AND OTHERS. WE OPPOSE THE TRANSFER OF RURAL HOUSING CREDIT AND RELATED PROGRAMS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT.

The ranking officials of the Department of Agriculture are primarily concerned with agriculture as an industry, i.e., with commercial agriculture, production, marketing, and other closely related functions. The ranking officials of HUD are overwhelmingly preoccupied with megalopolis, with the great cities and their affluent suburbs. We believe that rural housing and community facilities, with which we are immediately concerned, should be in a department devoted to the people of rural America rather than to the dominant economic and political interests there, commercial agriculture and agri-business. When such a department is created, we urge that the housing and community facilities functions of Farmers Home Administration be the first transferred to the new department, and that functions dealing with agriculture as an industry be retained in the present Department of Agriculture.

We also urge the Congress to realign its committee structure to match the reorganization of the executive agencies and that there be established in both houses an appropriations subcommittee for the Department of Rural Affairs.

* * * *

Expanded Jurisdiction for Farmers Home Administration

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE AUTHORITY OF FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION TO MAKE LOANS BE EXTENDED UP TO TOWNS OF 25,000 POPULATION.

Implicit in this recommendation, however, is the need to accompany any such extension of FmHA's jurisdiction with a commensurate increase in the loan, grant, and administrative funds available to it, so that its ability to serve its traditional jurisdiction is not thereby jeopardized.

* * * *

Termination of FmHA County Committee Review of Housing Loans

WE RECOMMEND THAT APPROPRIATE LEGISLATIVE AND/OR ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES BE MADE IN ORDER TO ABOLISH THE USE OF COUNTY COMMITTEES BY FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION IN APPROVING HOUSING LOANS.

We recognize the historical origins of the local committee structure adopted by FmHA for the review and processing of farm loans, but can find no justification for the use of such committees to determine eligibility for rural home loans.

> The selection of three local farmers to assist in determining the eligibility of low income families for self-help or other housing loans does not appear to serve a useful function.

* * * *

Revision of FmHA Loan Processing Procedures

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE FmHA ESTABLISH A PROCEDURE TO BE IMPLEMENTED BY COUNTY SUPERVISORS TO PROVIDE FOR SPECIFIED PORTIONS OF HOUSING LOAN DOCKETS TO BE PREPARED BY OEO GRANTEE HOUSING STAFFS WORKING WITH SELF-HELP PARTICIPANTS.

WE ALSO RECOMMEND THAT FmHA'S APPLICATION FOR SERVICES FORM BE RE-WRITTEN FOR HOUSING LOAN APPLICANTS SINCE IN ITS PRESENT FORM, MANY OF THE ITEMS OF INFORMATION REQUESTED ARE NOT PERTINENT.

* * * *

Ending Limitation on Eligibility for FmHA Housing Loans

WE RECOMMEND THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE LANGUAGE IN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE REPORTS WHICH BARS FROM FmHA HOUSING LOANS PROSPECTIVE RURAL RESIDENTS WHO ARE NOT EMPLOYED IN RURAL AREAS.

The present wording of the committee Reports on FmHA's Rural Housing Program has placed yet another barrier to the poor, especially the migrants and seasonal farmworkers, who have been forced by economic necessity to move to the urban areas in search of better employment and wages. These committee reports have the full force of law, and in effect enable committees to legislate without approval of the full Congress. This restriction prohibits FmHA from serving those low and moderate income families presently living and working in urban areas who desire to live in a rural area (unless they already own rural land). After moving to town, voluntarily or involuntarily, many families

discover that even with improved wages (if they are so fortunate), adequate housing at reasonable costs is not available. There are no federal urban housing programs to assist them, and they are no longer eligible to participate in FmHA's rural housing programs.

All low and moderate income families throughout the United States who are presently ill housed should have the opportunity and choice to participate in the housing programs available from FmHA in small towns and rural areas. The present wording of the Committee Reports on FmHA should be amended so that any family meeting the other basic eligibility requirements for FmHA's rural housing loans, is eligible for such loans regardless of their residence and employment at the time of application, provided only that the house is to be constructed in a FmHA credit area.

* * * *

Expanded FmHA Grant Program

WE RECOMMEND THAT FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION BE PROVIDED WITH GRANT FUNDS AND AUTHORITY ADEQUATE TO QUALIFY ANY FAMILY FOR HOMEOWNERSHIP AS LONG AS THE TOTAL SUBSIDY INVOLVED DOES NOT EXCEED THAT WHICH WOULD BE PAID TO SUBSIDIZE PUBLIC HOUSING FOR THE SAME FAMILY

Under existing programs and presumably under new programs which we are recommending, home ownership is to be encouraged and facilitated by various lending agencies, particularly FmHA. But under existing programs and presumably under new programs there are and will be families which want homes and are credit worthy except that their repayment ability falls short of that required by existing programs. Funds should be available to permit Farmers Home to make a grant to the family large enough to enable it to carry the mortgage debt. Obviously, there will be a limit on the total grant to a family, but that limit should be arrived at in terms of existing programs and should be realistic, i.e., geared to the type of program and the number of families failing to attain eligibility under that or any alternate program. A rough guideline which might be tried would be one which limited the total amount of the grant and other subsidy to the same subsidy which the Federal government would be willing under existing programs to pay to provide that same family with rental housing under HAA.

We believe that home ownership is desirable and that it should be worth at least as much to have a nation of home owners as opposed to renters of public projects. We also consider it a violation of our best traditions that we are willing to subsidize agencies to provide "rental" facilities but we are not willing to make an equivalent effort to promote ownership. We need to move in the direction of a 20th Century homestead act for housing, demonstrating at least as much faith in the common man as the Congress expressed a hundred and eight years ago.

* * * *

Adequate Funding for Farmers Home Administration

WE RECOMMEND THAT FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION, AS THE PRIMARY EXISTING AGENCY PROVIDING CREDIT TO LOW-INCOME RURAL PEOPLE, BE PROVIDED WITH FUNDS FOR ADMINISTRATION, LOANS, AND GRANTS OF A MAGNITUDE COMMENSURATE WITH THE REAL REQUIREMENTS OF RURAL PEOPLE FOR HOUSING AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES; BUT AT THE SAME TIME, WE CALL ON THAT AGENCY TO WORK ACTIVELY AND SPECIFICALLY TO ACHIEVE RAPPORT -- LINGUISTICALLY, CULTURALLY AND SOCIALLY -- WITH ITS TARGET POPULATION OF LOW-INCOME PEOPLE.

The wholly inadequate funding of FmHA, despite the appalling need in rural areas and small towns, is intensified by actions such as those in recent weeks by the House of Representatives in slashing administrative funds by $20 million and cutting technical assistance funds for self-help housing from LBJ's $4 million budget and President Nixon's $3 million budget figure to $1.2 million, a ludicrous level amounting to little more than a refusal to appropriate funds at all. The administrative funds requested, even before they were slashed by the House, failed utterly to keep pace with the agency's responsibilities, since they would have provided only a 65% increase in available man-years to service loans the total of which have almost tripled from the same base period of FY 1965. This sort of induced administrative anemia not only increases both the frustrations and the overhead costs of those working to utilize FmHA credit for low-income housing, but prevents the agency from providing such ordinary functions as handling escrow payments for insurance and taxes on FmHA mortgages (leaving the poor with still another burden with which comfortable middle-class families do not have to contend), and precludes it from recruiting a staff that is trained specifically to deal with housing problems and programs and which is more attuned to the needs of low-income and minority families.

While recognizing these limitations placed on FmHA by a penurious Congress and succession of Presidents, we must, in good conscience, note that the experiences which many citizens of the black and other minority groups -- poor whites, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and non-reservation Indians -- have undergone at the hands of the authorities of FmHA, in attempts to secure loans for housing, have been distressing, discouraging, and, in many instances, futile. We must urge that every effort by national and local government and by the private sector be utilized to the fullest extent to guarantee that these discriminations immediately cease.

* * * *

Adequate Investor Funds for FmHA Insured Loan Programs

WE RECOMMEND DEVELOPMENT OF A WORKABLE DEVICE FOR ASSURING A REGULAR FLOW OF INVESTOR FUNDS INTO THE INSURED LOAN PROGRAM OF THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION AND THUS ENDING A SITUATION IN WHICH THE VAGARIES OF THE PRIVATE MONEY MARKET RESULT IN A "START-AND-STOP" OPERATION WHICH CONFOUNDS ORDERLY LOAN PROCESSING, CREATES INEFFICIENCIES, AND CONFUSES AND COMPLICATES CONSTRUCTION PLANNING BY LOAN APPLICANTS.

These effects could be minimized or eliminated by (1) removing the statutory ceiling on the amount of loans which may be made from the insurance fund for future sale, (2) providing for the purchase of FmHA insured papers by FNMA or GNMA when necessary, (3) purchase of such paper by Federal Reserve Banks upon request by FmHA, and/or (4) authorizing the sale by FmHA of "certificates of interest in the Fund" rather than individual insured notes. The present requirement that insured notes be sold to private investors essentially as they are received by FmHA, and at rates and terms prescribed by the Treasury Department, is costly to the Government, perplexing to the investing public, and almost intolerable to the administering agency, its borrowers, and their builders.

* * * *

Separate Farm Labor Housing Agency

WE RECOMMEND THE CREATION OF A SEPARATE AGENCY OR DIVISION, WITH ITS OWN STAFF AND GRANT, AND LOAN FUNDS, TO ADMINISTER A MIGRATORY AND SEASONAL FARM LABOR HOUSING PROGRAM. WE URGE THAT THIS AGENCY, CREATED BY SPECIAL LEGISLATION, BE PROVIDED FUNDS FROM AN APPROPRIATE

SOURCE, SUCH AS THE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE ON LABOR - HEW.

The bitter plight of migrant and seasonal workers is emblazoned across the face of America, told and retold, ad nauseam, but the results of all the cries of pity and outrage are minimal. The present farm labor housing program is a great disappointment. The initial impetus under this program should come from the farm worker, not from the commercial agricultural interests. This nation cannot leave millions of the "poorest of the poor" to the mercy of local groups whose concern frequently runs in other directions, or, however illogically, are opposed to the effort and expense necessary to provide decent housing for farm workers.

Moreover, there is an absolute conflict of interest in leaving legislation and appropriations for this virtually powerless group to the Congressional Committees who are primarily concerned with the welfare of commercial agriculture and agri-business. We believe that the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor is the appropriate committee to deal with housing for seasonal and migratory farm labor, and we urge that subcommittee to introduce and hold hearings on housing legislation embodying the above principles.

While there must be continued effort to decently house migrant farm workers in the stream, the major governmental emphasis under these programs must be on housing for the farm worker at his home base, or where they settle-out.

Finally, we recognize that a variety of factors (including, historically, the provision of shelter by employers), have tended to limit the freedom and independence of farm workers. We acknowledge the right of farm workers to bargain collectively with their employers and support current efforts to extend coverage under the National Labor Relations Act of 1935, without crippling amendments, to the fields.

* * * *

Grants and Loans for Farm Labor Housing

WE URGE THAT FEDERAL FUNDS FOR SUBSIDIZING HOUSING FOR HIRED FARM WORKERS BE GIVEN ONLY TO INDIVIDUAL FARM WORKERS, OR TO A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION CONTROLLED BY FARM WORKERS; AND WE RECOMMEND THE ADOPTION BY CONGRESS OF NATIONAL STANDARDS OF HEALTH, SAFETY, SANITATION, AND TENANTS' RIGHTS FOR FARM LABOR CAMPS.

In all cases where Federal funds subsidize farm labor housing by grant or loan (as under the Section 514 and 516 programs), we favor housing secured by the worker independently or provided by an organization controlled by workers. As a minimum, the funding source should require clearly stipulated, posted, court-enforceable tenant rights. These should include freedom of visitor access, written assurance of facilities provided and fees charged, the right to negotiate with management through elected tenant or community councils and a procedure whereby tenants can correct any health code violations at owner expense by deletions from rentals or other fees when the owner fails in reasonable time to complete corrections, and freedom from eviction based on union membership, participation in Federal programs, political activity, or participation in a tenant organization.

These tenant rights should be a part of national standards for farm labor camps, and together with the standards of health, safety, and sanitation, should be supported by strong, effective provisions for public enforcement (including depriving camp operators of various USDL and USDA services for non-compliance), and private remedies.

Finally, we recommend that the exclusion of loan and grants for trailers in the Section 514 and 516 programs be eliminated.

* * * *

Expansion of Communities Facilities Program

WE RECOMMEND THAT THE CURRENT COMMUNITY FACILITIES PROGRAM (WATER AND SEWAGE FACILITIES) OF THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION BE INCREASED WITH ADEQUATE FUNDS FOR ADMINISTRATION. WE ALSO URGE THAT THIS PROGRAM BE EXPANDED TO PROVIDE LOANS AND GRANTS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNITY CENTERS. A PROGRAM OF GRANTS AND LOANS SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED WITHIN FmHA FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS BY LOCALLY CONTROLLED COMMUNITY ASSOCIATIONS FOR SUCH PURPOSES AS CLINICS, LIBRARIES, FIRE STATIONS, ETC. AND WE URGE THAT FmHA CEASE THE FUNDING OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES SUCH AS GOLF COURSES AND MAKE THE TOP PRIORITY WATER, SEWER AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES AND HOUSING.

The relatively new Communities Facilities Program administered by FmHA is a remarkably successful program meeting an essential need of rural areas and small towns. Despite the shortage of

administrative funds for handling the program, the backlog of requests for funds runs ahead of those available for a full year. What possible system of national priorities in the last third of the 20th Century could allocate a program so vital to such a level?

Loans and grants this year provided facilities for about 1,000 rural communities and totalled approximately $185 million. The Farmers Home Administration is holding applications that would continue the program at the 1969 level for two years. In addition, nearly 3,000 requests amounting to over $600 million for loans and over 2,100 requests amounting to about $300 million for grants have had to be rejected because funds are not available. Approximately 35,000 rural communities lack modern water systems and 44,000 lack sewer systems.

Farmers Home Administration should aggressively promote its Community Facilities Program and serve those communities with the greatest need immediately.

* * * *

Deferred Payment Loans

WE RECOMMEND ENACTMENT OF A LOAN PROGRAM WHICH WOULD ALLOW, WHERE LOW FAMILY INCOME DEMANDED, THAT UP TO 50% OF THE LOAN BE MADE AN INTEREST-FREE, NON-AMORTIZED SECOND TRUST, PAYABLE ONLY AFTER RETIREMENT OF THE INTEREST-BEARING, AMORTIZED FIRST TRUST.

Present Federal housing loan programs, even with interest credits or subsidies, cannot make decent housing available for most of those whose incomes are below the poverty level. Deferment of repayment on a portion of the loans will make possible home ownership for a larger number of those in greatest need. Protection against "windfall profits" could be assured by providing that the second trust would become interest-bearing and payable upon transfer of the title to the property to one ineligible for the benefits.

* * * *

Determination of Repayment Ability

WE RECOMMEND THAT FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION CHANGE ITS PROCEDURES ON LOAN ELIGIBILITY TO MAKE ANY FAMILY ELIGIBLE FOR A HOUSING LOAN WHERE THE TOTAL COSTS OF LOAN REPAYMENT PLUS TAXES, INSURANCE, AND A REASONABLE MAINTENANCE ALLOWANCE DO NOT EXCEED THE FAMILY'S HOUSING PAYMENTS FOR THE PREVIOUS YEAR.

We recognize that Farmers Home procedures in figuring eligibility are designed to protect the agency's loan repayment record and that there is strong Congressional pressure along these lines, but we question the justice of a procedure, which in effect, holds that although a family may be living in slum housing and paying a high price for it the family should not be allowed to buy a good house and pay no more than it pays to the slum landlord.

Poor families very frequently pay a higher percentage of their budgets for housing than appears to be wise, but we hold that in the absence of alternatives it is wiser to pay the same amount for decent home ownership than to dole it out to a slumlord.

* * * *

Expansion of Self-Help Housing

WE RECOMMEND THAT ALL PROGRAMS SPONSORING SELF-HELP HOUSING BE GREATLY EXPANDED. THIS INCLUDES THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SELF-HELP PROGRAMS IN HUD FOR CITIES OF 5,500 POPULATION AND ABOVE AS LONG AS THOSE AREAS ARE EXCLUDED FROM SERVICE BY THE FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION. FEDERAL PROGRAMS SHOULD PROVIDE SPONSOR FUNDS, REVOLVING LAND DEVELOPMENT FUNDS AND VARYING PROGRAMS OF SUBSIDY THROUGH LOWERED INTEREST RATES, POSTPONED AMORTIZATION OF PRINCIPLE REPAYMENTS AND GRANTS, DEPENDING ON FAMILY INCOME. THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF SUCH LEGISLATION SHOULD BE THAT NO FAMILY IN NEED OF DECENT HOUSING BE DENIED THE RIGHT TO BUILD ITS OWN HOUSE UNDER COMPETENT SUPERVISION BY REASON OF POVERTY.

Presently, self-help housing in this country is almost entirely supported by the Office of Economic Opportunity which grants sponsor funds and a small program operated by the Farmers Home Administration. In 1968, the Congress authorized funds for FmHA to use in providing technical assistance and a revolving fund for land development. However, no funds were appropriated for

the technical assistance functions while land funds were reduced seriously. The authorizations should be increased as indicated elsewhere by the National Rural Housing Conference and the existing authorizations should be fully funded.

* * * *

Revolving Land Fund for Self-Help Housing

WE COMMEND THE CONGRESS FOR ESTABLISHING A REVOLVING LAND LOAN FUND FOR SELF-HELP HOUSING IN THE 1968 HOUSING ACT. WE CALL FOR THE FULL FUNDING OF THIS LAND FUND AT A LEVEL ADEQUATE TO MEET THE NEED. WE URGE THAT ITS INTEGRITY AS A SELF-HELP LOAN FUND BE MAINTAINED, BUT THAT THE TERMS AND PROCEDURES CONCERNING ITS USE BE MADE MORE FLEXIBLE, INCLUDING PROVISION FOR MAKING THE LOANS FOR AS LONG AS THREE YEARS TO FACILITATE COMMUNITY PLANNING AND ECONOMY.

The present regulations of the Farmers Home Administration regarding revolving funds for land development are highly restrictive and must be liberalized. Those funds should be available for the purchase and development of land in sufficiently large blocs to permit the creation of small, well planned neighborhoods.

7/23/69

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

August 14 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Secretary Hardin asked me to respond to your recent statement and to thank you for your suggestions concerning the problems facing agriculture and the Nation, and other related matters.

As you may know, Secretary Hardin has indicated that his major objectives will be to improve the economic position of the farmer and his business neighbors in rural areas, and to combat hunger and malnutrition in the United States.

There are, however, major questions as to the courses of action that can be taken. Groups directly involved often express widely differing views as to the best way to accomplish the objective. You can be assured, however, that the Secretary and his staff in deliberating the best course of action will consider your suggestions as well as the many others being received.

Sincerely,

Don Paarlberg

Don Paarlberg
Director, Agricultural Economics

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250

~~JW~~
~~MS~~
ore
JB

APR-2 1970

March 31, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear ~~Mr. Anthony~~ Paul:

Enclosed is a recent U.S. Department of Agriculture news release that I thought you should see. There are so many low income people in rural areas (5,500 population or less) who could benefit from this approach to obtaining better homes.

U.S. Department of Agriculture, of course, attempts to inform people of the availability of this program, but we can use all the help we can get.

Sincerely,

"Bill"

WILLIAM M. SEABRON
Assistant to the Secretary

Enclosure

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

McGhee DU 8-4323
McDavid DU 8-4026

Washington, March 30, 1970

New Program Will Pay for Technical Aid on "Self-Help" Rural Housing:

More technical assistance for low-income rural people who want to build better homes by the "self-help" method will result from a new program of the Farmers Home Administration, James V. Smith, Administrator, announced today.

FHA, a Department of Agriculture agency, will provide financial assistance to local public and private nonprofit organizations to help low-income families organize and carry out self-help home building projects. Under this plan, families organize into informal groups and help each other build homes with their own labor under the guidance of a construction supervisor. They obtain loans to pay only the cost of materials and any work the group cannot perform.

In outlining terms of the program, which was authorized by the Housing Act of 1969, Mr. Smith said the agency will make financing agreements with qualified organizations to supply technical and supervisory assistance to make it possible for self-help groups to do a workman-like job.

Under the agreements, the Farmers Home Administration will provide funds with which the organization can hire personnel and pay office and administrative costs necessary to carrying out a technical assistance program for self-help groups. Funds also may be used to make working equipment such as power tools available to families, and pay for training or technical consultation not readily available without cost to self-help participants.

Technical assistance agreements will cover a 2-year period and will not exceed $100,000 to any one organization. They will be available to qualified organizations serving where there is a clearly established need for self-help housing, and will cover costs that cannot be met from any other source.

Mr.Smith said technical assistance agreements will be made with public bodies or nonprofit organizations through the 1,700 local county offices of the Farmers Home Administration located throughout the rural United States. The agency administers federally-insured housing loan programs for both farm and non-farm rural people, including those living in rural towns of 5,500 population or less.

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file: Govt. U.S. Dept. of Commerce cr. ref. "CO" Gen. corresp

PAV
PWV
ESV
MLV
VJV
MJ-file

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

June 30, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The Civil Rights Bill, which is approaching final passage by the Congress of the United States, sets forth a major new responsibility for all of our citizens, and most especially on the leadership elements of hundreds of American communities. For example, the public accommodations title will require that most business establishments serving the general public make their services available without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin.

Under the provisions of the Bill, the Department of Commerce is responsible for establishing a Community Relations Service which will assist community leaders in resolving racial tensions and assuring harmonious observance of the law. As part of this effort, there will also be created a national citizens advisory committee which will be of all possible assistance to businessmen, public officials, and other civic leaders.

I am sure that you share, as I do, President Johnson's strong conviction that compliance with the spirit and letter of this anticipated law is essential to public order and economic health of our communities, as well as to our national self respect. It is vital that responsible leaders and citizens generally begin now to take constructive action that will prevent trouble and assure compliance with the law.

Good leadership has already been effectively demonstrated in many towns and cities, even in the absence of this legislation. In those places that have made substantial progress, the usual pattern is to establish a committee of responsible citizens to help. It maps a program to eliminate racial problems and tensions, opening -- and keeping open -- lines of communication between races. The committee explains its goals to local public officials; meets with representatives of the various professions, businesses, and trades to enlist their support for equal treatment; and cooperates with local news media. Above all, there is follow-through to see that concrete results are actually achieved, in a quiet and orderly manner.

As a result of such leadership, as of June 10, 1964, some privately owned facilities had been opened to everyone, regardless of race, in 397 cities of over 10,000 population where they had not been previously.

Yet, even in the most advanced cities, a part of the job remains to be done, and in some it is the major part of the job. If the leadership of your city has not already laid careful plans for achieving community-wide compliance, including the creation of one or more biracial committees, I urge you to lend your efforts to this end.

If the Service and the Advisory Committee can help you or your communities, please let me know.

As President Johnson said in his recent statement on passage of the Bill by the U.S. Senate, a copy of which is enclosed, this Bill "...is a challenge to all of us to go to work in our states and communities, and in our homes and in the depth of our hearts to eliminate the final strongholds of intolerance and hatred." I hope and trust you will be able to help in this great effort.

My best wishes to you personally.

Sincerely yours,

Luther H Hodges

Luther H. Hodges
Secretary of Commerce

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE JUNE 19, 1964

Office of the White House Press Secretary

- -

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Senate passage of the Civil Rights Bill is a major step toward equal opportunities for all Americans. I congratulate Senators of both parties who worked to make passage possible.

I look forward to the day, which will not be long forthcoming, when the bill becomes law. That will be a milestone in America's progress toward full justice for all her citizens.

No single act of Congress can, by itself, eliminate discrimination and prejudice, hatred and injustice.

But this bill goes further to invest the rights of man with the protection of law than any legislation in this century.

First, it will provide a carefully designed code to test and enforce the right of every American to go to school, to get a job, to vote, and to pursue his life unhampered by the barriers of racial discrimination.

Second, it will, in itself, help educate all Americans to their responsibility to give equal treatment to their fellow citizens.

Third, it will enlist one of the most powerful moral forces of American society on the side of civil rights -- the moral obligation to respect and obey the law of the land.

Fourth, and perhaps most important, this bill is a renewal and a reinforcement, a symbol and a strengthening of that abiding commitment to human dignity and the equality of man which has been the guiding purpose of the American nation for almost 200 years.

It is the product, not of any man or group of men, but of a broad national consensus that every person is entitled to justice, to equlaity, and to an even chance to enjoy the blessings of liberty. It is in the highest tradition of a civilization which, from the Magna Carta on, has used the fabric of law for the fulfillment of liberty.

Lastly, this bill is a challenge. It is a challenge to men of good will in every part of the country, to transform the commands of our law into the customs of our land. It is a challenge to all of us, to go to work in our states and communities, in our homes and in the depths of our hearts to eliminate the final strongholds of intolerance and hatred. It is a challenge to reach beyond the content of the bill to conquer the barriers of poor education, poverty, and squalid housing which are an inheritance of past injustice and an impediment to future advance.

Programs to improve the life of all underprivileged Americans will go far to liberate those who have suffered under the heavy weight of racial discrimination.

I do not underestimate the depth of the passions involved in the struggle for racial equality. But I also know that throughout this country, in every section of this land, there is a large reservoir of good will and compassion, of decency and fair play which seeks a vision of justice without violence in the streets. If these forces do not desert the field, if they can be brought to the battle, then the years of trial will be a prelude to the final triumph of a land "with liberty and justice for all."

# # #

THE DEPUTY TO THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

July 3, 1964

VJ - make sure he also gets Memphis + others + U.S. Govt: "Dept of Commerce" Make folder if there is not one.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

TW
MJ-file

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Secretary Hodges has asked me to thank you and Mayor Brookshire of Charlotte for the reports on the cities of Charlotte and Louisville.

The Community Relations Service which is being established in the Department of Commerce will make very good use of this material and we very much appreciate your thoughtfulness in making it available to us.

Sincerely,

Jim Lee

July 30, 1965

Mr. Betram Levine
Liaison Officer for
Private Organizations
U. S. Department of Commerce
Community Relations Service
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Levine:

I regret that Dr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., was unable to attend the June 28 Federal Task Force on Urban Problems Conference of National Organizations. He has been traveling extensively, and tied up with commitments of our agency -- swamped with work which must be completed before he leaves us to become head of the Field Foundation in New York. That is why it falls my lot to answer some of the mail we find stacked on his desk.

Obviously, a lot of thoughtful preparation went into the planning of the Conference, and preparation of the background memorandum and follow-up action. Everything included in the reports you mailed us are part of our concerns, and we want to do all we can to help secure equal opportunity and first-class citizenship for all Americans. Some of our programs are precisely what you suggest (e.g., tutorial programs for deprived youngsters, voter education project, intergroup activities, etc.).

We are engaged in the year-round projects that relate to the various matters discussed in your memorandum. We are continually assessing our effectiveness in efforts to correlate our activities in meaningful concert with those of other groups and individuals with our concerns.

Our field staff, which includes state directors of Councils on Human Relations, and student interns, is making a frontal attack on deprivation and racial, and economic barriers in each of the 12 southern states. Their work includes all of the duties you have outlined as the role of the city consultant of the Task Force on Urban Affairs. Continued mutual cooperation between our agency and the Community Relations Service will yield gains.

Our research staff each day answers numerous questions of individuals and groups expressing interest in matters discussed at your conference. We often are hard-pressed to supply all of the copies requested of our various publications and special reports. Current among these is "Encounter With the Future" by Pat Watters, our director of public information. We are anxious to get these articles where they will do the most good. On that score, you may help us.

We welcome any suggestions and/or help that may come from you or others similarly situated.

Congratulations for the success you obviously had with your conference, and best wishes for future advances in this work.

Sincerely,

Sam Adams
Director of Research

SA:nm

SA - please answer

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

July 14, 1965

Rec'd 7/19/65

RA - you may want to reply (Ben Aldrich or Lee Sams) Hoff

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

We are very sorry that you were unable to be with us at the June 28 Federal Task Force on Urban Problems Conference of National Organizations. I know that your counsel on a number of matters discussed would have been most helpful to the Task Force and to the representatives of the other groups participating.

You may be interested in seeing the enclosed background memorandum prepared for the conference, as well as materials relating to follow-up action sent out after the conference.

Your comments on the enclosed material and any thoughts as to how your own organization may relate to the various matters discussed will, of course, be most welcome.

Sincerely yours,

Bertram Levine

Bertram Levine
Liaison Officer for
Private Organizations

Enclosures

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

TASK FORCE ON URBAN PROBLEMS

Role of the City Consultant

In keeping with the objective of the Urban Task Force to help cities to maximize their efforts to attack the problems of social and economic deprivation and, in so doing to strike at the roots of inter-group tension, the Task Force representative serving in each selected city this summer has four broad concerns.

1. To help expedite the funding and implementation of Federal aid programs. Through his close contact with municipal officials and local anti-poverty program officials, and his constant communication with task force headquarters in Washington as well as with the regional offices of concerned federal agencies, he is in a position to identify road blocks in advance of, or at the time of, their appearance, and to call for whatever special effort may be necessary at whatever level to overcome the impediment. Depending on community needs and situations, he may also be in a position to consult with those concerned as to the need for, and nature of, possible new programs.

2. To help motivate and mobilize community resources for increased effectiveness in warring on poverty and in moving toward improved inter-group understanding. His knowledge of federal programs, combined with his growing understanding of community needs, his continual consultation with all population groups, his sensitivity to community relations problems, and his linkage through CRS channels to leading citizens and organizations, place him in a unique position to identify needs and community resources that might be addressed to these needs, to communicate information to those who might be disposed or persuaded to act constructively on such information, and to pave the way for teamwork between two or more community forces that otherwise might not tend to join efforts.

3. To support and complement the efforts of those dedicated to improving inter-group relations. As an objective "outsider" unencumbered with any local political, organizational or ideological partisanship, and representing a federal agency agency respected by a wide spectrum of the population, he is in a position to merit the confidence of "ins" and "outs", rich and poor, the establishment and the alienated. He may thus serve a useful role as communicator,

interpreter, sounding board or counsellor to both sides in situations where mistrust, hardened attitudes, or historic animosity might impede progress or threaten consequences desired by neither side.

4. To note and record the results of this pilot effort to stimulate national-local partnership and public and private cooperation in a sharply focused attack on problems of social and economic deprivation. The experience of the summer project will be studied as a basis for further CRS efforts and recommendations for new activity.

July 8, 1965

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

AGENDA FOR 1965 - Community action projects through which your organization can help to advance human rights and equal opportunity in your community

In response to countless requests from local and national organizations as to what they can do to help speed the day when all Americans will enjoy the rights, responsibilities and benefits of first-class citizenship, the Community Relations Service has compiled this list of useful programs. They have been derived from community needs and the experience of various organizations.

Some of these projects have a special applicability in the summer, when young people are out of school. Others are appropriate any time of the year.

Naturally, projects will have to be selected and adapted on the basis of the interests, talents and resources of the particular group.

The Community Relations Service would be interested in learning how your organization develops these or other projects, so that the lessons derived from your experience may be made available to others.

*1. Voter registration Service (consult with local arms of the League of Women Voters, CORE and NAACP).

*2. Tutorial programs for deprived youngsters. (Consult School officials.)

3. Pre-school and/or day care programs for underprivileged children.

4. Legal and lay representational services to the poor.

*5. Summer youth employment programs.

There are many possibilities.

(a) Stimulate and guide youth from underprivileged areas in establishing and running their own agency to find jobs and the youngsters to fill them.

(b) Private organizations, singly or in concert, can find jobs among their own memberships -- in home or business (lawn work, simple home chores, chauffering, messenger service, office procedures).

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* Special Summer applicability

(c) Business organizations can set up a clearing house to find and guide youngsters to summer jobs.

(d) Trade associations and business service clubs might conduct a youth employment drive among their members -- possibly also relating this to a skill training program.

6. Assure that the community action boards administering the anti-poverty programs are truly representative and include an adequate representation of the poor.

*7. Teenage community volunteers program. Provide guidance to teenage groups drawn from high schools in ghetto and non-ghetto areas, to find useful volunteer community service roles and a corps of youngsters to handle these assignments. Such opportunities might be found with local health institutions such as hospitals and nursing homes; the police force; private agencies; schools; libraries.

8. Local businessmen might set up committees to report job openings to the U. S. Employment Service.

*9. Provision of camping scholarships.

*10. Recreational and athletically oriented organizations might organize athletic teams, leagues and carnivals in one or more sports for deprived area youngsters.

*11. Creative arts training programs in drama, music, art -- culminating in performances, concerts, exhibits, etc.

*12. Sponsoring neighborhood clean-up and fix-up programs.

*13. Establishment of Little World's Fair in deprived neighborhoods -- to include exhibits by industrial concerns, and nightly programs of industrial films, talks by and conversations with business leaders and celebrities.

*14. Teen travelers program -- to combine industrial plant visits and discussions with recreational outings.

15. Formation by business leaders of Equal Opportunity Council to encourage fair employment, training and job development programs.

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* Special Summer applicability

16. With other organizations, including minority groups, conduct a community audit of civil rights and community relations. Among things to check: degree of compliance with Federal, state and local civil rights laws; equality of housing selection; equality of municipal employment; adequacy of municipal services in deprived neighborhoods -- sanitation, housing code enforcement, law enforcement; police-community relations; attitudes of deprived area residents as to social and political problems affecting them (anti-poverty program, urban renewal, public housing, schools, employment, etc.).

17. Schedule speakers on civil rights issues at conventions and meetings, including a special seminar on local community relations problems -- with representatives of the civil rights groups participating.

18. Require non-discrimination clauses in construction contracts of your church organization.

19. Insist that meetings of your organization are held in places which do not discriminate in service or employment policies.

20. Encourage non-discriminatory membership policies in local, regional and national organizations with which you are affiliated.

21. Encourage and help sponsor studies of the immediate and long range aspects of social planning, elimination of slums and ghettos, current and future employment needs.

*22. Encourage schools, colleges and universities to develop curricula in human relations. Provide scholarships to human relations institutes for local teachers, policemen, etc.

23. Encourage your school systems to take advantage of special training programs created under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act to help school personnel deal effectively with problems resulting from school desegregation.

24. Initiate and participate in all developments to create a climate of opinion in which human relations advances may be made.

25. Examine Federal, state and municipal programs to make sure that they are complying with Title VI of the Civil Rights Law.

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* Special Summer applicability

26. Participate in or support the development of fair housing organizations.

27. Develop an information service to residents of deprived areas informing them of how to participate in the anti-poverty program. (Consult with local director of anti-poverty program or Urban League.)

28. Encourage individual constitutents to participate in all community programs bearing on the problem of human relations.

29. Work for a strong community relations board, adequately staffed, and mandated not only to resolve conflict situations but to attack the basic problems that undermine good community relations.

30. Help form inter-group community council on human relations if one does not already exist.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

URBAN TASK FORCE FIELD STAFF

City	Name	Office Address	Office No.	Hotel Address	Hotel Phone No.
Cleveland	Jones, K. C.	Williamson Building 215 Euclid Ave. Room 230 Cleveland, Ohio	216-241-7900 Ex. 3454	Hollenden House 6th & Superior Ave.	216-861-4100
Newark	Gibson, Theodore	Veterans Building 20 Washington Place Newark, New Jersey	210-645-3843	Essex House Broad Street	Mi 2-4400 Ex. 511
Gary	Rawlings, Charles	Treasury Building 301 E 5th Street Room 203 Gary, Indiana	219-886-2218	Sheraton Motel	938-1127 Ex. 116
Oakland	Saunder, Duke	Oakland Post Office Room 217 Oakland, California	415-451-1188	223 Broadway	415-452-4565
Philadephia	Albert Nellum	6th Floor Conf. Room Community Relations Service 128 N Broad Phidadelphia, Pennsylvania	215-597-4299		
Boston	Langendorf, Richard	Pest Office and Courthouse Room 1902 Boston, Massachusetts	223-3219	135 Inman Street Cambridge	617-547-9515
Rochester	Gonvissor, Sam	Federal Building Romm 420 Rochester, New York	546-4900 Ex. 1499	Mohawk Motor Inn	454-2050
Detroit	Sissel, Ben	Federal Building 231 W. Lafayette Detroit, Michigan 48226	226-7113 (313)	Pavilion Apt. 1909 One Lafayette Plaisonce After July 1 Apt. 2008	None

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Community Relations Service

BACKGROUND MEMORANDUM FOR URBAN TASK FORCE CONFERENCE WITH EXECUTIVES OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Conference Room "B"
Inter-departmental Auditorium Building
Constitution Avenue between 12 and 14 Streets
Washington, D. C.

10:00 A.M. - 4:30 P.M.
Monday, June 28, 1965

The President's Council on Equal Opportunity, recognizing that securing the guarantees of civil rights is only a first step in securing equal opportunity and first-class citizenship for all Americans, established the Task Force on Urban Problems on March 3, 1965. The objective of the Task Force was to make sure that Federal aid programs designed to improve the quality of the lives of the urban poor would be planned and processed so as to have as immediate and discernible an impact as possible on the communities. LeRoy Collins, Director of the Community Relations Service, was named by the Vice President as the Chairman of this Task Force.

As indicated by President Johnson in his recent address at Howard University, the Federal Government intends to deal with the basic problems through "expanding efforts" in terms of long range programs. At the same time the Government, and particularly the Task Force, is also concerned that efforts for social advance this summer be constructive rather than destructive.

A number of cities, of varying size, have been selected for a special effort to study the usefulness of an intensive, highly focused partnership between the Federal Government and the individual community.

Related to this effort is the active concern of the Community Relations Service in helping communities to strengthen their own resources for dealing with the fundamental social problems which are the root causes of inter-racial tension.

Federal assistance programs alone will not eradicate the problems which create, or which are created by, the urban slum. The Task Force and the CRS see their role as providing assistance by which individual communities can better utilize their own resources to cope with the problem.

Private organizations, because of their community leadership influence and their own service capacity, are seen as essential community resources in this effort.

The purpose of this conference of national organization executives is:

(a) to develop ways by which private organizations may assist or supplement the Task Force effort this summer;

(b) to develop means by which CRS can work cooperatively with organizations represented at the meeting to draw a wide range of community groups into effective coalition in communities to spur and guide the "private sector" of society to increased remedial activity with problems of the ghetto.

Also desired is the perspective of the participating organization executives as to other ways by which the Task Force and CRS may carry out their functions.

The Conference is being planned more as a "working" than a "briefing" session. Our discussion will be focused, in large part, on the questions which follow.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the role for Concerned Organizations, such as those represented at this meeting, in stimulating the "private sector" of society to greater understanding, concern and action with respect to immediate alleviation, and eventual resolution, of problems besetting the residents of urban slums?

   What can Concerned Organizations do, individually or in concert, to provide that stimulation?

   What can CRS or the Federal Task Force on Urban Problems do to help?

   How can your organization be more helpful than it already is?

   -This summer?
   -For the long haul?

* * * * * * *

2. An impediment to effective resolution of urban social problems is the lack of effective communication...

   -between whites and Negroes
   -between the middle class and the poor, regardless of race.
   -between the "power structure" and the spokesmen of the poor.

   What can Concerned Organizations do, individually or in concert, to help overcome this communications gap?

   What can CRS or the Urban Task Force do to help?

   How can your organization be more helpful than it already is?

* * * * * * *

3. Inadequate involvement of the urban poor in programs available to them has been attributed by many to apathy born of hopelessness, or cynicism as to the intentions of a system that seems "stacked" against them.

   Is this a valid analysis?

   If so, what can Concerned Organizations contribute, individually or in concert, to overcome this reluctance?

   What can CRS or the Urban Task Force do to help?

   How can your organization be more helpful than it already is?

   -This summer?
   -For the long haul?

* * * * * * *

4. Do adequate means now exist for private organizations to communicate with Federal agencies their perceptions as to shortcomings, and their suggestions for improvement, of the conception or administration of Federal programs concerned with urban social problems?

   If not, what can CRS or the Federal Task Force do to help?

* * * * * * *

5. It has been suggested that there is a need in cities for "Councils of Concerned Organizations" which would bring together those organizations wishing to help the community overcome the problems that create and perpetuate slums. Among the purposes of such Councils: stimulating the involvement of the uninvolved; exchanging information; developing inter-organization cooperation on specific programs; stimulating the launching of helpful new programs; overcoming the communications gap; involving the poor in planning and administration of programs; interpreting problems to the community.

   Would an important need be filled by such "Councils of Concerned Organizations?"

   -This summer?
   -For the long haul?

   Do most cities now have effective forums for such purposes?

   If not, what can Concerned Organizations do to develop such councils?

   How can CRS or the Urban Task Force help?

   How can your organization help?

* * * * * * *

6. Are there other problems affecting the quality of the lives of the urban poor, not identified in this memorandum, toward the resolution of which CRS or the Urban Task Force could make a valid contribution?

   What are the problems?

   In what ways could CRS or the Task Force be helpful?

   -This summer?
   -For the long haul?

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

July 8, 1965

TO:

FROM: Bertram Levine
Liaison Officer for Private Organizations
Community Relations Service

SUBJECT: Urban Task Force Conference of Private Organizations -- Follow-up Activity.

Your participation in our conference was most helpful to both the Urban Task Force and the Community Relations Service. As you know, a full stenographic record was kept of each discussion. We will give careful study to the information and suggestions expressed around the conference table.

At the conclusion of our discussions, certain immediate follow-up steps were indicated.

1. We were asked to transmit to each of the participating groups a brief description of the role of the Task Force Consultant resident in selected cities this summer. It was felt that the organizations would want to pass this along to their constituents or field representatives in the cities concerned. This statement is enclosed, along with a list of our city consultants and their addresses and phone numbers.

2. We repeat the request expressed at the meeting that, after a few days of reflection, you send on to us your views on the matters raised at the conference or in the background memorandum which you did not voice at the meeting, or to which you would like us to give special consideration.

3. Now that you have a more complete idea of the role of the Federal Task Force on Urban Problems, and the community action concerns of the Community Relations Service, we hope you will be encouraged to contact

us at any time, either to advise us of developments it would be useful for us to know, or to ask our assistance on pertinent matters relevant to your own organization's program or to the problems of a community with which you may be concerned. In addition, would you kindly place the Community Relations Service (Attention Bertram Levine) on your appropriate mailing list.

4. To the extent that it is possible this summer, we hope you will urge upon your constituent groups new or intensified efforts to make more effective those programs designed to improve the quality of the lives of residents of urban slums. Examples of programs that your group or others are already undertaking along these lines are enclosed.

5. A need was expressed for a program information service through which national and community organizations could learn of effective programs undertaken by other groups or in other communities. Also desired was information that would make possible a greater degree of inter-organization cooperation. The Community Relations Service will endeavor to establish a Program Service to meet this need. It would be most helpful if you would furnish us, now and on a continuing basis, with information as to effective programs developed by your organization. Information as to programs now being conducted, or contemplated, by your constituent groups, in which the cooperation of other groups is invited, would also be very useful.

6. A good deal of discussion was devoted to the need for improved communication, cooperation and involvement among a wider range of community organizations concerned with overcoming the fundamental problems which perpetuate and which stem from urban poverty. Consideration was given to the question of whether the formation of Councils of Concerned Organizations would meet this need. It was suggested that CRS take certain steps to faciliate local formation -- or at least exploration -- of such councils. Among these steps were the following:

   (a) that we canvass the views of the organizations represented at the conference to learn which of them regard the proposal with sufficient favor to recommend its consideration by their local groups;

   (b) that we invite those organizations to send us rosters of their representative in various communities who should be involved in such an effort;

(c) that CRS then construct lists, by city, of organizational representatives to be involved initially, and transmit those lists to each interested national group;

(d) that these lists be transmitted by national organizations to their local representatives -- who would be encouraged to explore the proposal with the others named on the city list.

A memorandum summarizing the conference consideration of Councils of Concerned Organizations is attached.

I would appreciate receiving your reaction to this proposal and, if you wish your constituent groups be involved at the local level, a list of the appropriate persons to be contacted. Your response by July 14 would be most helpful so that this effort may go forward as rapidly as possible.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

COUNCIL OF CONCERNED ORGANIZATIONS - A summary of views expressed at the June 28, 1965 Federal Urban Task Force Conference of National Organizations

1. The Background Memorandum for the Conference raised the question of Councils of Concerned Organizations as follows:

   It has been suggested that there is a need in cities for "Councils of Concerned Organizations" which would bring together those organizations wishing to help the community overcome the problems that create and perpetuate slums. Among the purposes of such Councils: stimulating the involvement of the uninvolved; exchanging information; developing inter-organization cooperation on specific programs; stimulating the launching of helpful new programs; overcoming the communications gap; involving the poor in planning and administration of programs; interpreting problems to the community.

   Would an important need be filled by such "Councils of Concerned Organizations?"

   -This summer?
   -For the long haul?

   Do most cities now have effective forums for such purposes?

   If not, what can Concerned Organizations do to develop such councils?

   How can CRS or the Urban Task Force help?

   How can your organization help?

2. Discussion at the Conference defined a number of needs which conceivably could be met by Councils of Concerned Organizations:

   (a) adequate channels do not now exist whereby organizations concerned with the problems of the urban poor may learn either of the full range of pertinent governmental and private programs in progress, or of the types of programs for which Federal assistance might be possible;

(b) channels are inadequate for the communication of specific needs by those most familiar with them to those in a position to conduct, or influence others to initiate, programs responsive to such needs;

(c) communications are indeed poor between Negroes and Whites, between the middle class and the poor regardless of race, between the power structure and the spokesmen of the poor.

(d) existing consultative patterns are limited either in type of membership, or in commitment to the need, or by concern with but a fragment of the problem.

(e) opportunities for cooperative action -- by groups with similar skills to reinforce one another, or by groups with different resources to complement each other -- are not utilized sufficiently.

A number of questions and cautions were raised with respect to the proposed councils:

(1) Don't councils of social agencies already serve the role defined?

In response it was noted that in most communities councils of social agencies consist principally of those organizations engaged in traditional social service projects. Not included are social action organizations, civil rights groups, community relations organizations, many religious groups, service organizations, industrial organizations, minority group social and service organizations, organizations representative of the poor.

The broad spectrum of programs that might issue from a Council of Concerned Organizations -- social action, community education, community relations, as well as social service -- extend beyond the customary purview of a council of social agencies. At the same time it was felt that in some communities the council of social agencies, or some other currently existing inter-organization consultation mechanism, might either serve the role of, or provide the nucleus for, a Council of Concerned Organizations.

(2) Unless care is exercised, Councils of Concerned Organizations will repeat the failures of the past by coming together as beneficent middle class groups eager to do for the poor what they believe the poor should have done for them. If the Councils are to fulfill their potential for usefulness they must understand that their role is to examine the problems and plan programs with the poor, and involve the poor in their implementation.

In discussing this problem -- in the analysis of which there appeared to be general agreement -- the following views were expressed:

(a) Spokemen of the poor must be sought out and involved at the inception of the organizing effort if the traditional mistrust that thwarts cooperation is to be overcome.

(b) Complaints about lack of participation by the poor -- their apathy, lack of community structure, lack of leadership, self-selected leadership -- overdraw the difficulty of the challenge. The poor and their spokesmen can be found and involved if those concerned are willing to seek out and work with the right people rather than those with whom it may be more comfortable to work.

(3) The size of the "community organization" job makes it unlikely that anything constructive will result this summer, except in the cities where CRS consultants do the work. Organizational rigidities and rivalries yield more easily to an outside influence than to home-town participants. In response it was pointed out that while the CRS consultant would be helpful in a catalytic and consultative role, the organizing effort must come from within the community to be meaningful.

There appeared to be a general view that there was sufficient possibility that effective councils could be formed in some communities this summer to justify the effort on a crash basis. In communities where councils would form more slowly, there would still be the long term value.

(4) Is any specific structure recommended for Councils of Concerned Organizations?

In response it was indicated that structure and program should and would be determined by those in the community, based on the local situations and local needs as to communication, consultation and cooperation.

July 8, 1965

File U.S. Govt

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

Cr. ref. Potomac Inst. P.A. Engagements 1968 re: Jim Gibson's role in arranging Conf. between SRC & Bur. of Census delegations on underenumeration of non-whites in Censuses

December 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. James Gibson of the Potomac Institute tells me that he has been speaking to you about the underenumeration of nonwhites, particularly young men, in the past two decennial censuses and about the kinds of programs which could be launched to prevent reoccurence of such error in the forthcoming 1970 census. I am very gratified to hear that you responded to his approach with interest and am eager to pursue the matter with you and your colleagues.

Although by now the dimensions of the statistical underenumeration of nonwhites in past censuses are common knowledge, I thought you might be interested in some of the technical details. Consequently, I am enclosing papers prepared by Bureau of the Census staff members for last spring's Conference on Social Statistics and the City. I am also enclosing a copy of the resolutions of that conference which state the issues quite dramatically.

The conclusions we are drawing from our recent research coincide with intuitive judgments of some of our advisors that a principal cause of the census undercount has been fear and lack of confidence in the process of census taking. We also believe that, as a government agency, the Census Bureau itself can overcome such fear only to a limited extent. We need active endorsement of independent outside groups which have the confidence of those who distrust government generally or census taking specifically.

If we are right, time is already short for action and that is why I was particularly pleased to learn that you would be able to come to Washington by the second week in January on the ninth, tenth, or eleventh. Any of those days is fine. Jim Gibson also mentioned the possibility of your being accompanied by other staff members of the Southern Regional Council, particularly someone in Field Operations and Community Organization, and I think that would be a good idea.

Finally, Jim suggested that Dr. Henderson might be a very valuable participant in our discussions, so I am also writing to him and will try to find a suitable date for all of you. I am asking a member of my staff to phone you on January 2 to arrange government travel orders. I am looking forward to meeting you.

Sincerely,

Conrad Taeuber

Conrad Taeuber
Assistant Director

Enclosures (3)

Rod. well - 301 - 440 - 7061

See U.S. Gov't Dept. of Commerce

January 12, 1968

Mr. Cecil B. Matthews, Chief
Administrative and Publications
Services Division
U. S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D. C. 20233

Dear Mr. Matthews:

Illness prevented me from coming to Washington earlier this week. I am, therefore, returning the travel order which you so thoughtfully provided.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20233

January 4, 1968

AIR MAIL

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The enclosures and instructions on the reverse side of this letter are for use in connection with your travel to the Bureau of the Census. If you have any questions regarding this travel, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Cecil B. Matthews

Cecil B. Matthews, Chief
Administrative and Publications
Services Division

Enclosures
T.O. No. 1033
T.R. No. A6,229,869
Claim for Reimbursement of Expenses
Addressed envelope

FORM BC-307 (10-19-66)
USCOMM-DC

INSTRUCTIONS FOR TRAVEL

A. Travel Order

The travel order is your authorization to travel and should be available for inspection by any ticket agent to whom transportation requests are presented.

B. Accomodations

Travel is premissible by plane, train, bus, or private automobile, consistent with the policy as promulgated and put into effect by the Bureau of the Budget as follows:

"**Air travel** should be accomplished by use of air coach, air tourist, or other economy air accomodations instead of first class, whenever such accommodations will meet essential requirements for speed, comfort, safety, keeping appointments and making connections with other scheduled transportation. In such extraordinary circumstances where the best interests of the Government would be served by use of first-class accommodations, an exception will be made and first class allowed."

Train – When traveling by train and adequate coach facilities are available, they will be used to the maximum extent possible. Only coach travel is authorized, however, for all continuous journeys by train of four hours or less.

When night travel is involved a standard lower berth should be obtained, except that the lowest available first-class accommodation superior to a lower berth may be allowed on certification by the traveler on his travel expense voucher that, at the time reservation was made, a lower berth was not available. One seat in a sleeping or parlor car will be allowed.

Travel by extra fare trains is permitted when determined to be more advantageous to the Government.

Private automobile is limited to the amount chargeable to the Government for travel by common carrier (9¢ per mile plus per diem allowance). Ten cents per mile by private automobile will be allowed for round trip between residence and terminal.

C. Transportation Requests

Since we are not aware of how you will travel, you are authorized to complete your own transportation request(s). When preparing the request(s), care should be taken in filling in the points of origin and destination.

Round-trip tickets should be obtained whenever possible to take advantage of reduced rates. If round-trip tickets are requested, the words "and return" must be inserted after the points of destination.

D. Form BC-92 (Claim for Reimbursement of Expenses Incident to Official Travel)

This form is to be completed upon conclusion of your trip and returned with any unused or carbon copies of used transportation requests, in the addressed envelope.

Form CD-121
(11-63)
(Pres. by
A.O. 206-10)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

Rutherford

file

JLC
JW

TO : The Files

DATE: February 7, 1968

MS-file

FROM : Scott V. Rutherford
Senior Project Officer

SUBJECT: Program for Atlanta University Center for Economic Development

1. This memorandum outlines a business development program which Atlanta University has agreed to consider under a new one year contact. It arose as a result of discussions with various persons in Atlanta concerned with economic development in the Negro community in Atlanta, particularly, and the South, generally. (See Attached List). Georgia Tech was consulted and is interested in participating in the program.

2. The program would be carried out as follows:*

a. Atlanta would concentrate its efforts in three areas: (1) assisting the Negro businessman in Atlanta; (2) providing counseling to cooperatives participating in the Southern Federation of Cooperatives; and (3) in providing business counseling to individual Negro businessmen throughout the State of Georgia.

b. In performing its activities in Atlanta, AU would establish a number of offices in the Negro areas of the city. The exact number would be worked out following an appraisal of the needs of the Negro business community and AU's ability to staff them. The offices would be located probably in proximity to Neighborhood Centers sponsored by CAP or the Urban League. Space might also be obtained in offices set up by Emory to provide legal services to the poor. Each office would be staffed by one (or more) individual. At a minimum he will have enough education and training to make and maintain contact with the Negro businessmen in his area, and to understand their problems sufficiently well to be able to arrange for specialized counseling from AU or Georgia Tech through AU. Ideally, he would be able to diagnose a businessman's problems, and possibly take remedial action himself.

c. Consideration will be given to placing one person in Alabama or Louisiana where he would be central to the cooperative activity in these areas, and therefore able to maintain continuous liaison between the coops and AU, and possibly to provide technical assistance.

d. While AU will have its own extension service in Atlanta, it will rely on Georgia Tech, the Area Coordinators and others in reaching the few

* Since this memorandum was drafted, our position on involvement of AU in the cooperative movement has been altered, although not necessarily as a result of the aborted arrangements for a workshop for the Southern Federation.

BUY U.S. SAVINGS BONDS REGULARLY ON THE PAYROLL SAVINGS PLAN

Negro small businessmen in rural Georgia. No program will be carried out calling for systematic contact and follow up in rural Georgia.

e. The program which AU is now carrying out in South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi will be retrenched as quickly as possible. Southern will be asked to take over the Mound Bayou project in Mississippi. If we fund centers in South Carolina or Alabama, they will probably be asked to take over AU activity. If we do not AU will be asked to prepare a program phasing down these programs or at least minimizing their further involvement in the programs. (An exception should probably be made for the project in Roanoke, Alabama.)

f. Georgia Tech and AU will be encouraged to develop better working relationships. We will urge AU to use Georgia Tech as a resource for marketing and other services. The services would be purchased by AU. AU has been encouraged to work out a definite program with Georgia Tech indicating the type of services it might require and their costs. Not only will this permit Tech to make needed modifications in its present operation to accomodate it to the needs of AU, but will help AU in planning its operation over the next year. The discussions about the assistance should also lead to discussion of other ways the two centers might cooperate. (We are also encouraging Tech to set up ways to employ AU in the action program being developed for the Model neighborhood program.)

3. A more intensive program which places primary stress on business rather than community development will call for some modifications in the AU staff in addition to those necessitated by placing business counselors in the Negro neighborhoods and in the field to work with cooperatives. Dean Young plans to hire a full time director for the program. Training is presently covered and the center has a librarian. A full time market research person is needed and possibly a CPA with background in financial management. The center should use its faculty for special studies, and should also draw on the resources available at Georgia Tech.

4. The effects of the new look in the AU business development program in Atlanta cannot be perfectly foreseen because so much depends on the competence, experience and energy of the personnel, especially the new director, who will conduct the program, the attitude of the University toward the program, and the presence of economic and social forces which will have a major but unpredictable bearing on development of the Negro community in Atlanta. But assuming that a good director is found and the University doesn't interfere unduly in his program, certain limited results can be anticipated at this time. Among them are the following:

a. The individual businessman will benefit from individual and group counseling which will result in a more efficient operation. With AU's help he might also expand his business through an SBA or EDA loan. More efficient and expanding businesses will mean stability in employment and income on the one hand and additional jobs on the other which will benefit Negro labor.

b. Through its closer contact with the business community through

the counselors placed in various neighborhoods and through the accumulation and analysis of data on a neighborhood by neighborhood basis, the Center should acquire a broader, deeper and more realistic understanding of the problems and prospects for the Atlanta Negro business community and therefore be able to make more appropriate and effective responses to its needs. The intensive program will also permit entrepreneurial ability to be more readily identified.

While much is generally known about the Atlanta Negro business community, information of a more specific nature is needed if an effective development program is to be carried out. The approach which AU proposes to take will provide not only statistics about each neighborhood-income, employment, labor force, home ownership-but information about zoning, property taxes, urban renewal plans, and most importantly entrepreneurial ability. Particularized information about each neighborhood should permit AU to (a) identify the businesses on which it wants to concentrate its attention, (b) provide businessmen better counseling by placing their problems in a wider context, (c) anticipate business opportunities or problems resulting from changes in a neighborhood from zoning and the establishment of new industry, and (d) to develop strategies to remove barriers to expansion of business in each area of the community.

The information which will be built up about each neighborhood, will gradually be combined with that about all neighborhoods to provide a meaningful profile about the broader Negro community and eventually, its relationship to the White business community.

c. One way by which businessmen will find they can make more effective responses will be through the formation of associations which the Center will facilitate. These associations might be among small retailers (the dry cleaners have been organized), among the more substantial business leaders to underwirte a Negro business venture, or among the merchants in a neighborhood to achieve an objective common to all of them; e.g., a change in zoning regulations. The number of associations and their effectiveness will depend in part on the diligence of workers in the neighborhood, and on the ability of the Center to inspire confidence in its leadership. In playing the role of leader, the Center will have to demonstrate that it is capable of disinterested adjudication among contending elements in the Negro community and between the Negro community and the White community.

d. The Negro businessman may begin to feel more of an identity with the hopes and aspirations of other elements in his community. This might occur as he gains more confidence in his business ability and as he begins to perceive how he benefits from improvement in the condition of his neighborhood.

e. Other Negro groups such as the Urban League, the Atlanta Business League, and municipal and other government programs in Atlanta will find their efforts enhanced by the Center's concern with the business development aspect of overall community development. AU will necessarily have

to have a continuing relationship with other groups concerned with the community in carrying out an effective counseling program, and in planning its strategies for removing the barriers to business development. It is hoped that possible areas of conflict among these groups can be resolved, and indeed that area of cooperation on a basis of shared concern and an appreciation of the role which each must play in assisting the Negro community can be developed.

The possibility of effective cooperation will be enhanced by decentralization of the program which will meet reduction of problems to their smallest essential elements, and creation of a smaller forum for resolving conflicts. It should also mean that the people in each neighborhood will participate in setting the policy for the program and therefore, their leaders will necessarily coordinate it with other neighborhood programs.

f. The Center will receive increasingly wide support from sources other than EDA, either in support of this activity or possibly other activities which would permit it to diversify its operation and reduce its dependence on EDA.

g. All of the schools and colleges of Atlanta University might possibly be led to become more involved in the problems of the Negro community in Atlanta as an indirect result of the success of the Center's program. This is not to say that the Center's involvement will necessarily trigger adoption of a new policy on relations between the University and the Negro poor, but it might facilitate the taking of such a decision through interest stimulated in the community in its program, and by offering a model for implementation of an extension program. Since AU is a private school, there might be financial problems in an extension program. These should not be insuperable in view of the potential availability of foundation money to help AU initiate this kind of activity.

5. In effect we have taken the first steps to develop a relationship between EDA and the Negro community in Atlanta. We have decided that for the time being we will conduct our dealings with the community principally through Atlanta University. Hopefully, this will prove to be a satisfactory arrangement. If it does not, we can then seek other ways to approach the problem.

6. In the implementation of our program we will necessarily continue to have liaison with the numerous agencies, both public and private, who are concerned with Negro economic development in Atlanta. Reasonably good channels of communication have been worked out, and these will be maintained, and from time to time others will be added.

SVR/ljr/2-21-68
cc: File, I&R Chron, Bennett, Leibowitz, Oesterle, Griffin, Paul Anthony (delivered by Leibowitz)

1. SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: 404-522-8764

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
James Woods, Deputy Director
John Lewis, Cooperatives

2. SOUTHERN FEDERATION OF COOPERATIVES

52 Fairleigh Street
Room 103, Fairleigh Building
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: 404-524-6098

Charles Presjean, Director

3. ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

Atlanta, Georgia 22314
Telephone: 404-523-6431 X 248

Dr. Harding B. Young, Director, Regional Economic Development and Business Service Center

Charles Prothro
Joseph Jones

4. GEORGIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

1132 West Peachtree Street
Atlanta, Georgia330309
Telephone: 404-873-2931

Ross W. Hammond, Chief, Industrial Development Division Engineering Experiment Station

Bill Ward
Bill Denman
Bill Eisenhaur
Ronald Parker

5. ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

239 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone: 404-521-2355

Harold N. Arnold, Executive Director
Mortimer Cox

6. OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

(Atlanta Office)

Louise Bradley
John Elliot

7. AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICES

Southeastern Regional Office
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: 404-523-6628

Winifred Green

file

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

file

FEB 23 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your kind hospitality and briefing on the Southern environment which I received during my recent visit to Atlanta. I especially appreciated your views on Atlanta and Southern Universities.

While in the Southern University area, I visited a number of Negro business establishments and found that most of the businesses were in service industries. Furthermore, the majority of business counseling services provided by our staff at Southern University involved basic assistance in management, accounting, bookkeeping, and records management. Our technical assistance program at the University appears to be making substantial progress, particularly in linking the University more closely to the local area. I hope that I will again have an opportunity for more in-depth discussion on some of these problems in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Glenn B. Fatzinger
Glenn B. Fatzinger
Project Officer

Scott Rutherford
Eco. Devel. Admin
U.S. Dept of Commerce
St. 3-9200
ext 2812

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

March 4, 1968

File
U.S. Govt

File

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are pleased that you will be able to attend our meeting on March 15. Travel orders and expense vouchers have already been mailed to you. An information sheet about the meeting and a map of the area are enclosed.

Materials for the meeting are also enclosed. Your reactions to the questions on the pink sheets will start discussion. The other papers give background information about the census and the issues to which the questions are addressed. We hope that you will find time before the meeting to look at the questions and as many of the other papers as interest you.

Sincerely yours,

A. Ross Eckler

A. Ross Eckler
Director
Bureau of the Census

Enclosures (11)

TRANSMITTAL FORM - U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

FORM CD-82
(11-14-63)

DATE

TO : Mr. Paul Anthony

FROM: A. Ross Eckler ARE

We had planned to extend this invitation personally rather than by mail. We very much regret that we are not able to do it, but appreciate the opportunity to meet Mr. Wood.

Bring up
p. 11
p. 15
p. 16

DO NOT USE FOR PERMANENT RECORD INFORMATION

☆ GPO : 1964 O—728-485

February 14, 1968

Mr. A. Ross Eckler
Director
Bureau of the Census
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C. 20233

Dear Mr. Eckler:

Thank you for the invitation to be with you on the 15th of March. I shall be happy to do so. I would appreciate any further information on the hours of your meeting and its location.

While I am very sorry to have been unable to be at the last meeting, I do look forward to this one.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

FEB 5 1968

Bring up March 11th re: arrangements to Wash. on the 15th + New York on the 16th.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In developing our plans for the 1970 census, we are particularly concerned with methods which might be used to improve the completeness of the census, especially among those population groups which in the past have been least completely covered. Estimates indicate that the past census counts have been particularly deficient in relation to nonwhites, especially men between the ages of 20 and 40.

I am enclosing some papers which were prepared for a Conference on Social Statistics and the City, which was held here in Washington last June, in which the situation is described in some detail.

The Bureau has tested a number of methods designed to secure some improvement in 1970 and has sought advice from many quarters. We believe that it would be useful if we could convene a small, informal group to discuss the proposals that have been made or to offer others. What appears to be particularly needed is to find ways of obtaining improved cooperation by the groups which have been least well enumerated in the past.

We should like to hold such a meeting at our headquarters here in Suitland on Friday, March 15, and hope that you will be willing and able to participate. While it will not be possible to pay an honorarium for your participation, the Bureau will provide travel and the standard per diem reimbursement for hotel and related expenses in connection with the meeting.

Mr. James Gibson is helping us plan this meeting and joins me in hoping that you can be with us on March 15.

Sincerely yours,

A. Ross Eckler

A. Ross Eckler
Director
Bureau of the Census

Enclosures (3)

file

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
REGIONAL OFFICE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

March 7, 1968

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

This letter is to request your cooperation and assistance in recruiting interviewers for the up-coming Survey of Urban Employment. Atlanta, together with the cities of Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Houston and New York, has been selected by the Department of Labor to participate in their "Concentrated Employment Program".

This office has the responsibility for screening, testing and recruiting from 20 to 25 interviewers to perform weekly enumeration in the City of Atlanta in selected households. Since this is a continuing survey, we can offer up to full-time employment (40 hr. week) for a selected number of interviewers. Our experience indicates that better qualified applicants are available on a part-time basis, and for this reason we will hire qualified applicants on a part-time as well as a full-time basis.

I am attaching for your guidance and information a statement regarding qualifications and requirements for applicants you may locate for this work. Interviewers selected will be reimbursed at an hourly rate of $2.68 ($107.20 per 40 hr. week) and 9¢ a mile for use of personally-owned automobile.

Mr. William P. Barrett on my staff is responsible for the supervision of this survey, assisted by Mr. Louis C. Parker, Jr. Their telephone number is: 526-6201.

I would like to have all applicants selected and appointed, if at all possible, prior to April 8. Any assistance that you may give us in referring qualified applicants will be very much appreciated by this office and will be of long-range interest to the City of Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas W. McWhirter

Thomas W. McWhirter
Regional Director

Enclosure

Interviewer Requirements for Atlanta Survey of Urban Employment

To qualify for employment as a Census Bureau interviewer an applicant must:

1. Be a United States citizen with a high school education or equivalent.

2. Be a mature person (male or female). While the minimum age requirement is 18, the average interviewer is between ages 30 and 55.

3. Pass a test demonstrating the ability to follow instructions, read maps, do simple arithmetic, and learn new words and terms.

4. Be a resident of the Atlanta area (preferably the City of Atlanta).

5. Have an automobile available for use in completing assignments and possess a valid driver's license.

6. Be in good physical condition for driving, walking, climbing stairs, and standing. Have good hearing and eyesight (corrective lenses permitted).

7. Be willing and able to work evenings and Saturdays as well as other times of the day.

An applicant may not:

1. Hold any office in any political organization or engage in any form of political activity (except voting) during the period employed.

2. Receive a pension as a former Federal Government employee or military officer.

3. Have been recently associated with law enforcement or tax assessment activities.

Interviewers will be reimbursed at the rate of $2.68 per hour and 9¢ per mile for use of personally-owned automobile.

Further information may be obtained from-

Mr. William P. Barrett or Mr. Louis C. Parker, Jr.

Bureau of the Census
Room 301, 75 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Telephone: 526-6201

See U.S. Govt Dept. of Commerce

April 1, 1968

Mr. Arnold Liebowitz
U. S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D. C. 20233

Dear Arnold:

I have just returned from a week of vacation, and learned that through a mix-up, that is completely my fault, you did not get word that I had to leave Washington early and, therefore, could not get by to see you. I am still very interested in the idea you mentioned, would like to know more about your thinking on it, and would like to be of any possible help.

I hope to be in Washington again on the afternoon of April 18. Could we get together then?

In the meantime, my apologies.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file
U. S. Dept of
Commerce.

April 11, 1968

Mr. Arnold Liebowitz
U. S. Department of Commerce
Economic Development Administration
Washington, D. C. 20230

Dear Arnold:

Goofed again! I just noticed we recently assigned you to the Bureau of the Census. I hope you have gotten my letter of April 1. If not, a copy is enclosed.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D. C. 20233

File

MEMORANDUM

April 17, 1968

To : Participants in Meeting Held at Census Bureau to Consider Ways of Improving the 1970 Census

From : Conrad Taeuber
Assistant Director for Demographic Fields
Bureau of the Census

Conrad Taeuber

Subject: March 15 Meeting

Some of the highlights of the March 15 meeting are described in the enclosed summary. We are trying to incorporate advice given at the meeting in a census test planned for this fall and in the 1970 census.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank everyone who attended the meeting for very valuable criticisms and suggestions.

Enclosure

RRB #68-11

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D. C. 20233

Summary of Discussion at Meeting Held on March 15, 1968 to Consider Ways of Obtaining a More Complete Count of Nonwhites in the 1970 Census*

Co Chairmen: Conrad Taeuber and James O. Gibson

Participants and Their Affiliations

Paul Anthony & James Wood - Southern Regional Council
Marie C. Barksdale - National Association for Community Development
Edwin Day - Poverty Rights Action Center
James L. Felder & Robert Palmer - South Carolina Voter Education Project
Donald Henderson - Southern Illinois University, Experiment in Higher Education
Alice McKelvie - Philadelphia Enumerator
John Morsell - National Association for Advancement of Colored People
Robert Talbott - Metropolitan Applied Research Center
Evie M. Washington - United Planning Organization
James D. Williams - Office of Economic Opportunity
Charles Willie - Department of Sociology, Syracuse University

Census Bureau Staff

A. Ross Eckler, John Baker, David Kaplan, Walter Kehres, Jefferson McPike, N. D. Rothwell, Noah Sherman, Morton Boisen, Edwin Goldfield, George Hall, Morris Hansen, Daniel Levine, Herman Miller, Joseph Selove, Paul Sylvestre, Joseph Waksberg, Arthur Young

Observers

Diane Brewer - Potomac Institute
Karen Nelson - Bureau of the Budget

Inducements and Deterrents to Cooperation with Census Taking

Inducements: Dr. Henderson suggested that an appeal to political power would be effective. Others felt that it had dangers, i.e., counting more Negroes could lead to greater representation but it could also lead to gerrymandering.

Economic appeals were also recommended, but no one could think of very effective ones. "If there is fear that survival is threatened, you can't offer enough money."

Appeals to self-interest were considered important. At one level, however, no one could answer the question of what appeal would motivate a welfare mother to report people in her household she otherwise wishes to hide. At another level, though, self-interest could be perceived by hiring people who are militant, warm, or friendly and can thereby create an impression that the community has a stake in the census. If whole staffs were blanketed in as census employees, the interests of the groups they represent would be served. Mr. Day thought that the opportunity to "tell it like it is" would encourage some poor people to report.

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*A reasonably complete 21-page transcript of the day-long meeting is available by contacting Mrs. Leroux in the Statistical Research Division, Extension 7051. It includes a statement of the purpose for the meeting and remarks by the Director and other Census Bureau officials. This summary is a reordering and condensation according to subject matter of some ideas presented at the meeting.

Although some suggested that stress on confidentiality of the census would be an inducement to report, others felt that such an appeal might have a bad effect and increase fears.

At the end of the meeting, various inducements were reviewed.

1. Political power As employed by the government, such an appeal would have to be restricted to use of messages like "Stand up and be counted because you're as good as anyone else."

2. Certification The official and universal nature of census taking might be enhanced by offering a certificate to everyone who is enumerated.

3. Emphasis on mandatory nature of census Tell people that if they fail to answer and report completely, they are breaking the law.

4. Answer the census questions in order to let the government know how bad it is.

Deterrents: Mr. Gibson summarized some deterrents he had heard from those who are suspicious of or hostile to census taking: fear that Congress will change the rules about confidentiality; that census statistics will be used to destroy homes in housing renewal programs; that the census interest in finding young Negro men is related to heavy draft requirements.

Miss Barksdale, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Day suggested others. These included the possibility that an army of welfare investigators would be sent into a neighborhood like East Harlem if many more men were counted there; the belief that the reason the government wants to count Negroes is to plan building of concentration camps for them; disbelief in the promise of confidentiality.

It was also suggested that the large quantity of data for a census requested would be a deterrent to cooperation. Also, recent interest in the poor has resulted in over-interviewing. There are 200 research teams in Harlem collecting data and people are becoming tired of it. On the operating level, it was thought that the mail procedure might reduce the response of people to the census.

Inducements versus Deterrents: There was a difference of opinion about whether positive inducements to cooperation are necessary. Dr. Morsell believed that it is only necessary that deterrents be removed. Mr. Day believed that strong positive appeals are needed, that being enumerated was a risk situation and that the assumption of a neutral attitude of "I've got nothing better to do so I'll answer your questions" is unrealistic. Mr. Gibson pointed out that the question of whether potentially harmful public policy may result from census taking is similar to the question faced in deciding to register for voting. The decision was that, in spite of any dangers, voting was worthwhile and the risks associated with it should be taken.

How to Convey Appeals to Cooperate Through Community Relations or Community Education Programs

Although the political appeal was considered one of the potentially most effective ones, a number of people, including Messrs. Henderson, Willie, and Morsell, agreed that it could not be used by a government agency. It could

be employed effectively only by groups seeking political power in their own interest. Consequently, discussion of the community education program is divided into two parts: government-sponsored and private-sponsored programs.

Government-Sponsored Program

Mr. Gibson said that the Census Bureau was developing a public information capacity, and Mr. Sherman described the work now in progress. He is recruiting a number of Negro professional staff members to work from the Regional Offices in a community education effort. The Bureau will seek contacts with community organizations, hopefully after they have already been approached and heard the stronger kinds of appeals which can be employed by nongovernment groups.

The Census Bureau is also planning to seek the endorsement of other government agencies like OEO, HUD, and Labor which have a favorable image in the cities. It was suggested that this might destroy faith in confidentiality of census information because it could reinforce the impression that government agencies work together and might, therefore, share census information.

Mr. Williams suggested that the Bureau meet with media people to get their advice about effective programs and messages. As an example, he suggested meeting with National Newspaper Publishers Association.

Mr. Baker showed a chart which outlined a general public information program. He also announced that the Bureau plans to add to its Public Information Office staff someone familiar with the Negro media who will develop special materials for them.

Private Program

Dr. Willie recommended that foundation money be obtained for a nongovernment community education program. Although there was no disagreement about the need for private initiative, there were differences of opinion about how such a program could be mounted and how effective it might be.

In response to the suggestion that organizations such as the Urban League, NAACP, and others be mobilized, there was the criticism that those who have been unreached by the census are unaffiliated. Those in organizations are now counted in censuses. It was agreed, however, that even the unaffiliated tie in somewhere and respond to messages, although the communication network is obviously imperfect. Moreover, there are groupings and structures in the urban ghettos which are effective, though not always visible to outsiders.

Another issue was how to identify effective groups in the absence of national organizations which have country-wide networks. There was criticism of lists prepared by the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty. It was made clear that the foundations would be asked for money to create lists but not for staff, because they are too far removed from the scene.

So far as getting started was concerned, Dr. Morsell agreed to recommend to the NAACP that it set up a structure which could receive and disburse money. Mr. Day, on the other hand, felt that his organization might not have time to spare for such activity.

At the end of the meeting, Dr. Taeuber said that the participants had given Mr. Gibson a mandate to take the initiative in developing a nongovernment program.

Media, Channels and Methods of Communication

In describing the results of the Philadelphia test, Mr. Sherman said that it was apparent that the ethnic media people desire much more personal contact than the Bureau has previously made. Mr. Williams agreed that the Bureau must learn to accomodate to the Negro press, which is different from the other papers. Dr. Willie spoke about the influential role of the Negro press. Mr. Felder felt that some radio stations in the South can be effective. He mentioned that he speaks 15 minutes a week on one such station. Mr. Baker said that the Bureau will give special attention to the 40 completely Negro stations, plus others whose audiences are predominantly Negro, and the 100 weekly and two daily Negro papers.

Messrs. Felder, Willie, and Anthony also advocated word-of-mouth communication. They suggested that the Bureau identify key people or natural leaders. If they are then contacted and sanction, validate, or endorse the census, cooperation of their followers would be improved. The procedure was described as it might apply at national, regional, state, and very local levels; i.e., one person suggested that if Charles Evers' endorsement were obtained and he then spoke on TV about the importance of the census for political purposes, it would be helpful; others spoke about identifying street corner leaders and having them as advocates for the census in their blocks.

Suggestions about How the Census Should be Taken

Almost everyone made some suggestion about ways of improving the actual procedures for taking the census.

There were suggestions that the Bureau accomodate to peoples' needs or desires. For example, Dr. Henderson described a survey for action purposes conducted by the United Planning Organization. Neighborhood people participated in its planning and, consequently, excellent cooperation was obtained. If citizen participation could be obtained in census planning, it might be made more acceptable.

After stating the belief that there will be an irreducible minimum of people who will not supply information to the census, Dr. Morsell suggested that the Bureau consider a headcount, omitting names, for them.

Because some participants believed it would be necessary to help poor people who are interviewed, it was proposed first that enumerators be given some helping role and, alternatively, that OEO open referral centers, the addresses of which enumerators could give to respondents.

A second kind of suggestion dealt with ways of reassuring people about confidentiality. Mr. Day recommended that the census form be designed in such a way that the enumerator could, in respondents' presence, separate their names from the data and leave their identification with them.

The third kind of suggestion was about kinds of enumerators to employ or how to arrange the assignments. It was suggested that welfare mothers might be effective enumerators in poor areas because they would not be upset by living

conditions they find. In connection with that, the Bureau might investigate the possibility of obtaining waivers so that they could keep the money they earn as enumerators. Another suggestion was to have welfare mothers be enumerator aides who work with others trained in data collection.

It was also suggested that mailmen might make effective enumerators.

In addition to the proposal that entire staffs be blanketed in as enumerators, it was suggested that the Census Bureau contract out enumeration work.

Miss Barksdale said that her organization might be interested in obtaining funds to train people to pass the enumerator selection aid test.

Criticisms Made of Census Work or Policy

Messrs. Day, Felder, and Willie criticized some aspects of census statistics or Bureau policy. Indications of underenumeration in 1960 come from the Voter Education Program conducted during the 1960's, which found larger than 100 percent registration in some places. Also, there appear to be more welfare recipients in given age categories than were counted in the 1960 census in some parts of the South.

The remaining criticisms were related to how the Bureau operates. It is widely believed that political connections are required in order to work for the census. The Bureau has not publicized its jobs.

The use of selection aid tests was criticized and defended. Mrs. Rothwell described a revised test used in Philadelphia and noted that job performance of those who passed it was better than those who failed.

Another criticism was that the Bureau has not used and does not plan to use foreign-language schedules.

Outlook for 1970

Mr. Kehres raised the question about whether the changing climate of opinion might cause the Census Bureau to miss many more people in 1970 than it did in 1960. Mr. Anthony and a number of other people thought that deteriorating relationships and increasing antagonism of nonwhites might make it more difficult to take the census in 1970 than it was in 1960. It is conceivable that representatives of the United States Government might not even be able to get into some neighborhoods by 1970.

Regional Differences in Outlook

It was the opinion of Messrs. Anthony, Felder, Palmer, and Miss Barksdale that, although some southern cities may be becoming more like the northern ghettos, census taking may be more successful in the South than in the North because there is more public spirit and community mindedness in the South than in the North.

File Govt
U.S. Dept. of Commerce

April 22, 1968

Mr. Arnold H. Leibowitz
Director
Office of Technical Assistance
Economic Development Administration
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C. 20230

Dear Arnold:

Thank you for the good visit on Friday. I will keep you posted on the developments in New York and elsewhere.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

APR 16 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I had not received your letter of April 1 so I was pleased to hear in your letter of 11 that you will be in Washington again on April 18. As far as I am concerned the afternoon of April 18 would be fine. I am tentatively putting it on my calendar for 2:30 if that is all right with you.

I look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold H. Leibowitz, Director
Office of Technical Assistance

File U.S. Dept of Commerce

June 17, 1968

Mr. Arnold H. Leibowitz
Director
Office of Technical Assistance
U. S. Department of Commerce
Economic Development Administration
Washington, D. C. 20230

Dear Arnold:

Several of us here have spent considerable time discussing the ideas in your letter of April 30th. Also, I have shared your letter with Vernon Eagle, Director, New World Foundation, and Christopher Edley, Ford Foundation. I assume you have no objection to this.

One of the big problems in trying to implement your proposals is a clash with our policy of not accepting, directly, public funds. I have mainly been trying to find an answer that would allow the study to be made, include our participation to at least some degree, and yet find another appropriate sponsor.

Your recent conversation with Ray Marshall at the University of Kentucky may have resolved this. Ray feels that it would be entirely possible for the University of Kentucky to sponsor such a study and that they have some particularly good resources there. We have had a long telephone

conversation about this and hope to pursue it further after he discusses it with some of the other faculty members at the University.

I do hope we can get together again soon.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Note: Copies of this ltr sent to: Chris Edley - Joel Nixon Eagle - Mel Wood Debbie Cole - Norman Fugh

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

Rec'd 5/2/68 mj

APR 30 1968

Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It was most useful to me, as usual, to sit down and talk to you about a number of problems with respect to economic development directed at the Negro and other minority groups. I will be following up on a number of them.

Following up on our talk concerning development corporations I think it has now almost become jargon in Government and foundation circles and, if I read the situation right, among various civil rights groups that there is a need for financial institutions concerned specifically with economic development of ghetto areas and specifically directed at fostering Negro ownership of business enterprises. But rarely is there clarity about how these development companies should function. Partly, this is because there is an absence of financial skill among the groups most concerned, partly it is because the problem is difficult and becomes moreso as one goes into it, and partly development companies can do so many different things that it is easy to get sidetracked. Let me then try to put in writing some of the matters I mentioned to you so that we both can see them in the cooler light of day.

I have in mind a financial development institution whose primary function will be as a source of debt or equity capital. Of course financial institutions for underdeveloped areas are not new. Various types of development banks were and are operating in underdeveloped countries throughout the world and there are a few public developmental institutions in this country. In general, these institutions have operated along traditional commercial or investment lending lines; e.g., making loans for specific purposes at usually lower than normal interest rates or discounting investment paper under certain circumstances. Where they have been successful (the Savings and Loan Institutions in this country in relation to the growth of middle income housing) their purpose has been clearly defined and the means used clearly directed at the problem. For this reason, we should be clear about the purposes of any new financial institutions. These development institutions, it appears to me, should perform three purposes:

1. Be a vehicle to acquire and channel not only Government and foundation funds but also private funds into the private sector of ghetto areas;

2. Be a method whereby ownership and control of ghetto enterprises can be distributed more widely within the ghetto community; and

3. Assist in developing a more valid private economic base; by that I mean one which is more sociably acceptable than the pattern of liquor, food, and small pawn shops. We must create in the private sector, as in the public sector, an environment in which a community can thrive.

I think it easier if I start as I did when I spoke to you with a simple model which actually has just been created in Philadelphia as a spin-off to the Southeast Pennsylvania Economic Development Corporation: the Job Loan Corporation. Without government funds, at least to this date, the following structure developed. The Job Loan Corporation was established to make loans to ghetto enterprises, drawing upon lines of credit that were made available to it by a number of Philadelphia banks. An applicant for a loan goes to the Job Loan Corporation, where the standards would be somewhat lower and he would be well received, where a loan of some amount would be made available to him. At that point the Job Loan Corporation would draw down a part of its available line of credit with one of the banks. The money to the Job Loan Corporation has been made available at the prime rate (approximately 6 percent at this point, although with the recent raising of the Federal re-discount rate this figure may go up 1/2 of one percent more). The Job Loan Corporation reloans the money with a two or three percent mark-up to meet its administrative expenses so that it can become a self-sustaining institution. Thus, the money is available to the borrower at a figure close to nine percent. (The usury laws for Pennsylvania, as I understand them, as in many states, permit interest rates that high when the borrower is a corporation.)

There are a number of flaws in this institutional structure as is readily apparent. I hasten to add when a group of banks get together for this purpose they should certainly be encouraged and my comments here are not intended to denigrate what they have done. I wish only to indicate that the model, in my view, is not useful on a national level without significant modification to accomplish our above-defined purposes for the following reasons:

1. Such a structure does not permit a large amount of private capital to be raised. It is readily apparent that commercial institutions will not direct more than a very small portion of the resources at prime rate to ghetto areas.

2. It does not concern itself with the problem of community ownership and control of ghetto enterprises since it is only concerned with a single borrower in a traditional commercial banking relationship.

3. It does not concern itself with promotion of new activity but tends to direct itself to expansion. (In fairness it should be added the availability of additional financial resources might encourage new businesses to locate in the area.) Further, there is no active concern with the quality of development: what enterprises are expanding or coming into the area. The relending procedure makes the price of the money to the consumer -- the interest rate -- very high, which limits its use and could work to select out quality enterprises where the return is smaller.

Let us consider each one of these difficulties in turn to see in what way the vehicle can be changed or what kinds of thinking can be brought to bear so that we could meet these other goals.

1. <u>The Need to Attract Major Sources of Private Capital</u>

It seems to me that any method that seeks to do this must depend on some kind of guarantee or insurance system. This is a simple way to leverage Government money and to attract private money by doing so. Most public corporations that have been set up for economic development have been given the power to issue tax free industrial bonds. This is, of course, an insurance device: a public corporation is guaranteeing (100%) private funds being made available to it and I certainly would favor giving this authority to a development corporation. However, unless there is governmental support for the development corporation's bonds initially, this method is unlikely to raise large sums of money since the bonds may be regarded as too risky.

Another method of using guarantee authority which would affect private participation is to permit the institution to guarantee individual loans. This would lessen the risk of investment and encourage private participation. Further, if the guarantee reserve was kept by the Government no immediate Government expenditure would be involved; that is, a bookkeeping account would be established by the Government which can be used as the reserve for the asset value of what has been insured. The advantage to that mechanism to Government or any private foundation to setting up insurance is obvious. For practical purposes it costs nothing, since it is probable that the investment or insurance funds in the interim will earn sufficient funds to cover any

losses. For this reason I personally would recommend making the guarantee reserve available to the institution itself so that it could invest the funds in the interim and begin to earn additional funds.

The guarantee would also have the effect of reducing the ultimate cost to the borrower, since to the extent the obligation is guaranteed the obligation is more secure and should cost less. If the Government is providing the guarantee then to that extent it is a Government bond and the interest rate is below the prime rate to private borrowers

2. Problem of Community Ownership and Control

It is important that the development corporation concern itself with the distribution of equity capital to the community or of effective operational control over a number of ghetto enterprises. One method that should be explored is using debt instruments that can be converted into equity, the most obvious being convertible debentures. One can envision the situation where the Job Loan Corporation or its equivalent has made a loan to an enterprise and instead of taking back a simple debt instrument takes back a convertible debenture. It then can offer the convertible debenture to community investors (directly or via a community corporation or other suitable vehicle) so that it receives back some profit, although probably not the same earnings that it would have received had it held the debenture to maturity. These community investors would then be able to own part of an enterprise located in the ghetto. At the same time the convertible debenture would have the effect of making available cheap money to the ghetto enterprise since the debt would be canceled. The development corporation would also benefit since its money would revolve more rapidly. I am aware that this procedure will have to occur over a period of time since it is dependent upon (1) finding an enterprise that would be willing to have its ownership more widespread than at the present, (2) finding investors who would be willing to purchase convertibles with the requirement that they convert over a period of time, and (3) the success of the enterprise itself. For the purpose of the discussion here I am not concerned so much with the difficulties (Churchill once said: "Let's not speak of the difficulties; the difficulties speak for themselves."), but rather in getting across the idea that one will have to use different kinds of financial instruments in this situation if one is to effect the goal of dispersal of ownership.

If I may again be permitted a marginal side, this kind of thing is not that new. The Kaiser-Willis plant, when it located in Latin America, had Deltec market its securities throughout the country to people who had never been owners before of an enterprise in order to protect itself against expropriation. This was done at considerable cost, but it was done. If we feel similarly motivated, widespread community ownership can also be effected here.

The use of novel financial instruments not only can perform the service of increasing ownership and operational control to ghetto communities but can be of assistance in attracting new businesses to the community. Let me give another example of this that actually came to pass in Washington. In that case, Fairchild-Hiller Corporation indicated it was willing to locate a plant in Washington with the assistance of an SBA loan, a Department of Labor training program, and an EDA technical assistance grant. We at EDA were concerned that this plant should have community ownership, but there was not sufficient capital in the Negro community to invest in the plant. The question then was not only how to handle the distribution of the stock over a long period of time; but how, in the interim, control of the enterprise should still be in the hands of the community. We required that there be set up a voting trust arrangement and that the local community would vote the stock which would be owned in the near-term by Fairchild-Hiller. Over a period of time the stock would be distributed to the community and when thus distributed it would take on new voting rights. This is admittedly a complex procedure and it is unclear whether it will actually work in practice; but it is intended to focus the attention on the need for a device which permits new industry to locate from outside the ghetto and establish an enterprise in which the ghetto residents themselves feel they have a stake.

3. The Concern with the Type of Enterprise

It seems to me critical that the private sector instruments be concerned with the type of enterprises their investments foster. I don't think they should be public institutions responsible to the mayor, but I do think, as a matter of operational practice, they should be aware of planning and zoning issues in the community. Finally, there must be a broadly based board that controls the development corporation, although hopefully not so broadly based as to stymie any action at all.

As I have mentioned to you, in my view the legal and financial aspects of such investment enterprises and development corporations are quite complex and it is necessary to have some serious staff thought on the legal barriers to such operations and on different types of financial instruments which may be used. We would be receptive, as I have indicated to you, to receiving an application to study this from the Southern Regional Council who, I assume, would then subcontract much of it with reptuable financial and legal firms to construct model corporation instruments, articles of incorporation, by-laws, analyses of alternatives in relationship to various state requirements. We would then have available sample instruments and operational memoranda which can be given to groups or financial institutions throughout the country should they wish to go into such a program.

I am sorry to be this long-winded, but I am deeply concerned that when we begin to hypostatize "community development corporations" we think along other than traditional financial lines.

I look forward to your reactions to the above.

With all best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold H. Leibowitz, Director
Office of Technical Assistance

See Dept of U.S. Commerce

August 13, 1968

Mr. Howard J. Samuels
Administrator
Small Business Administration
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Samuels:

May I extend my congratulations to you on your appointment as Administrator of the Small Business Administration. I do hope you will call on us if we can be of any possible assistance to you.

Would you be good enough to have someone in your office send us any information available on your 502 Program?

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SO 2 Programs
7 SBA

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

July 9, 1968

Mr. Berkeley G. Burrell
President, National Business
League
3418 Georgia Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20010

Dear Berkeley:

Thank you for your letter of congratulations on my nomination as Administrator of the Small Business Administration. With this appointment, the President has given me a great challenge and a new opportunity for meaningful public service. I certainly look forward to the tasks ahead with enthusiasm.

I, too, look forward to working and planning with you and your organization. To achieve meaningful results, private organizations and resources must be used to their fullest, and I appreciate your pledge of continued cooperation.

Sincerely,

Howard

Howard J. Samuels

file
U.S. Dept of Commerce

August 14, 1968

Mr. Arnold H. Leibowitz
Director
Office of Technical Assistance
Economic Development Administration
U. S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C. 20230

Dear Arnold:

This morning Ray Marshall and I had a very long conference about a proposal which he will discuss with you next week in Washington. I shall be very interested to get your reaction to it.

Don't give up on Lucius Pitts; he's a good man and heavily overworked. I shall be disappointed if sooner or later he does not make an effort to talk with you.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

JUN 24 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I certainly have no objections to your passing along to others my letter to you of April 30. I would be most interested in any reactions that you get. Frankly, I too have taken the liberty of using that letter as the basis of discussion with other people on community development corporations.

I had gotten a reading from Scott Rutherford that you were reluctant to accept government funds and so I have been working to contract the study that I outlined to you with other institutions and I think we are very close to consumating such a contract. I have been working with the Practicing Law Institute (PLI) which can provide us with the legal and financial skill, in addition to subsequent educational seminars to make available nationwide the information which they have gathered.

In order to get the equivalent of an advocate planner I have also been talking to the National Organization for the Rights of Indigents (NORI) which, as you know, is a spin-off of the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund. I think there is a good deal of legal talent there which previously has not been concerned with financial problems. They have, I think, good outreach to the community and are concerned with these problems in a more direct manner than the PLI. Together I think it should be a good team. Hopefully, I should know by mid-July whether we are going to be able to pull it off.

I have also talked with a number of other people and all seem to feel that model incorporation papers, by-laws, and discussion of operating memoranda for community development corporations would be most useful.

We thought that we might have a number of the community development corporations come in for a conference with PLI and NORI sometime in mid-September so that they would become aware of the work being done and so that PLI and NORI would be able to begin a dialogue with these organizations. Perhaps you or a member of your staff would like to sit in on such a meeting if one were held.

I called, as you suggested, Mr. Pitts of Miles College but never received a return phone call. I notice that he is Vice President of the Southern Regional Council so I assume you get to see him reasonably frequently. If you do, you might mention your idea; and if he is interested in pursuing it, we would certainly like to talk about it.

With all best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold H. Leibowitz, Director
Office of Technical Assistance

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

DEC 13 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your time and efforts involved in our recent discussions on the Black Belt. Your information was valuable and used extensively in my recent briefing on the subject.

With the completion of my briefing on the subject I expect to continue my monitoring efforts and would appreciate receiving any information on significant changes or new developments on the scene, even beyond the information in the quarterly publication, New South in the future. Perhaps occasional on-site briefings would be appropriate to assure coverage and I will attempt to schedule such meetings during future field trips.

Sincerely,

Glenn B. Fatzinger
Glenn B. Fatzinger
Project Officer
I&R Division
Office of Technical Assistance

March 31, 1969

Mr. Arnold H. Leibowitz
Director
Office of Technical Assistance
U. S. Department of Commerce
Economic Development Administration
Washington, D. C. 20230

Dear Arnold:

Thank you very much for the letter to John Chandler. Fortunately, I am scheduled to be in St. Louis in mid-May, and shall write him for an appointment.

I shall keep you informed on the Center. Your interest is welcomed and needed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

This is all you've done about Chandler

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

MAR 19 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

As usual it was most useful to talk to you and get the benefit of your vantage point on southern economic development. I am enclosing a recent study that was funded by our Office of Economic Research on "The Industrialization of Southern Rural Areas." This study is just a draft so it is a little rough. From a cursory review on my part it appears a little parochial. However, I thought you might find it interesting. I am also enclosing a copy of a recent letter I wrote to John Chandler of the Danforth Foundation so you may want to follow up on it.

By the way, I would most appreciate it if you would keep me posted on the Center for Economic Development. It sounds like it has interesting possibilities. From my discussions with George Esser, I think he was interested in it.

Best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold H. Leibowitz, Director
Office of Technical Assistance

Enclosures (2)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

MAR 19 1969

check

Mr. John Chandler
Danforth Foundation
222 South Central Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri 63105

Dear John:

I most enjoyed our dinner the other evening and exchanging of views on some of the problems in economic development. I would like very much to follow up on some of the ideas of joint activity that we mentioned.

With respect to your interest in minority business development, I am enclosing two directories: one of Federal assistance programs related to minority business enterprise, and the other a more detailed analyses of private groups interested in minority enterprise development in certain cities (unfortunately St. Louis is not one of them).

By the way, on my trip south I spoke to Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council who, I think, is one of the most informed individuals in connection with southern politics and economic activity. He has been most helpful to me on a number of matters in connection with our southern program. Although I am sure he would have a more than an altruistic interest in the Danforth Foundation--we are never loved for ourselves alone but only for the money we keep--I thought you would find it helpful to talk with him and he with you. I took the liberty of mentioning you to Paul and suggested he drop you a note and send you a copy of the Council's annual report. This might provide a basis for further discussion if you were so inclined. I do think, John, that you would enjoy him.

Best wishes. I look forward to seeing you again.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Arnold H. Leibowitz

Arnold H. Leibowitz, Director
Office of Technical Assistance

Enclosures (3)

Copy to: Paul Anthony

April 21, 1969

Mr. Arnold Liebowitz
U. S. Department of Commerce
Economic Development Administration
Washington, D. C.

Dear Arnold:

Thank you so much for your help with John Chandler. I have written him asking for an appointment next month when I will be in St. Louis.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

APR 14 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

This is just to send you a copy of the response to my letter to John Chandler.

Best of luck.

Yours very sincerely,

Arnold H. Leibowitz, Director
Office of Technical Assistance

Enclosure

THE DANFORTH FOUNDATION

222 SOUTH CENTRAL AVENUE
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63105
AREA CODE 314 862-6200

April 8, 1969

Mr. Arnold H. Leibowitz, Director
Office of Technical Assistance
U. S. Department of Commerce
Economic Development Administration
Washington, D.C. 20230

Dear Arnold:

I have been out and about the countryside for a number of days and am only now getting back to such things as correspondence. I very much enjoyed getting together with you in Washington and hope we'll have a chance to do it again before too long. There seems to be some very serious interest here among the business community in the general idea of relating public education programs to industry. Of course, there is some of this already being done through the St. Louis Research Council. On the other hand, I don't think this has been approached with full-scale imagination as yet, and we may very well have a role in trying to get some such program together. I'll keep you posted.

Thanks, too, for the materials you sent. These should be very helpful.

I hope Paul Anthony will be in touch with me. I know something about the Southern Regional Council but would like to know a good deal more.

All the best.

Cordially,

John H. Chandler
Vice President

mp

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

MAY 2 1969

Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Economic Development Administration, in behalf of the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE), is compiling a Directory of organizations engaged in promoting and assisting minority business enterprise. It is intended that the Directory will be published by OMBE for general public use.

The Directory will be an inexpensive, unelaborate, working reference in which pertinent highlights of the organizations are included in the briefest possible description of activities. Most annotations will be under 75 words. Some will be around 150 words. A few will be longer, but none more than one-third of a page. About 200 such listings are now involved.

Enclosed is a proposed listing and annotation concerning your organization for inclusion in this Directory. We request your permission to include the listing and annotation as set forth in the enclosure. Should you wish to change the proposed annotation in any way, this may be done in handwriting on the enclosed proposed annotation, or a copy. Since OMBE hopes to publish the Directory as early as possible, we would appreciate your reply being mailed by May 12, using the form and envelope provided.

We will be happy to provide you with a copy of the Directory when it is printed.

Should you have any questions concerning this request or this subject, please call collect Miss Esther Steines at (202) 967-4288.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

A. H. Leibowitz

Arnold H. Leibowitz, Director
Office of Technical Assistance

Enclosures (3)

Sent permission 5-14-69 KM

TO THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION:

☐ This is your permission to include the listing and annotation given in your letter of May .

☐ This is your permission to include the listing and annotation, changed as attached.

☐ Include listing, but not the annotation.

☐ Do not include listing or annotation.

☐ Send Directory when printed.

FOR: Southern Reg. Council, Inc.

BY: _____

DATE: May 14, 1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C. 20233

JWV
EV
MJ - file

December 10, 1969 AIR MAIL -- SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Paul Anthony, President
Southern Regional Educational Council
No. 5, Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

As you are probably aware, the Census Bureau is concerned about obtaining an accurate count of the population in 1970, particularly of the black population. Therefore, special emphasis is being placed on communicating the importance of the 1970 census to black people. As part of this effort, consideration is being given to a new brochure entitled "Black People, Do Your Thing." The brochure would stress the benefits to be derived from an accurate black count. For example, it will show that census data are used to help determine the distribution of funds for housing, school breakfast programs, training programs for the unemployed, etc.

In this brochure the Bureau will provide an opportunity for black groups to lend support to the census program. On one of the last pages, the Census Bureau proposes to include a list of national black organizations which are backing the census program as of December 1969. Since your organization has expressed an interest in the census program, we would like to include its name on that list.

The inclusion of your group's name along with others will attest to the fact that black people are concerned about obtaining a complete count. Your advocacy of the census would be a significant social contribution.

The Bureau must send the brochure to the printers by December 22. Therefore, for your convenience and to expedite matters, we have enclosed a carbon copy of this letter and a self-addressed envelope. If we may include your organization on the list of black organizations supporting the 1970 census, please initial the carbon copy and kindly return it by December 18.

Should you have any questions, please feel free to call me collect at my office (Area Code 301, RE5-2000, ext. 535) between 8:30 a.m. and 5:00 p.m.

We will be happy to send you a copy of the brochure, "Black People, Do Your Thing," when it is released. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Nampeo D. R. McKenney

MRS. NAMPEO D. R. McKENNEY
Assistant Chief
Ethnic Origins Statistics Branch
Population Division

Enclosures

file

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D.C. 20233

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

March 23, 1970

MAR 25 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, President
Southern Regional Council
No. 5, Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We need your continued support as the Census Bureau prepares to canvass the nation in 1970. The Constitution requires that we take a census of the population every ten years. There is considerable concern among the officials of the Bureau about the possible undercount of blacks in the coming census. Such an undercount would be harmful not only to blacks but to our entire society.

You are aware that it is vitally important that a fair and accurate count be made of the black man in America. More than any other source of information, the census provides the means of measuring the progress that has been made and the advances which are still needed in the areas of education, occupation, income, health, etc. Census figures are essential in the determination of representation in Congress, in the State Legislature, and in many city and county governments. The 1970 figures will determine how a large amount of Federal, State, and local funds are distributed for schools, playgrounds, health, welfare, housing, and other programs for the next ten years. In 1960 over two million black people failed to be counted in the census and as a result, many black communities have been handicapped ever since.

The Bureau has instituted a number of procedures which should improve the enumeration of the black population in 1970. Yet, it can succeed in getting a better count than in 1960 only with the full cooperation of all elements of each community. Therefore, we are asking for the cooperation and support of national and local black organizations for the 1970 census program. One of the aims of the program is to make black persons aware of the importance of being counted and how census data can be used to their advantage.

Your organization could be of immeasurable help to us in communicating the importance of the 1970 census. This can be accomplished in several ways. For example:

1. In the official organ and/or newsletter of your organization -- include articles explaining the benefits of an accurate black count. (Some publications have already made use of a condensation of the enclosed Ebony Magazine article, "For An Accurate Black Count.")

2. A letter from you to the presidents of your local chapters or your members urging them to support the census program in their respective communities.

3. Dissemination of publicity materials on the 1970 census to local chapters and/or members.

Copies of the various types of publicity and informational material are enclosed with this letter. (See Attachment A) For your convenience, we have enclosed a card which you may check and return to obtain additional copies of the publicity materials listed.

During the census period it will be necessary to hire a large number of persons in the local communities to help us conduct the census. It would be most beneficial if you would encourage the members of your organization to apply for positions with our local staff. Census workers (census takers and their supervisors) will be required to pass a simple screening test entitled "Selection Aid." (Information concerning census workers is enclosed, including an example of the kind of qualifying test that will be given to job applicants.)

It is essential to the success of the census that black groups voice their support of the census endeavor. The officials at the Bureau appreciate your favorable response to Mrs. McKenney's letter to you, dated December, 1969. We were happy to include your organization on our list of supporters in the brochure "Do Your Thing."

Should you desire further information on the census or wish to become actively involved in the areas mentioned above, we will be happy to arrange for a member of my staff to meet with you. We would welcome any suggestions you may have concerning how our purpose can best be achieved.

Thank you and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Conrad Taeuber

CONRAD TAEUBER
Associate Director
Bureau of the Census

Enclosures

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Bureau of the Census
Washington, D. C. 20233

ATTACHMENT A

Publicity

"Do Your Thing"
"We the Black People of the United States"
"The 1970 Census and You"
"About Census '70"
"Be a Census '70 Worker" or "Be a Census Taker"

Information About Census

Informational Copy of the 1970 Census Questionnaire
"For An Accurate Black Count" (Reprint from Ebony Magazine)
"Field Employee Selection Aid" (Test C)
"Let's Talk Census"
"Confidentiality"

Statistical Information on the Negro

Series P-23, No. 29, "The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, 1969"
Series P-20, No. 168, "Negro Population: March 1966"
Series P-20, No. 175, "Negro Population: March 1967"